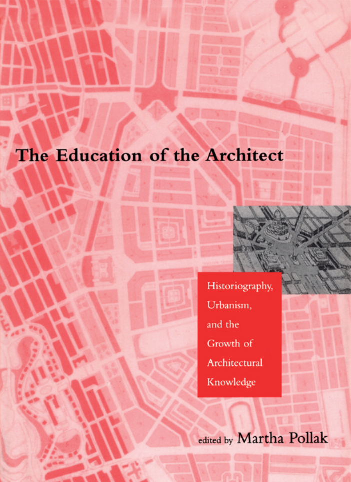

The Education of the Architect

Historiography, Urbanism, and the Growth of Architectural Knowledge

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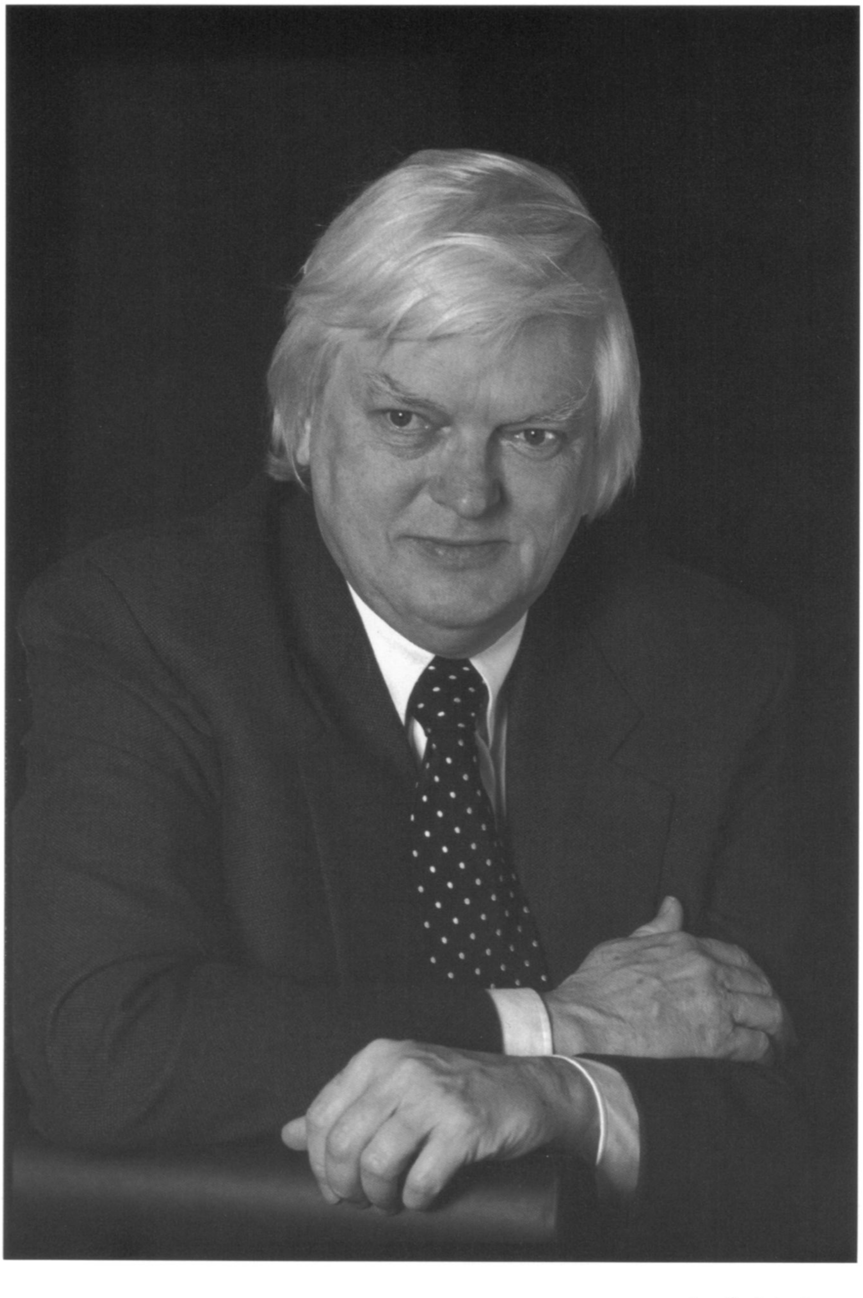

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Stanford Anderson

THE EDUCATION OF THE ARCHITECT

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Historiography, Urbanism, and the Growth of Architectural Knowledge

Essays Presented to Stanford Anderson

edited by Martha Pollak

The MIT Press
Cambridge, Massachusetts
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PREFACE

The essays in this book—ranging through architecture and urbanism in the United States, Europe, and the Near East—constitute a cross-section of the research interests, and illuminate the main themes, of a school of architectural thought at whose center stands Stanford Anderson. They have been deeply influenced by a philosophy of architecture developed by Stanford Anderson through his writings and through the teaching program of the Department of History, Theory and Criticism of Architecture, which he and Henry Millon founded at MIT over 20 years ago. The beginnings and orientation of the department and its program, discussed here in the chapter by Lawrence Anderson, were unique in that they wedded history to theory and criticism. Stanford Anderson's approach to architecture envisions it as a world of inquiry and as a discipline anchored in the epistemological bases offered by contemporary philosophical thought, especially the philosophy of science.

Clear thematic webs bind these chapters together. The deep preoccupation with modernism, its national ideologies, and regional responses in the American context are investigated by Siry, Fenske, and Schwarzer, whose concerns are echoed by Moravanszky, Casciato, Stieber, and Bozdogan, who examine European responses to American debates. The knotty interdependence between politics and the built urban environment is investigated by Ghirardo, Rabbat, and Olmo, who combine a broad historical range with a tightly woven methodological approach.

Beyond their passionate interest in architecture and urbanism, the authors share the assumption that architecture participates in, indeed contributes to, the development of ideas that are continuous across culture (Schwarzer, Casciato, Ballon, Stieber, Correa). Thus, architecture is not merely a dependent discipline, providing physical accommodation to ideas created outside its intellectual borders, nor is it an autonomous one, generating form according to its own hermetic rules. Whether historians or architects (and several of them received training in both areas), the writers assembled here share the belief that contemporary concerns about architecture matter in the way history is constructed. For some contributors coming from architectural backgrounds, research in history became the environment in which phenomena apparent in contemporary architectural production could be investigated with a greater degree of dispassion. Sometimes they seek origins or critical turning points in this history, but always they search for the relationship of these events to the larger intellectual world. Since their view of architecture is as a body of knowledge evolving over time, these authors have resisted the wholesale espousal or rejection of modernism that have often polarized the examination and the practice of architecture in the second half of this century.

How is the history of architecture constructed? Can the processes of architectural creativity be explicated? What constitutes the body of architectural knowledge, and how can it be conveyed to students of architecture? These questions are among those considered in the eighteen chapters that follow. The parts of the book reflect the specific subjects through which the eighteen authors consider these broader historiographic, interpretive, and pedagogical questions. They also reflect the areas of the architectural discipline to which Stanford Anderson has made such influential contributions.

In part I, American Debates, the authors consider the totemic position of Frank Lloyd Wright's published architectural polemics, the bruising debates between Lewis Mumford and Henry-Russell Hitchcock, and the context of these debates in the uncharted architectural seas of the Cold War. According to Joseph Siry (chapter 1), Wright believed that the machine was the metamorphosis of ancient art and craft and "proposed that the dilemma of art's future might contain its own solution if the architect recognized that science had given 'to him new and masterful tools'." Sustaining fiercely that "the artist had a crucial role to play in discovering the aesthetic possibilities of new means of fabrication," and recognizing that "science had put resources in the hands of the artist before he had been ready to intelligently assimilate their possibilities," Wright criticized American educational institutions, which had not, by 1901, forged the connecting link between science and art by training the artist to his actual tools. Wright claimed for the new industrial city, built in the image of man, the ultimate field of application for artistic ideals. Gail Fenske's examination in chapter 2 of the passionate debate about the two competing historiographies of modern architecture clarifies the differences between Hitchcock—arbiter and promoter of the newest aesthetic style—and Mumford, whose interest was in "an architecture that invested with consequence the intricate pattern of human life." Mumford had posited the Bay Region style as a native form of modernism; seeing architecture as a highly contingent discipline, he approached architectural history as cultural criticism, and because of his interest in regional planning it became a form of advocacy. Accused by Gropius of chauvinistic and sentimental national prejudice (Fenske), Mumford's regionalism was exposed then by Hitchcock as an obstacle to the "changing conception of human nature as expressed in modern architecture," as Mitchell Schwarzer shows in chapter 3 in his analysis of the same public debate, situating the debate on regionalism in the crisis of American identity during the cold war. Replaying the dialectics of nationalism, the debaters on regionalism manipulated Wright's variable positions, associating him now with one side, now with the other.

While an "American" position was forged and painfully defended, European responses to American developments were predictably novel and numerous, as the authors of part II make abundantly clear. In the educational reform examined by Akos Moravanszky in chapter 4, America's position as a "paradigm of a materialistic, success- and health-oriented civilization" became part of the modern European vision, mingled with the impact of Darwinism, whose theories American realities seemed to confirm. As with Wright's lecture on the "Art and Craft of the Machine," Semper's pamphlet *Science, Industry, and Art* is shown to have provided an educational program to elevate public taste, and to promote a vision of the architect as the creative and artistic transformer of reality. Evaluating another response to Wright's architecture and thinking, Maristella Casciato in chapter 5 discusses the "phenomenon of the peaceful penetration of Wright's compositional methods and ideas" in the Netherlands. In the persuasive parallel between Wright and Dudok proposed by Casciato, the two architects are presented as "absolutely indifferent to the traps of ideology," each promoting a sense of collectiveness. Bringing the influence of Wright to a higher level, Dudok abandoned Wright's visionary tone and was able to "articulate a style suspended between traditionalism and modernism, the individualism of creativity, and the fundamentals of urban construction."

The vexed problem of regionalism is taken up in chapter 6 in Sibel Bozdogan's discussion of Taut's architectural pedagogy in Turkey. She concludes, echoing the findings of Fenske and Schwarzer, that the "canonic precepts of International Style modernism were accompanied by the simultaneous quest for local and regional identity." Taut's invitation to Turkey was part of Turkey's turn to western Europe for models rather than "its own past, which was responsible for decline and defeat and unfit for a myth of unified national entity," but by the time he arrived there his reaction to modernist architecture was equally ambivalent. "Deeply aware of the irreducibility of architecture to its politics or ideology," Taut spoke against the "fetishizing of the stripped-off technique" and resented the reduction of architecture to "objects of use or means of traffic," declaring aphoristically that "all nationalist architecture is bad, but all good architecture is national."

In part III, Historiographic Constructs, the authors comment on the interpretation, writing, and uses of architectural history from distinct points of view. Seeing nineteenth-century "life-philosophy" as the belief that "enhancement of aesthetic capacities would unify the disparate poles of industrialism and culture, of modernity and tradition," Mark Jarzombek in chapter 7 examines the problematic of writing a modernist history when the work of art is expected to speak to us unmediated (since experiencing art is considered more fundamental than its examination). Offering self-understanding through art, "aesthetics was a weapon for society to defend itself from the inhumanity that lurks within human beings." Taking as an example the historical writings of Louis Hautecoeur, whose "celebration of pure French art reinforced the ethos of aryanism," Hilary Ballon in chapter 8 considers our attachment to the illusion of benign erudition. Hautecoeur used history to champion the idea of a purified French culture; dating classicism's death to 1900 and considering the first half of this century a period of transition, he suggested that in order to "rebuild itself after World War II France had to rededicate itself to the core values of the classical tradition." Architecture is part of a systematic view of culture which stands in for expressions of nationalism. For Danilo Udovicki-Selb, who argues (in chapter 9) the "relevance of Gadamer's philosophical hermeneutics for a critical approach to the history of architecture," architecture conjoins individual imagination, formal aesthetics, and the "historical grid." Pursuing further historiographic relativism, Udovicki presents Gadamer's notion that the interpreter is the partner of the author, sharing a common venture of critical evaluation in which the "ultimate fate of an [architectural] work rests on the excess of meaning that it is capable of revealing." Observing "the alarming tendency to coin personal vocabulary and to give things new names," N. John Habraken notes in chapter 10 that "there is among architects no common language of general significance . . . each one of us struggles in a personal way to describe." "Failure to claim the built form as a common knowledge base makes architecture an individual adventure," and isolates its practitioners. Habraken's project, like Jarzombek's, is to reduce the isolation of the architect. For this he prescribes a "thematic-knowledge" consisting of the "purposeful study of what has been known only by doing," thus rendering explicit an underlying, shared, and growing architectural knowledge.

In part IV, on Urbanisms, the authors examine architecture in its specific and "natural" habitat, the city. Like Casciato, Nancy Stieber (in chapter 11) considers the impact of American practices on Dutch audiences for whom urban subjects, like the skyscraper and the gridiron plan, were of intense interest. Though the "skyscraper was part of the European stereotype of America as a cultureless country," and Berlage had attacked the "false pretensions of the skyscraper's historical styles" as well as the gridiron plan—"synonymous with the ugliness of mere function untouched by aesthetics"—after his visit to the United States "Berlage recognized a spatial quality in the relation between the grid and the skyscraper that corresponded to his requirement for monumentality." He found that the ratio of skyscraper height to street width in New York was similar to that of the Dutch city alley. His experience of New York—where light plays a creative role in making a mysterious play of shadow that he could appropriate as a value—helped him to imagine a "modern geometrical street plan which created a spatial order distinguishable from the thoughtlessness of the engineer's ruler-drawn grids."

In chapter 12, Diane Ghirardo, examining the urban "battle for the hearts and minds of Italians under fascism," moves beyond regionalism to *campanilismo* by showing how programs were developed for Ferrara that advanced the views of history and society espoused by Mussolini. Through the Foucaultian categories of surveillance and spectacle the fascist regime gained control of the public realm. Reflecting specific Italian conditions, it is the "connection between the modern and the ancient that provided important legitimating functions." Linking aesthetics and politics "the urban ceremonial enacted in Ferrara pleased the fascist leadership because it selected out of the city's long history references to patrician dictatorship rather than to republican control." (The relationship of aesthetics and politics equally concerned Americans like John Dewey, as Moravanszky and Jarzombek remind us in their chapters.) In Nasser Rabbat's view (chapter 13) architecture was also affected by political realities in the 1870s, as he shows in his analysis of the construction of the Rifa 'i Mosque in Cairo. He examines the neo-Mamluk style in which this building was realized in order to "illustrate the workings of the multiple internal and external programs in an East-West architectural exchange"; his intention is to avoid the interpretation of the "East-West discourse in architecture as merely a reflection or an expression of a power relationship," teasing out, instead, the "complexities and intricacies informing the nature and range of interrelations between the two sides."

Turning to another localized study, of Place Louis XV in Paris, Carlo Olmo in chapter 14 questions the separation between the history of institutions and urban history, positing a "history of municipality" that would encompass both. His evaluation of the building history of this royal square shows its settlement as an internal colonization represented by conflicted patronage, and points out that the "ratified success of the square does not mesh with the intricate and contradictory aspects of the history of the making of the square," but rather illustrates the "difficult cultural role played by architecture in the social relations of prerevolutionary France."

In the last section of this book, part V, Teaching Architecture, four distinguished educators consider the most difficult facet of the discipline, that is, its pedagogical mandate. Asking himself, and us, whether ethics have a bearing upon architecture, Royston Landau in chapter 15 traces the origins of the modernist ethic, proposing Patrick Geddes (also discussed by Fenske in chapter 2) as a significant link in the long chain of modernist-ethicists. This proposed tradition includes William Morris and John Ruskin before Geddes, and continues up to the reinvocation of Geddes's advocacies by members of Team 10. Although the "modernist agenda had included ethical concerns up to that time, these were later abandoned," in Landau's view, as "architectural thought became immersed in considerations of form and technology." Landau postulates the emergence of a new ethical sensibility, connected with a concern for ecology, which "for the first time appears to bring together in a comprehensive way architecture, ethics, and the person."

Less optimistic, Micha Bandini in chapter 16 is concerned that "contemporary architectural debate has sought legitimization through the adoption of selected philosophical tendencies, but has ignored the issue of boundary." Inquiring polemically whether architecture is really a discourse, Bandini contends that "architecture has a very particular and complex epistemological structure not shared by the other visual arts," and is concerned that the "difference between analysis of the creation of architecture and the creation of other cultural artifacts has been erased." She points to problematic areas within the disciplinary segments of architecture ("the stumbling block in the rational and balanced appraisal of design and history may be found in the special relationship between critic-historians and architects"), to the crisis of pedagogy in architectural design ("design is no longer perceived as an organized and organizable set of notions which can be taught within recognizable patterns and hierarchies of complexity"), and to the diminished community ("the community of discourse upon which the advancement of disciplinary knowledge may be said to have been based"), and then vigorously proposes ways of redressing the situation.

By contrast, Lawrence Anderson in chapter 17 is impressed by the "changes that have occurred in historical studies as reflected in the teaching programs of architectural schools." Finding that academic scholars who are sensitive to the artistic aspects of architecture and also responsive to its technical and social facets are not as rare as they used to be, Anderson locates the modernists' criticism of the teaching of architectural history in the use of history as "quarry," or model. He asserts that from the redefinition of the field—in response to this rejection by architects—resulted the history, theory, and criticism of architecture. He thus pays homage to the department founded by Stanford Anderson and Henry Millon, from which eight of the contributors have graduated (and eight have taught or lectured there). Charles Correa's parables and fables (chapter 18) lead us to ponder several questions that can be considered as summarizing *The Education of the Architect:* Can one maintain independent judgment and follow a charismatic teacher? What is the right balance in architectural pedagogy between visual and verbal skills? Correa begins his essay with a memorable aphorism: "We do not know if architecture can be taught, but we know that it can be learned."

Martha Pollak
Chicago, 1996

I AMERICAN DEBATES

1

FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT'S "THE ART AND CRAFT OF THE MACHINE": TEXT AND CONTEXT

Joseph M. Siry

In 1901 Frank Lloyd Wright achieved a synthesis of both ideas and forms that would guide his individual work for the next decade and influence the course of modern architecture through the early twentieth century. In that year, when Wright first published the type of the prairie house, he also presented the concepts that had underlain its formulation in his address entitled "The Art and Craft of the Machine." This remarkable text developed ideas that had appeared in Wright's writings from 1894, just as the prairie house emerged from his experiments in domestic architecture from about 1893. Through the 1890s, Wright had assimilated a range of ideas from Chicago's architectural culture that informed his position announced in "The Art and Craft of the Machine." These ideas also emerged in part as a response to rapid development of the city's building industry, whose new capacities Wright and others sought to integrate into their art. Study of Wright's address in light of its sources and contexts clarifies its place in early modern architecture, with whose historiography this text is often identified.[1]

Chicago's Debate on Craft and Architecture

Wright's "The Art and Craft of the Machine" contributed to an exchange of views within the Chicago Arts and Crafts Society created at Hull House. Founded in 1897, the society developed a local program of instruction, exhibition, and publication devoted mainly to handcrafted works and objects. Wright had been a founding member of the society, to which he delivered his address early in March 1901, as part of a series of lectures at Hull House. The lecture prior to Wright's was given by Jane Addams, founder and head of Hull House, speaking on "Art and Labor," in relation to Hull House's new Labor Museum. Following Wright, Louis Sullivan gave a lecture on arts and crafts in commercial building.[2]

In 1899 a leader of the society, Professor Oscar Lovell Triggs, had founded the Industrial Art League to create a workshop "which shall also serve as a sort of industrial laboratory where new materials and processes may be experimented with."[3] In this effort Triggs sought to bring the machine under the control of the craftsman in a small organization like a medieval guild, where work by hand would continue to dominate amid new mechanical processes. As Triggs wrote, "It is not possible that the things we perforce use can be beautiful until they bear the impress of hands that have taken pleasure in their formation."[4] In this he emulated the ideals of the English Arts and Crafts movement developed by followers of William Morris. Among these, Charles Ashbee's School and Guild of Handicraft at Toynbee Hall in London had been the model for art and craft workshops at Hull House.[5]

By contrast, Wright accepted the machine as the modern method of production and sought to control its consequences at the scale of architecture. He later noted that in 1900, "Ruskin and Morris had imbued the young life of Chicago with a worthy ambition to make things by hand, pound their fingers and do all sorts of unbecoming handicraft, good in its ways but entirely beside the mark in our Chicago day's work. I couldn't see that ambition as worth any man's time when everything around us was, by and large, going hideous because the machine was out of control."[6] In December 1900, Ashbee first visited Chicago and opened the series of lectures to the Arts and Crafts Society at Hull House. He met with Wright, who told Ashbee that "the art of the future will be the expression of the individual artist through the thousand powers of the machine . . . and the creative artist is the man who controls all this."[7] Wright later recalled that Triggs opposed the idea of shifting emphasis away from handicraft to the machine. Yet Wright claimed that Jane Addams, and her colleague Julia Lathrop, supported his position and invited Wright to present a paper.

Wright's argument had emerged earlier in his address on "The Architect," read before the second annual convention of the Architectural League of America in Chicago in June 1900. In this, his first address to be published, Wright claimed that the architect "practices a Fine Art as a profession with the Commercial and the Scientific of his time as his technique."[8] In his view, what should not be lost was an ideal of architecture as fine art, and its practitioner as a champion of finer forces in the lives of his or her people. Yet this ideal had become difficult to grasp and sustain in a present driven by commercial and scientific developments. For Wright, at the beginning of the new century, the chief problem was to resist the commodification of architecture, a process he identified with continued adaptation of its historic styles in modern buildings. Such practice had then resulted in a general depreciation of architectural values. Pursuit of a superficial historicism meant that "the present generation of the successful architect has been submerged, overwhelmed by the commercialism of his time."[9]

In Wright's view, the art's future was then unexplored, with no chart provided by its schools. Yet he proposed that this dilemma might contain its own solution if the architect recognized that science had "given to him new and masterful tools that demand of him their proper use." The architect could find his bearings in an industrial present if he was unafraid of organization "and its symbol, the machine."[10] Rather than submitting the art to the dictates of commerce, architecture's practitioners could regain control over their field and make it serve aesthetic ideals if they studied and mastered its modern instruments of production. An architect "must have technical discipline of the highest order,"[11] in order to renew his art amid changed conditions. Past styles taught in schools were based on handwork, so they did not provide an applicable precedent for an architecture that worked with, rather than against, the industrial direction of the world. Thus, Wright concluded: "Life is preparing the stuff to satisfy the coming demand, and the architect will know the capacities of modern methods, processes and machines and become their master. He will sense the significance to his art of the new materials that are his of which steel is but one."[12]

Wright's mentor Sullivan emphasized that new materials and technical processes were resources for architecture's renewal. For him, an architect's knowledge of constructive methods is a "part of his technical equipment whereby he has the efficiency and power to express the poetic thought—just as language and a knowledge of words are the technical equipment of the literatus."[13] In 1903 one account of Sullivan's approach to the design of the Schlesinger and Mayer store (later the Carson Pirie Scott Building) noted that he "accepts the modern machine, and demonstrates its capacity to assist him in evolving a work of art." At the same time, however, neither did Sullivan "neglect to use hand work, but encourages it where practicable. He is an artist himself and has a following of skilled artists whom he uses in their proper vocation."[14] Louis Gibson cited Sullivan's approach in an article of 1898 on "The Machine in Art." For Gibson, as the Parthenon's architects directed the hand-cutting of all the moldings, triglyphs, metopes, capitals, and columns, so "today the same artist would through his drawings and models, direct the machine-tool—the plane and the lathe—to carry his work just as far as was done on the Acropolis by machine men."[15] Sullivan employed the techniques of both craft and machine, yet, in Gibson's view, such an architect was the guiding "artist who makes the drawing or model who makes the beauty possible."[16]

Dankmar Adler, Sullivan's senior partner to 1895, had explored architecture's relation to new processes in a paper entitled "The Influence of Steel Construction and Plate Glass upon the Development of Modern Style," given at the 30th annual convention of the American Institute of Architects in Chicago in 1896. Citing this paper, Wright later wrote that Adler's ideas were far ahead of their time. For Adler, the architect of the modern period had "at his command instrumentalities and opportunities unknown to his predecessors."[17] The field's future as both an art and a profession lay in "the utilization of the best of the materials and processes which scientific and industrial progress place at its disposal."[18] Adler stated that the greatness of Michelangelo as an artist in architecture had depended in part upon "his familiarity with the techniques of the auxiliary and subsidiary arts, sciences and crafts, the command of which devolves upon the architect. The great Buonarroti did not disdain to learn the metal founder's, the quarry worker's, and other crafts in order to be better able to carry out the plans which his great mind had conceived. Were he among us now, he would be in the front rank of the experts and specialists in all the modern arts and sciences."[19] For Adler, modern materials and processes were not negations of art, but resources for enlarging its scope, just as the musician "has a greater range of instruments, a richer and fuller orchestration."[20] In architecture, impediments to development were not technical but conceptual, for what was wanting was an artistic will and ability to make use of newly discovered agencies.

When Wright presented "The Art and Craft of the Machine" in 1901, he expanded on Adler's and Sullivan's ideas to offer an alternative vision to the program of the Arts and Crafts Society advocated by Triggs. Following Ruskin and Morris, Triggs minimized a distinction between artist and craftsman. He emphasized the ethical and aesthetic value of craftsmens' freedom to create, a freedom the Arts and Crafts movement viewed as lost in the age of the machine. Yet for Wright, as for Adler and Sullivan, an architect was an artist in the traditional sense of form-giver, who would realize creative designs through the agency of the machine. Their position identified inventiveness with the architect, whose freedom to create new forms was hampered by adherence to tradition. These architects thus shifted the focus of discussion away from the Arts and Crafts movement's concern for the worker-craftsman and toward the artist-architect as master of novel techniques, able to orchestrate their synthesis in a total built art. This ideal had been partly realized in Adler and Sullivan's Chicago Auditorium, on which Wright had worked.

Wright believed that architecture's renewal in his time would mean pursuit of traditional aesthetic values, such as harmony of form, amid newly complex conditions of modern production. He wrote: "a hope has grown stronger with the experience of each year, amounting now to a gradually deepening conviction that in the Machine lies the only future of art and craft—as I believe, a glorious future; that the Machine is, in fact, the metamorphosis of ancient art and craft; that we are at last face to face with the Machine—the modern Sphinx—whose riddle the artist must solve if he would that art live."[21] In Wright's view this was the task marked out for the artist in the machine age, and he pledged himself over time "to prove, that the machine is capable of carrying to fruition high ideals in art."[22]

Wright acknowledged that contemporaneous followers of William Morris clung to an opposite view. Yet Wright noted that Morris, while he viewed the machine as a danger to art, nevertheless had abundant faith in the coming of a new art. Wright argued that Morris had been ethically opposed not to the machine per se, but to the vulgarity of decorative art that it had produced. In Victorian England, the machine had fashioned elaborate objects. Thus Morris had "pleaded so well for the process of elimination . . . he preached the gospel of simplicity."[23] Morris had protested against the misuse of the machine for the production of luxurious furnishings. Instead, he advocated simple objects, which he equated with older handicraft. By contrast, Wright proposed to master the machine as the means to create the material culture of a democracy. Thus the artist's mind must no longer protest against the machine. Rather "genius must progressively dominate the work of the contrivance it has created."[24] The antimodernity of the Arts and Crafts movement would be replaced by a new concept: the art and craft of the machine.

Wright's Argument and Chicago's Building Industry

Wright formulated "The Art and Craft of the Machine" in a period of local and national conflict over the relation of hand and machine labor in manufacturing and building. In 1900 a series of disputes between contractors and unions in Chicago's building trades had culminated in a prolonged and general strike. The grievances and points of contention were predictably varied. Yet one general theme was the lack of labor's protection against encroachments on its position when machines were substituted for hand labor in the preparation of building materials. For example, a major concern of the city's stonecutters was the trend toward substitution of their numbers with mechanized equipment for dressing stone in the yards after its arrival from the quarries. The stone companies had turned to finishing machines partly to lower the cost of readying stone in order to compete successfully with the local terra cotta industry, whose products served as a substitute cladding for building exteriors.[25]

Conflicts between hand and machine labor in building focused on the need to minimize costly time, especially in the construction of large commercial office buildings sited on expensive downtown properties. Costs of such land could only be recouped when these buildings were completed and their interior spaces rented to tenants. One local builder believed that William Le Baron Jenney's innovations in the iron and steel frame of the Home Insurance Building of 1884 had been prompted by a bricklayers' strike in 1883.[26] If floors were carried by metal columns rather than by brick walls, then bricklayers' unions could less readily delay the completion of a new building to force compliance with their demands. Also in the 1880s, mechanically pressed brick, with its uniform hardness and surface, was introduced as a cladding material to conform to the precision and speed of building in steel. The demise of handmade brick and its substitution with modern pressed brick and ornamental terra cotta was characteristic of office structures like Adler and Sullivan's Wainwright Building in St. Louis (figure 1.1), built in 1890–91. Wright cited this as an initial example of an architectural art appropriate to the age of the machine.[27]

In Chicago's architectural culture, the effects of the machine were concentrated in commercial building, where the shift to mechanically prepared materials had turned in part on the question of fireproofing. In January 1900 the *Inland Architect and News Record* published a technical review of the development of the building arts at the century's close. The need for fireproofing had brought terra cotta and brick into usage for exterior adornment, and metal grilles, tiles, and marbles for interiors, where woods were once used. The result was "an entire overturning of the manufacturing ideas of the past and the substitution of new designs, marked out in new factories for the future."[28] Architects stood on the threshold of a new phase of their art whose unfolding in the coming century would be the work of patient students of such tendencies. Essays by specialists in structural steel and its fireproofing, hydraulic cements, terra cotta, electrical engineering, heating and ventilating, decorative sculpture, interior woodwork, ornamental metalwork, interior painting, lighting, and other topics detailed many technical advances. Together these statements presented a compelling picture of a future architecture that would orchestrate such resources in ways that had yet to be determined. Rather than being eliminated, ornamental enrichment was predicted to increase, thus creating "a demand for new materials and for new adaptations of old materials in endless profusion."[29] The machine enabled such continuing adaptation of older materials.

In Wright's view the preindustrial art of architecture meant use of crafts to ornament construction. Handmade form in old styles of building had been

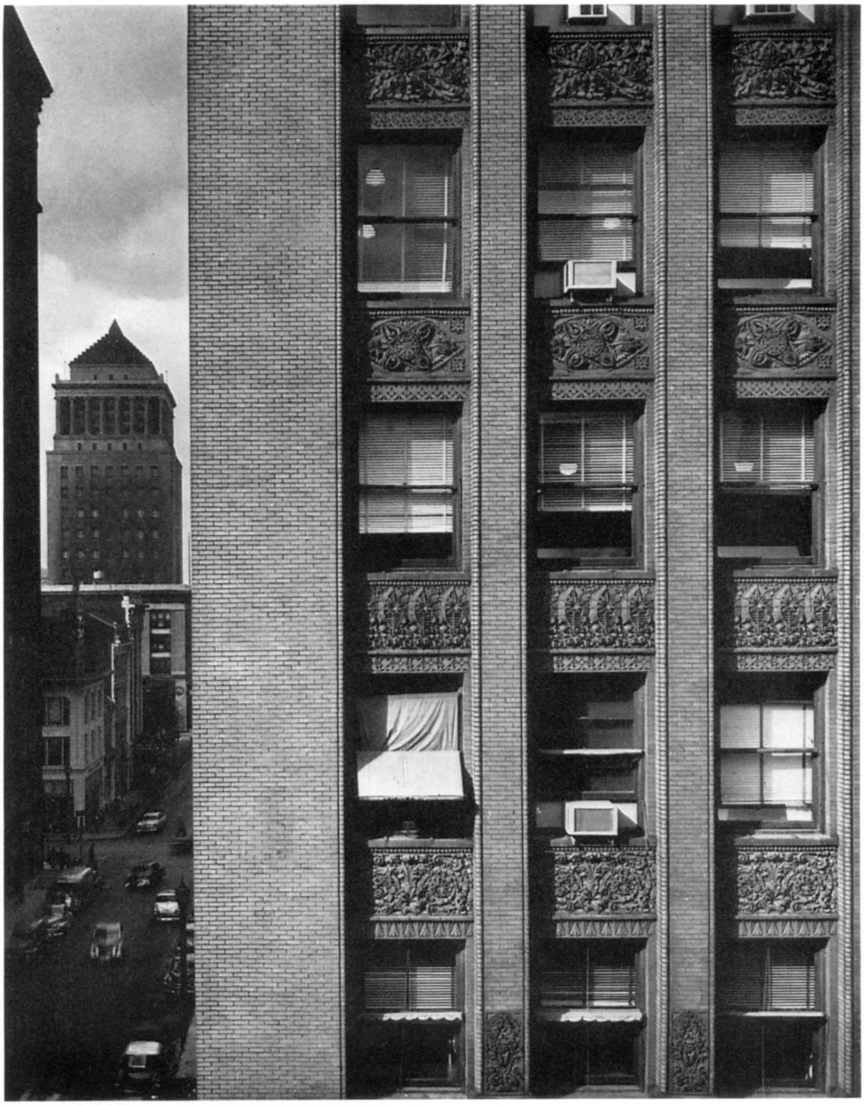


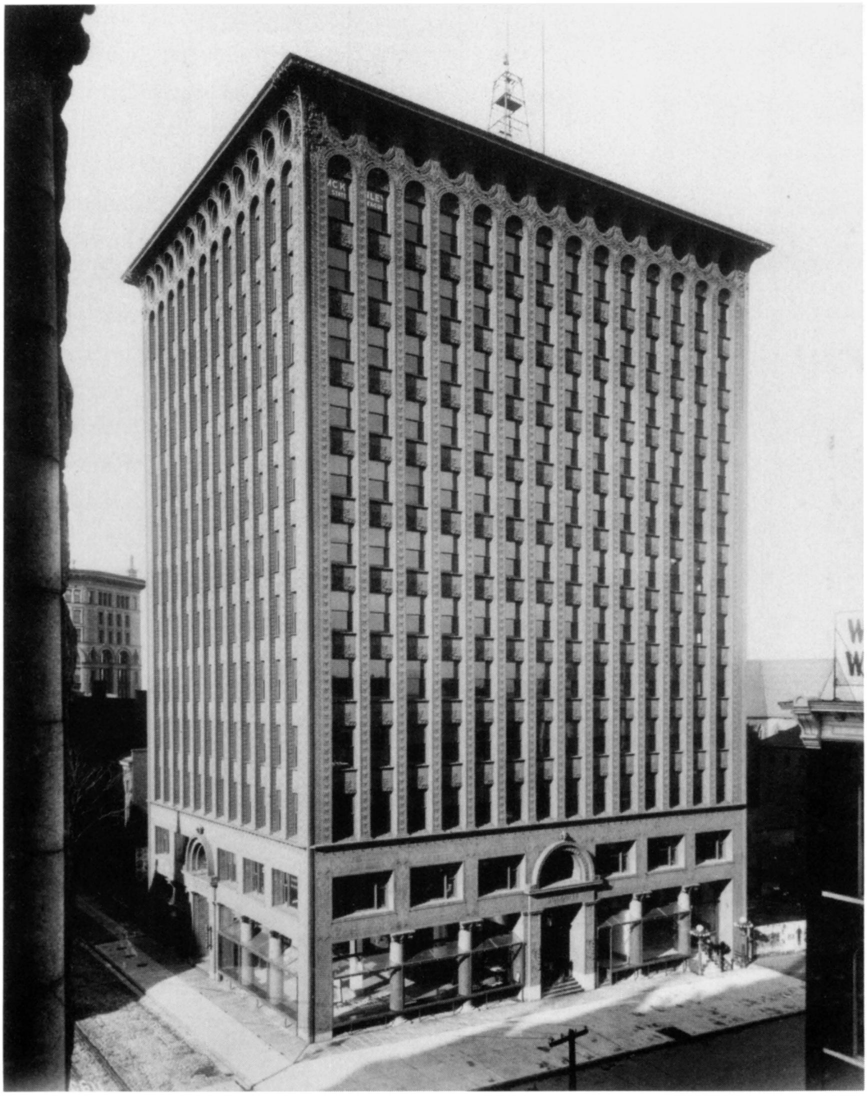
Figure 1.1 Wainwright Building, St. Louis, 1890–91. Dankmar Adler and Louis Sullivan, and Charles K. Ramsey, associated architects. (Reprinted by permission from John Szarkowski, *The Idea of Louis Sullivan* [Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1956].)

created to join parts of structure "in such a way as to beautifully emphasize the manner of the joining."[30] Wright viewed such motifs as architecture's tradition, its vast fabric of precedent. Yet in the modern era of the machine, the ornamental details of historic styles no longer had a relationship to construction because buildings were structurally complete as steel frames without handcrafted joining of parts. Thus, to reproduce these motifs as decorative forms hung upon the steel frame was to render the traditions of architecture without meaning or value in the commercial present.

By 1900 the machine had enabled infinite reproduction of historic details throughout modern commercial buildings. Yet for Wright, the fault lay not in the machine's existence but in such misuse of its potential. Hence "all that this magnificent resource of machine and material has brought us so far is a complete, broadcast degradation of every type and form sacred to the art of old."[31] One consequence had been that new materials worked by machine misrepresented old ones shaped by hand, so that molded terra cotta was made to imitate tool-marked stone. In other instances, structural logic was violated when steel-framed buildings were made to support facades of heavy granite blocks. In such cases, the exteriors of new buildings presented themselves as edifices of stone, belying their modern skeletal construction.[32]

From this spectacle of commercial architecture, Wright concluded that science had put resources in the hands of the artist before he had been ready to intelligently assimilate their possibilities. The most important of these Wright saw as the machine's power to emancipate architecture from the traditional laborious task of crafting decorative elements of construction. The old art of handwrought adornment had been rendered obsolete and unnatural by the capabilities of the machine. The art's new freedom was most evident in the modern tall office building as "one representative problem of the machine."[33] In works like Adler and Sullivan's Guaranty Building in Buffalo, New York, of 1894–96 (figure 1.2), the steel frame had been clothed in terra cotta whose motifs differed from stone. The Northwestern Terra Cotta Company fabricated the terra cotta and employed specially trained masons to set the terra cotta on the frame, further reducing dependence on bricklayers. Photographs of the Guaranty were published following the text of Wright's "The Art and Craft of the Machine" in the Chicago Architectural Club's annual exhibition catalogue of 1901. In this building, industrial production of terra cotta enabled realization of Sullivan's architectural aesthetic. Perhaps alluding to the Guaranty, Wright wrote that in a few such cases, "the steel frame has been recognized as a legitimate basis for a simple, sincere clothing of plastic material . . . it is a glimmer in a darkened field—the first sane word that has been said in Art for the Machine."[34]

Figure 1.2 Guaranty Building, Buffalo, NY, 1894–96. Adler and Sullivan, architects. Historic Architecture and Landscape image Collection, Ryerson & Burnham Archives, The Art Institute of Chicago. Digital File #49090.



For Wright, works like the Guaranty Building showed that the machine's advantages over traditional craft were not only economic but also aesthetic. Modern industry breathed new life into old materials, like terra cotta. Its ancient use as burned clay had been transformed by new techniques of replicating delicate designs in precise mechanical molds. Wright, like Sullivan, believed that ornamental motifs were appropriate for terra cotta. Sullivan explored this idea in repetitive manufacture of decorative panels in the Guaranty, whose motifs he designed to be modeled and cast rather than carved. In Wright's view, such terra cotta cladding over a building's surface realized the aesthetic ideals of unity and simplicity because one material had served to cover the entire skeletal steel frame from sidewalk to cornice.

For Wright, as for his contemporaries, the significance of a work like the Guaranty Building lay in its language of detail, whose forms showed knowledge of the nature of the material. These details included freestanding columns along the sidewalk set between display windows (figure 1.3). Below the capitals of these columns, their shafts were rendered in horizontal layers of terra cotta cladding. In this way, the columnar design contrasted with the vertical fluting found in the Doric columns of Greek antiquity, such as those of the Parthenon (figure 1.4). The ancient Greek columns were made of drums of carved marble, a material susceptible to precise linear detail. Classical fluting depended upon the vertical alignment of the stacked drums, so that the eye could follow the fluting as nearly unbroken vertical lines up the length of the shaft. Such a motif, however, was inappropriate to terra cotta, which had to be fabricated in small pieces to minimize shrinking and warping when the clay was fired. The blocks were much smaller than drums of carved marble. Thus, there would be many more joints between terra cotta blocks cladding a column shaft than there were in a marble column. Moreover, variations in the blocks due to the firing process made it impracticable to design columnar shafts with fluting that required a precision of alignment between superimposed blocks.[35] Thus, in the Guaranty's column shafts, one sees vertical joints only between adjacent pieces of terra cotta in one course, and no continuous verticals between courses. Sullivan's ornament maximized terra cotta's plasticity and its economy in repetitive castings. The Guaranty exhibited this material's nature as a particulate, decorative cladding around the columns of steel. Its design did not attempt to reproduce the classical motif of fluting developed earlier for carved marble columns, where the stone was structural.

For Wright mastery of the modern machine would transfer art "from the possession of kings and classes to the everyday lives of all."[36] From this perspective, older forms were inappropriate to new social as well as to new technical

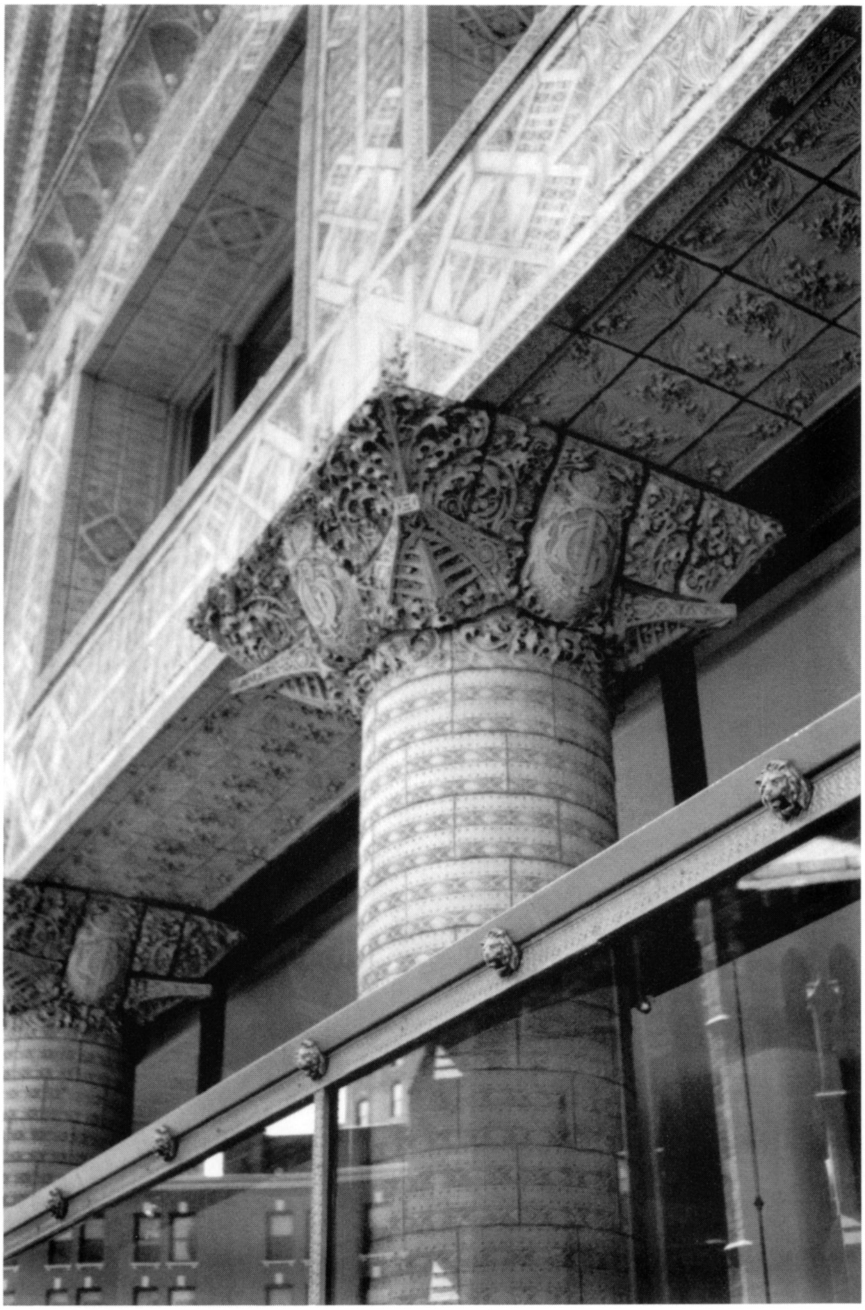
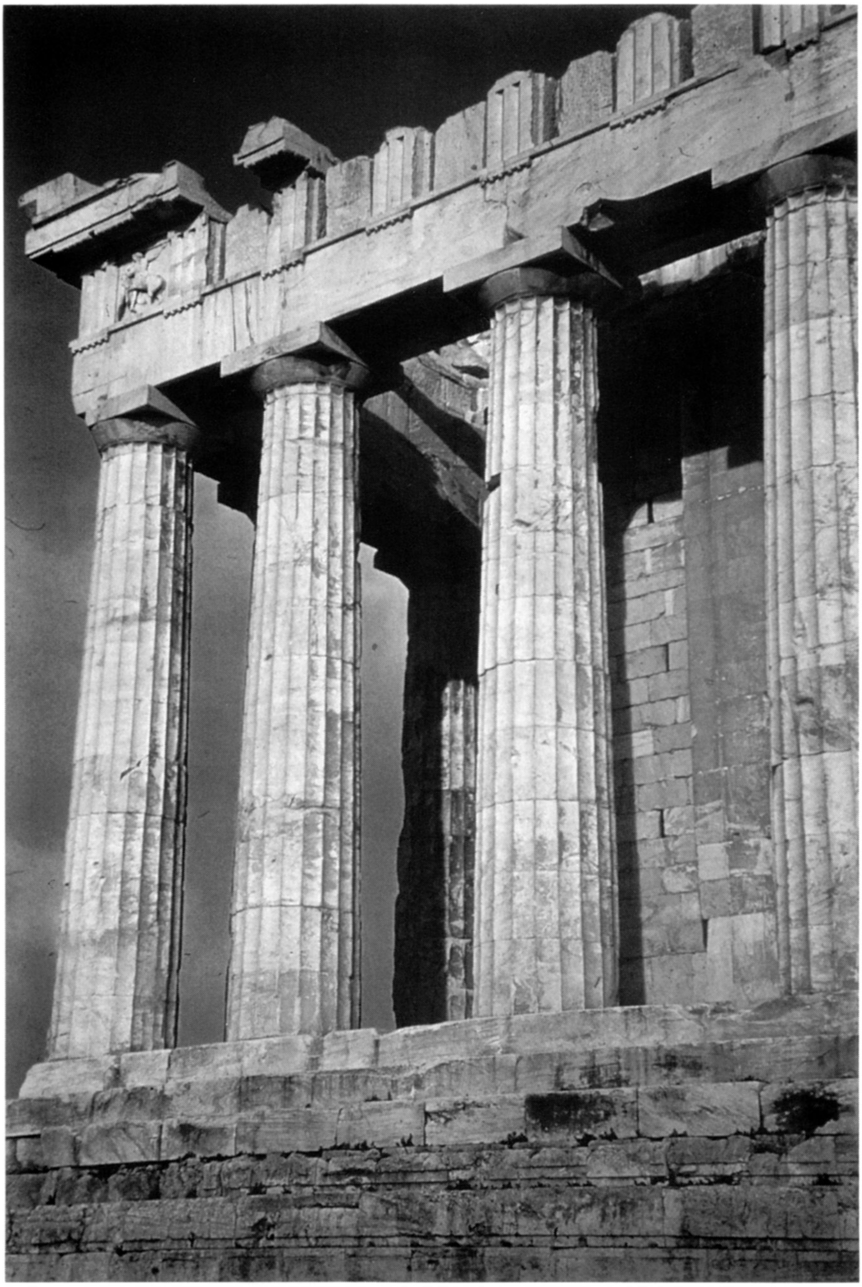


Figure 1.3 Exterior column of the Guaranty Building (author).

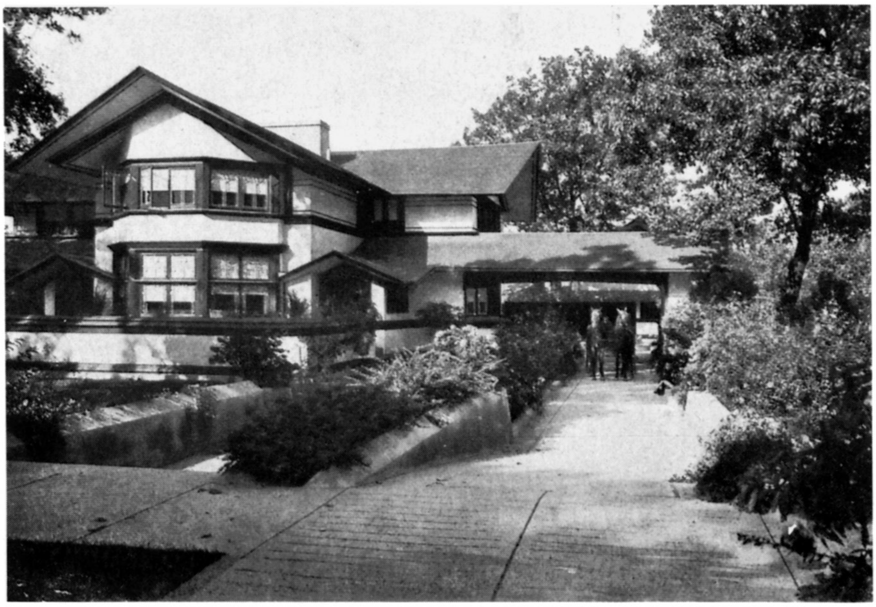
Figure 1.4 Northwest corner of the Parthenon, 447–432 B.C. Ictinus and Callicrates, architects. Phidias, master sculptor. (Wesleyan University Slide Library.)



conditions, because the old art was identified with either autocratic or theocratic dominance that no longer prevailed. In the new century, the art and craft of the machine would thus find realization in a new decorative art. Handcrafted objects for the home had been a focus of the Arts and Crafts movement earlier in the nineteenth century, when the machine in its earlier phase had been shunned. Yet, in Wright's view, by 1900, artists should open their eyes to the machine's potential. He wrote that those who now rejected modernity and the machine "will do distinct harm."[37]

Wright argued that those who upheld handicraft in the age of the machine did not apprehend its great capacity to realize Morris's own aesthetic ideal of simplicity. In the architecture of the Arts and Crafts movement, simplicity had been the keynote in its protest against the elaboration of decorative objects. In Morris's essays, simplicity connoted simplification, or negation of the extravagant. Morris sought to restore simplicity by reviving selected traditions of preindustrial craft. Yet, in Wright's view, by 1900, such a continued emulation of handicraft perpetuated a cultural nostalgia for the Middle Ages which did not recognize the potentials of the present. Hence, for Wright, the domestic architecture of the Arts and Crafts was not genuinely simple but was rather "an affectation of the naive."[38] Instead, he proposed that, rather than being alien to mechanization, simplicity was "vital to the Art of the Machine." Wright wrote that simplicity meant not only elimination of excess. Simplicity was also a "positive quality, in which we may see evidence of mind, breadth of scheme, wealth of detail, and withal a sense of completeness."[39] For Wright this ideal was found in natural forms like those of a tree or a flower.

Wright maintained that the machine made simplification possible not only in new materials but also older ones such as wood. In his view, to 1900, woodworking machinery was inappropriate because it "had been invented for no other purpose than to imitate, as closely as possible, the woodcarving of the early ideal."[40] While the Arts and Crafts movement celebrated hand-carving of wood, Wright believed that all woodcarving, whether by hand or by machine, "is apt to be a forcing of the material, an insult to its finer possibilities as a material having in itself intrinsically artistic properties, of which its beautiful markings is one, its texture another, its color a third."[41] Wright had identified the appropriate treatment of wood with Japanese woodcraft, especially Japanese preference for simple posts and bands of wood that served either as structural supports or delineators of surfaces. In his view, this aesthetic of woodcraft could be perfectly realized through the agency of the modern machine which "by its wonderful cutting, shaping, smoothing, and repetitive capacity, has made it possible to so use [wood] without waste that the poor as well as the rich may enjoy to-day beautiful surface treatments of clean, strong forms."[42]



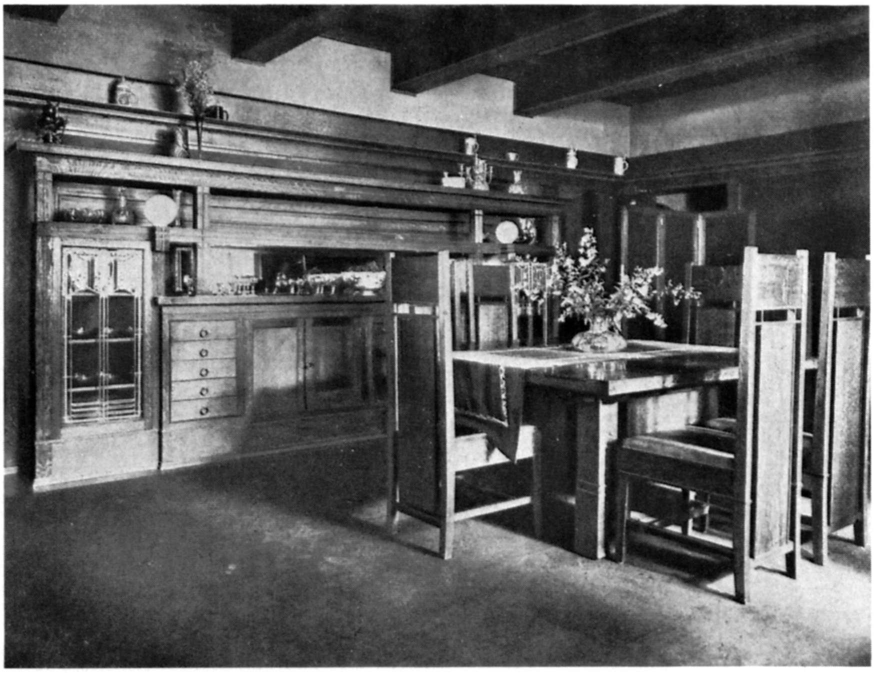
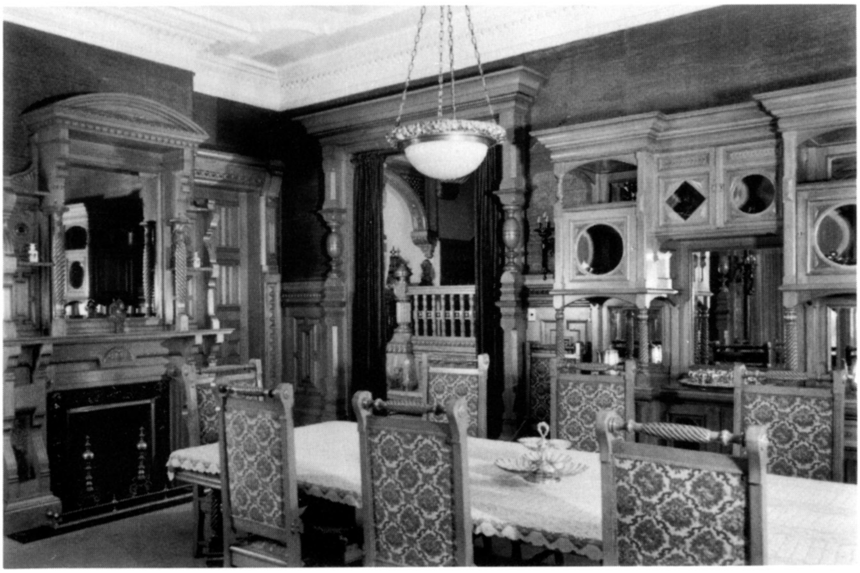


Figure 1.5 Dining room (*below*) of the Harley Bradley House (*above*), Kankakee, Illinois, 1900. Frank Lloyd Wright, architect. (Courtesy of the Frank Lloyd Wright Archives.)

Wright's position is clarified through comparison of his dining room for the Bradley House in Kankakee, Illinois, of 1900 (figure 1.5), with that of Samuel and Joseph Newsom's house for William M. Carson in Eureka, California, of 1884–85 (figure 1.6).[43] On one level, the ideal of simplicity is evident in Wright's uniform usage of rectangular boards, beams, and bands of stained oak. No carved details appear. By contrast, oaken elements of furnishing and ornament in the Carson House are turned or gouged to imitate hand-carving or even chiseled stone. The two rooms clarify the opposition between turning and carving as techniques of elaboration, and planing as a means of simplification. On another level these paired interiors illustrate Wright's emphasis on the ideal of simplicity not only as elimination but also as the integration of all elements of design to create an overall harmony for the eye. The dining room of the Bradley House is unified through its consistency of horizontal lines atop the wainscoting, and the common vocabulary of forms found in its built-in and freestanding furniture. The Carson House's interior celebrated the crafted variation of elements, which differ in height and projection across walls and around the space of the room. By contrast, Wright's approach to an art and craft of machine encompassed the ideas of both reductive and integrative form as facets of simplicity.

Figure 1.6 Dining room of the William M. Carson House, Eureka, California, 1884–85. Samuel and Joseph Cather Newsom, architects. (Sandak, Inc., Slide Number AB 386, reproduced by permission of the University of Georgia.)



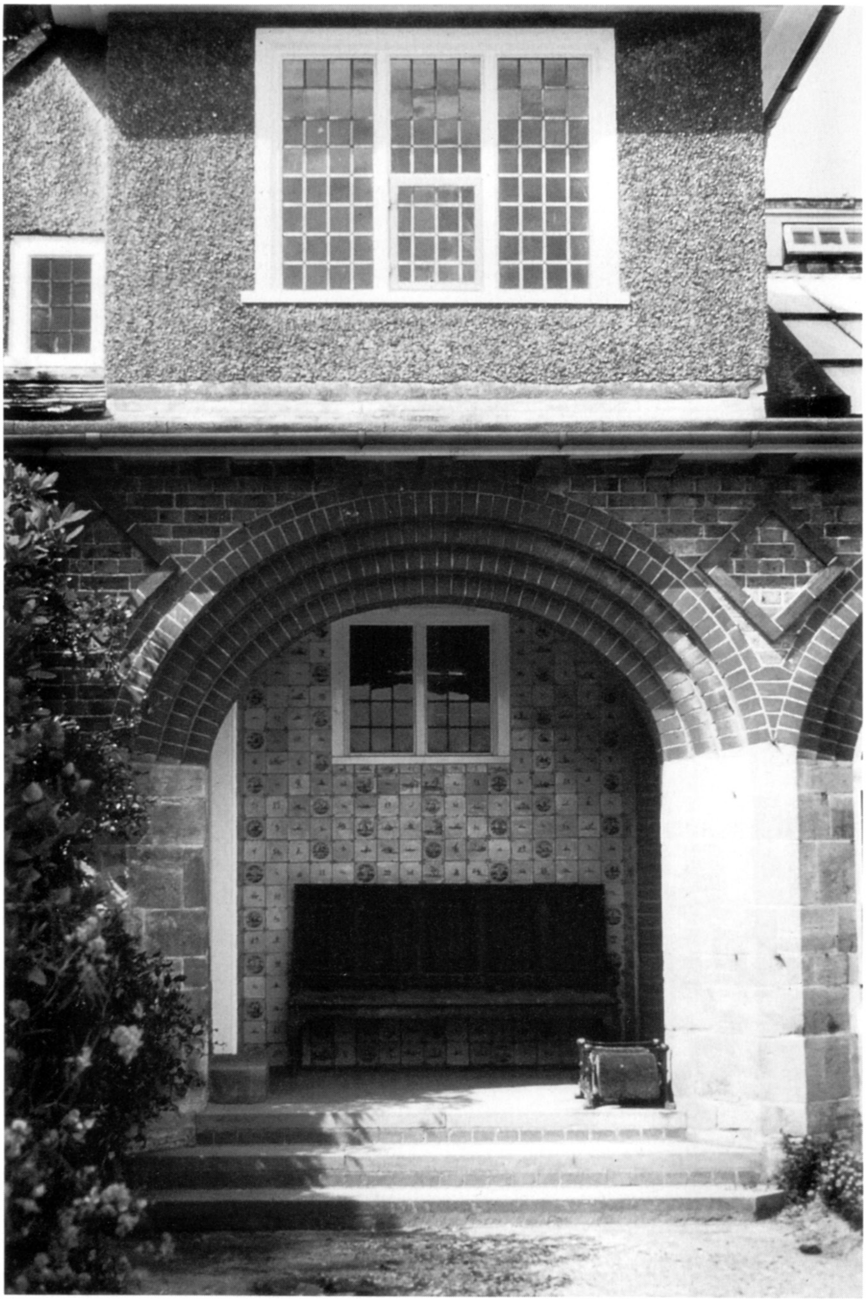


Figure 1.7 Southwest corner of Standen (J. S. Beale House), Sussex, England, 1891–94. Philip Webb, architect. (Photograph by Edward Teitelman, E225-R1.)

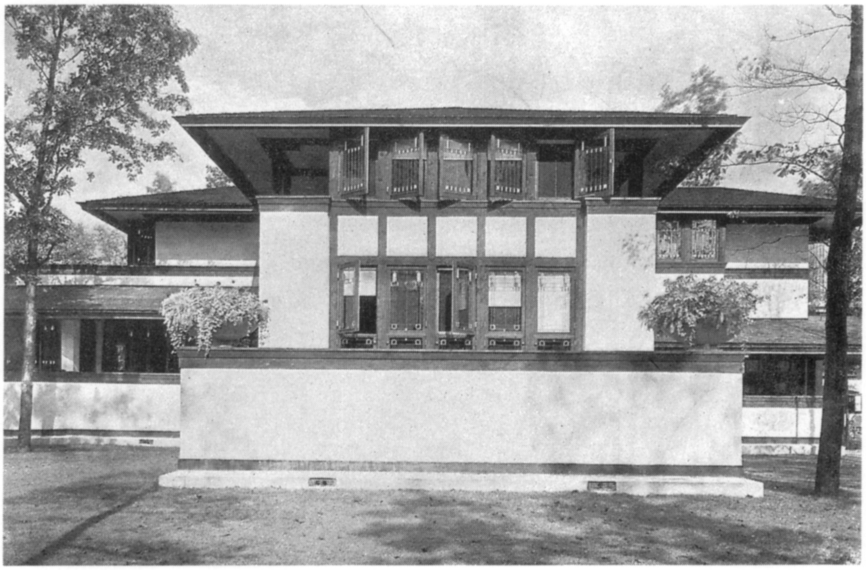


Figure 1.8 West front of living room, Ward W. Willits House, Highland Park, Illinois, 1902–03. Frank Lloyd Wright, architect. (Courtesy of the Frank Lloyd Wright Archives.)

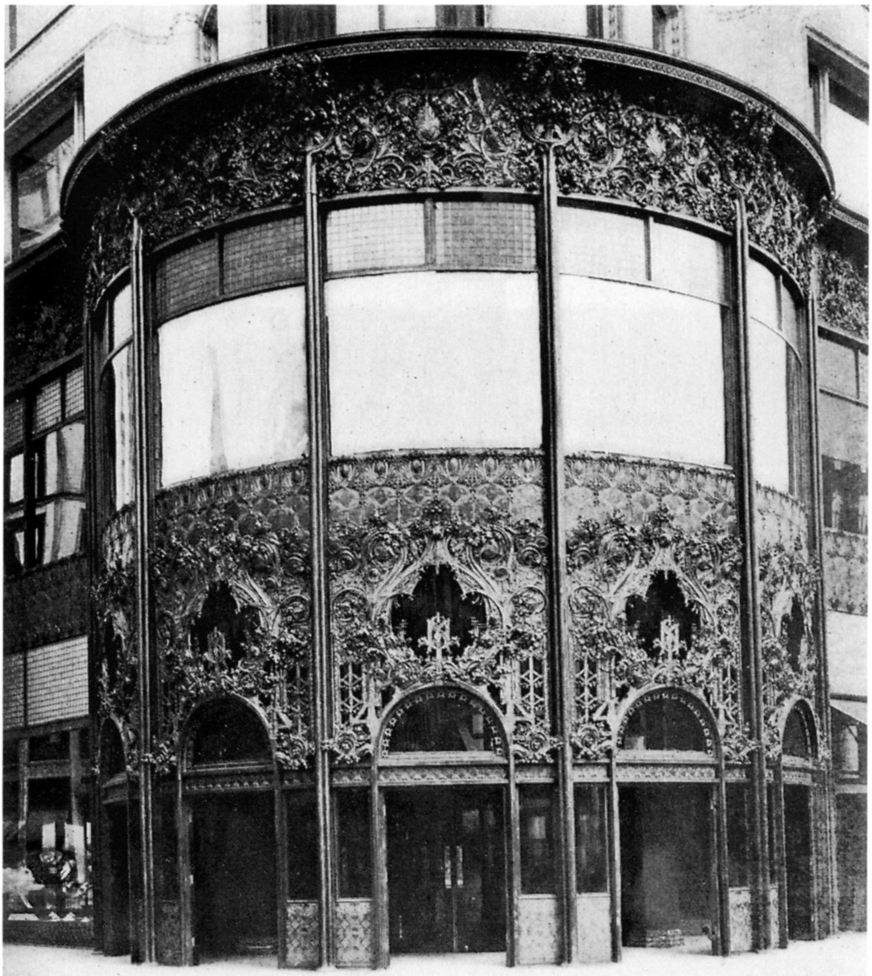
To 1901 Wright also sought a unity of exterior material in his prairie houses. The earlier English Arts and Crafts movement had favored a variety of handcrafted materials for the exteriors of domestic buildings. Thus, for example, a country house by Philip Webb, Morris's early collaborator, may have had stone, brick, tile, stucco, and wood in a single passage of walling (figure 1.7). By contrast, Wright developed cement's potential as a uniform exterior covering in many of his prairie houses of the period, such as the Willits House in Highland Park, Illinois, which he would design by spring 1902 (figure 1.8). Its cement plaster was the dominant exterior material. For Wright such covering was a marvelous simplifier that enabled "the artist to clothe the structural frame with a simple, modestly beautiful robe." Wright contrasted his approach with that of earlier Arts and Crafts architects who "dragged in . . . five different kinds of material to compose one little cottage, pettily arranging it in an aggregation supposed to be picturesque."[44]

Among the range of new techniques that Wright cited was "the process of modern casting in metal—one of the perfected modern machines, capable of any form to which fluid will flow, to perpetuate the imagery of the most delicately poetic mind without let or hindrance—within reach of everyone."[45] Wright thought that the nature of cast metal was appropriate for detailed ornamental relief. Wright had a firsthand familiarity with these innovations in metal casting because his first important domestic client, William Winslow, headed the Winslow Brothers' casting firm. They had executed the designs of Louis Sullivan and other Chicago architects in cast iron and bronze for many of the city's recent major commercial buildings. These included Sullivan's Schlesinger and Mayer store (figure 1.9), the first part of which had opened in December 1899.[46] In this and other nearby works, the Winslow Brothers had perfected new techniques whereby large ornamental panels of very thin cast iron could be used in storefronts to surround show windows along the sidewalk. In these ornamental panels, Sullivan worked closely with Winslow to insure that the delicacy of detail essential to Sullivan's ornamental style could be precisely replicated in the finished metalwork. To one observer of 1900, the result was a design "carried out in such rich ornamentation, the cartouches so delicate and well balanced, the lines of demarcation so carefully worked out, that it apparently expresses the climax of the capabilities of cast-iron and becomes a study for the student."[47]

By 1901, in Wright's own domestic architecture, he had explored modern processes of coloring and assembling stained glass, exemplified in the skylights he had designed for the entry hall to his own studio in Oak Park of 1898 (figure 1.10). The chromatic material is fused into the molten glass rather than applied to the finished glass by enameling or other modes of painting.[48] In this way, colored glass used by Wright returned to the methods of medieval glassmakers as advocated by William Morris. However, the capacities of the machine had transformed the ways in which the glass pieces could be cut and assembled. To make a panel of glass, most American manufacturers in 1900 still used relatively thick, hand-soldered cames of lead.[49] Yet, by then, a new means of making stained glass had led certain firms to abandon the heavy lead lines and assemble the glass with thin strips of sheet copper. The assembled art glass would be subjected to a chemical bath, wherein galvanic or electrochemical action would fuse the copper strips to the glass edges, with "a little shoulder of copper sufficient to unite the composition into practically a solid pane without at the same time making the copper bands sufficiently conspicuous to mar the beauty of the design."[50] In Chicago, William Winslow patented a version of such electroglazing in 1897.

Wright wrote that in 1901, traditional glass designers had shunned this technique of electroglazing because they depended on "the mass and blur of leading to conceal [their] lack of touch."[51] Wright often chose copper-plated zinc cames which were galvanically bonded to the glass pieces,[52] thus creating an elegant linear pattern of metal as a frame for the squares and rectangles of colored glass. In this way, Wright modified a medievally inspired technique to make skylights as light screens whose modern means of fabrication illustrated

Figure 1.9 Northwest corner entrance of the Schlesinger and Mayer store (later Carson Pirie Scott Building), Chicago, 1903. Louis Sullivan, architect. (Reprinted from *Architectural Record,* 16 [July 1904].)



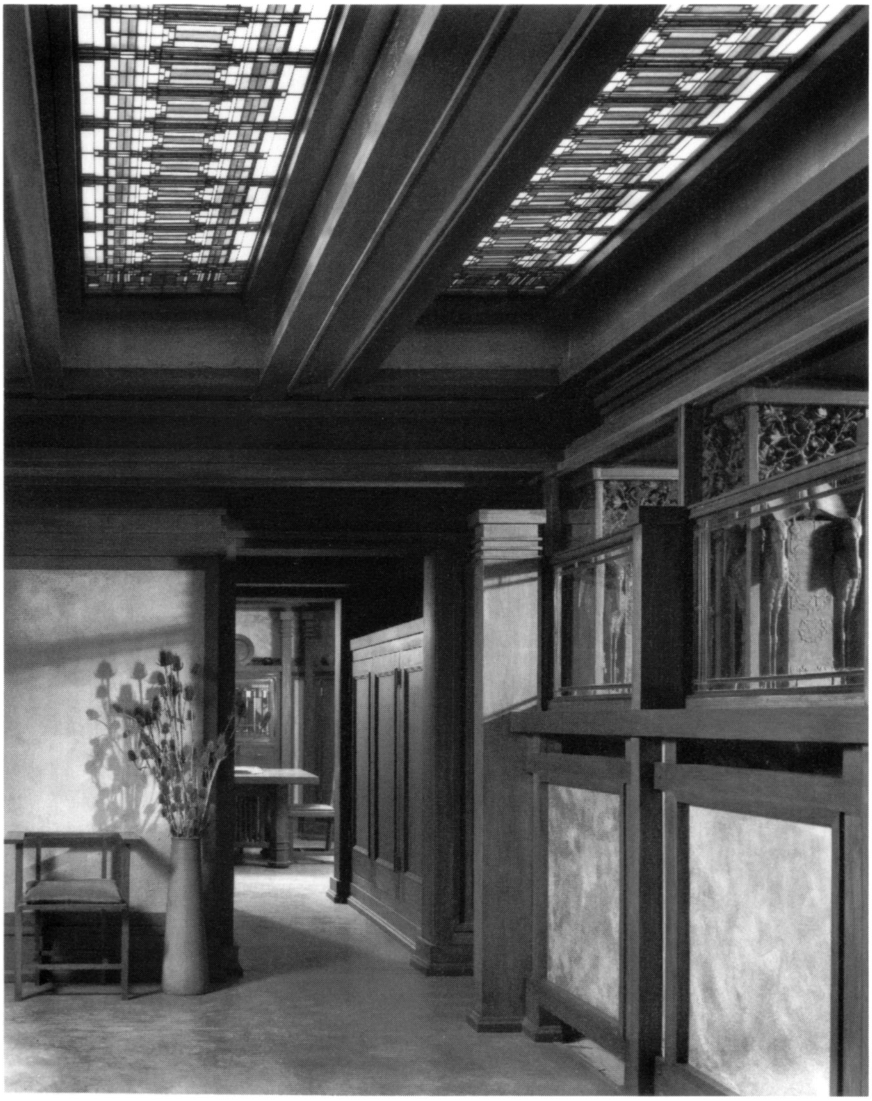


Figure 1.10 Reception hall of Frank Lloyd Wright's studio, Oak Park, Illinois, 1898. (Jon Miller, Hedrich Blessing.)

his ideal of an art and craft of the machine. In this period Wright said of his buildings: "The windows are provided with characteristic straight line patterns absolutely in the flat and usually severe. The nature of the glass is taken into account in these designs as is also the metal bar used in their construction. . . . The aim is that the designs shall make the best of the technical contrivances that produce them."[53]

In Wright's studio, glass pieces are all rectangular or square motifs which were to read as geometric abstractions of natural forms, like patterns of leaves against the sky. Wright combined greens, golds, and other earthen and foliate colors with small pieces of clear glass to create a richly varied yet integrated motif repeated through the length of the glass panel. The wealth of small rectilinear pieces in the panels was made possible by precise mechanical means for cutting the glass. Thus the skylight is not handcrafted but made possible by the machine. In 1900, one of Wright's colleagues in Chicago, architect George Dean, wrote in the journal of the Chicago Arts and Crafts Society that such a rectilinear pattern in colored glass was more appropriate than curvilinear designs because "the extremely brittle, crystal character of the material cries out against naturalism and leads one to sharp and severe outline."[54]

Educating the Modern Architect

Wright's references to new techniques of fabrication in architecture supported his contention that the machine had brought handmade art to the verge of its demise. Hence he advocated recasting the Chicago Arts and Crafts Society as a group dedicated not to the rejection of the machine, but to controlling its effects. In Wright's view, this meant that the society must "be made up of the people who are in the work—that is, the manufacturers. . . . Without the interest and co-operation of the manufacturers, the society cannot begin to do its work, for this is the corner-stone of its organization."[55] Instead of exhibits, members would make "excursions to factories and a study of processes in place—that is, the machine in processes too numerous to mention." The aim would not be to criticize the machine, nor to look for that which still approximated the handicraft ideal, but rather to familiarize members with techniques of production, for such "is the work expected of the modern artist."[56] In Wright's view, in 1901, "not one educational institution in America has as yet attempted to forge the connecting link between Science and Art by training the artist to his actual tools."[57] The preliminary problem was to give artists the "information nine-tenths of them lack concerning the tools they have to work with to-day—for tools to-day are processes and machines where they were once a hammer and a gouge."[58]

Wright envisioned the next step as setting up a modern arts and crafts shop which would be "an experimental station that would represent in miniature the elements of this great pulsating web of the machine, where each pregnant process or significant tool in printing, lithography, galvano-electro processes, wood and steel working machinery, muffles and kilns would have its place and where the best young scientific blood could mingle with the best and truest artistic inspiration, to sound the depths of these things, to accord to them the patient, sympathetic treatment that is their due."[59] In Wright's view, the artist had a crucial role to play in discovering the aesthetic possibilities of new means of fabrication. The artist's intuitive abilities, or prophetic insight, would expand the machine's potential to create elegant form. For Wright, the artist was a person "who can truthfully idealize the common sense of these tendencies." He concluded that "we must look to the artist brain, of all brains, to grasp the significance to society of this thing we call the Machine."[60]

In Chicago the short-lived variation on Wright's vision was Triggs's Industrial Art League, which existed only until 1904. Yet its workshops were to be controlled by craftsmen, and remained focused in part on enhancement of handwork.[61] Wright's proposal to conjoin art and industry approximated the broader program of the Deutscher Werkbund founded in 1907 to bring artists and manufacturers together to improve the aesthetic quality of German products. Wright's educational ideal also anticipated that of the Bauhaus, whose aims from 1923 focused on Gropius's concept of "Art and Technology: A New Unity."[62] In 1901 a similar program came to the mind of one of Wright's listeners, Emil Lorch, then affiliated with the architectural school at the Art Institute of Chicago, who heard "The Art and Craft of the Machine" at the Western Society of Engineers. Lorch, who had seen German schools for craftsmen, responded to Wright's talk by proposing that there "be a much closer relation for architectural students between the schools of engineering and those of painting, sculpture and decorative design."[63]

Wright concluded by claiming that the ultimate field of application for artistic ideals would be a reshaping of the new industrial city, "this greatest of machines."[64] In an added chapter to *Nôtre-Dame de Paris,* entitled "Paris à vol de l'oiseau," Victor Hugo had chosen an imaginary bird's-eye view of the late medieval Paris of the fourteenth century to present his vision of the city as a social organism focused on the monumental architecture of its cathedral. Perhaps in allusion to Hugo's vantage point, Wright closed "The Art and Craft of the Machine" by inviting his audience to imagine the view at nightfall of the electrically lit cityscape from the top of a great downtown office building. Surveying the panorama of an industrial metropolis, Wright wrote that "you may see how in the image of material man, at once his glory and his menace, is this thing we call a city."[65] Wright described Chicago as an organism of innumerable, connected industrial processes extending out into the prairie. In his view, "the pulse of activity in this great city . . . is thrilling." Into this organism, through their mastery of its machines, "the forces of Art are to breathe the thrill of ideality!"[66]

Wright's statement of 1901 has been interpreted as an early formulation of the modern movement's attempt to unite architectural art and mechanized industry. This theme was to inspire buildings and writings through the interwar years of the 1920s and 1930s. In this light, "The Art and Craft of the Machine" was a prescient forerunner of statements by Mies van der Rohe and Le Corbusier, as well as Gropius, who were to develop the poetic potential of a machine aesthetic. Yet the prophetic quality of Wright's position, articulated twenty years before those of these younger modernists, had its roots in industrial production, architectural culture, and social reform whose convergence was reshaping his art in the Chicago of 1900. In this context, Wright's position marked an artful navigation through existing networks of concern. These did not serve as a mold to which his ideas conformed, but rather as an anvil on which he was free to hammer out an original and foresighted program. As a text engaged with and critical of its various contexts, "The Art and Craft of the Machine" was Wright's inspired response to the opportunities of the opening century. In this statement, he was able to reconcile his aesthetic ideals with industrial modernity.

Notes

Stanford Anderson first stimulated my thinking about "The Art and Craft of the Machine," in the course of my pre-dissertation oral examination at MIT, on 28 October 1982. For this and much else, I am grateful to him.

1. Wright's "The Art and Craft of the Machine" was first published in the *Catalogue of the Fourteenth Annual Exhibition of the Chicago Architectural Club* (Chicago: Chicago Architectural Club, 1901), and in the journal of the Chicago Arts and Crafts Society, *Brush and Pencil,* 8 (May 1901): 77–90. Another version with an additional prefatory section and two responses to Wright's ideas was published in the *Journal of the Western Society of Engineers,* 6 (July/August 1901): 354–69. A third altered version appeared in the Daughters of the [American] Revolution, Illinois, *The New Industrialism,* (Chicago: National League of Industrial Art, 1902), pt. 3, 79–111. Wright revised "The Art and Craft of the Machine" for inclusion in his lectures, *Modern Architecture, Being the Kahn Lectures for 1930* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1931), 7–23. This revision was later reprinted in Lewis Mumford, ed., *Roots of Contemporary American Architecture* (New York: Dover Publications, 1952), 169–85; Wright, *The Future of Architecture* (New York: Horizon Press, 1953), 68–90; and Edgar Kaufmann, Jr., and Ben Raeburn, eds., *Frank Lloyd Wright: Writings and Buildings* (Cleveland:

World Publishing, 1960), 55–73. The version given at Hull House in 1901 was reprinted in Bruce B. Pfeiffer, ed., *Frank Lloyd Wright: Collected Writings, I: 1894–1930* (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), 58–69.

A list of Wright's unpublished manuscript versions of "The Art and Craft of the Machine," and related essays, is in Narciso Menocal, "Frank Lloyd Wright as the Anti-Victor Hugo," in *American Public Architecture: European Roots and Native Expressions,* eds. Craig Zabel and Susan Scott Munshower (University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989), 149. Frederick Gutheim, ed., *Frank Lloyd Wright on Architecture, Selected Writings: 1894–1940* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1941), 23–24, 26–28, had also published excerpts from what Gutheim identified as the texts of "The Art and Craft of the Machine" that Wright had delivered at Hull House and to the Chicago chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

In his handwritten annotations to a copy of "The Art and Craft of the Machine" in the *Catalogue of the Fourteenth Annual Exhibition of the Chicago Architectural Club* of 1901 [Frank Lloyd Wright Archives, Ms. 2401.491], Wright wrote: "First delivered at Hull House by request of Jane Addams about 1894–5[?] on occasion of F.LL.W. having left Adler and Sullivan, and setting up his own practice in the Schiller Building Chicago 1893–94." In his handwritten annotations, dated 24 November 1950, to a typescript of "The Art and Craft of the Machine" [Frank Lloyd Wright Archives, Ms. 2401.002], Wright also wrote: "A paper read at Hull House, Chicago by request of Jane Addams 1893–4. A year previously I had lettered my name in gold leaf on a plate glass door in the Schiller Building [?] ARCHITECT." In a typewritten note accompanying this typescript, Wright recalled:

> As already indicated in the text, this paper was read at a meeting of an incipient Art and Craft [sic] Society (the second) at Hull House, 1893–4. To this meeting I brought several and invited more of the men actually building Chicago in their factories. I also brought a contractor or two.
>
> The previous meeting had been dominated by Professors Zeublin and Triggs of Chicago University. Mine was of course a minority report and had been requested by Jane Addams herself. I read my plea at the desk of the then new Hull House Auditorium. Immediately [after] I had finished my reading, Triggs and Zeublin (both distinguished disciples of Ruskin and Morris) jumped to their feet to demolish my argument. Their eloquence must have been convincing because the incipient society voted to go traditional handicraft. The only one I had wholly convinced was Jane Addams. Yes. Well—the society went hopelessly handicraft to pound the fingers and suck them, in company. The society came to exactly nothing in the end. My Arts and Crafts Society had never yet been formed. But I had gone into one all by myself where I needed no argument and could carry on. F.L1.W.

Wright's recollections that he first delivered "The Art and Craft of the Machine" at Hull House in 1893–94 may not be accurate. The Chicago Arts and Crafts Society was not formed until October 1897 [*Hull-House Bulletin,* 2 (1 December 1897)]. The building containing Hull House's new auditorium was only finished and formally opened in October 1899 [*Hull-House Bulletin,* 3 (November/December 1899)].

Wright later discussed his presentation of "The Art and Craft of the Machine" at Hull House in *An Autobiography* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1932), 29. In this passage, Wright wrote that he delivered the paper at Hull House after the formation of the Chicago Arts and Crafts Society, which occurred in 1897. He relates the paper to his association with other young architects in Chicago's Steinway Hall, built in 1896–97, and to his work on the Ward Willits House in Highland Park of 1902–03. Wright had explored the ideas of "The Art and Craft of the Machine," in his earliest known paper of 1894, perhaps retrospectively titled "The Architect and the Machine," and in his "Architect, Architecture, and the Client" (1896), and "The Architect" (1900). See Pfeiffer, ed., *Wright: Collected Writings,* vol. 1, 24–25, 28, 52.

Accounts of Wright's statement include H. Allen Brooks, "Chicago Architecture: Its Debt to the Arts and Crafts," in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* 30 (December 1971): 315; David A. Hanks, *The Decorative Designs of Frank Lloyd Wright* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1979), 63–67; "Frank Lloyd Wright's 'The Art and Craft of the Machine,'" *Frank Lloyd Wright Newsletter,* 2 (1979): 6–9; and "Frank Lloyd Wright's 'Art and Craft of the Machine,'" in *Victorian Furniture: Essays from a Victorian Society Autumn Symposium,* ed. Kenneth L. Ames, published in *Nineteenth Century* 8 (1982), 205–11; Jean Castex, *Le Printemps de la Prairie House* (Brussels: Pierre Mardaga, 1985), 100–103; Joseph Connors, "Wright on Nature and the Machine," in *The Nature of Frank Lloyd Wright,* eds. Carol R. Bolon, Robert S. Nelson, and Linda Seidel (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 9–12; and Richard Guy Wilson, "Chicago and the International Arts and Crafts Movements: Progressive and Conservative Tendencies," in *Chicago Architecture 1872–1922: Birth of a Metropolis,* ed. John Zukowsky (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1987), 214–15.

2. Wright's name appeared among those of the founders of the Chicago Arts and Crafts Society, as published in the *Catalogue of the Eleventh Annual Exhibition of the Chicago Architectural Club* (Chicago, 1898), 119–21. The original publication of "The Art and Craft of the Machine" in the *Catalogue of the Fourteenth Annual Exhibition of the Chicago Architectural Club* noted its date of initial presentation as [Wednesday,] 6 March 1901. Yet Jane Addams recorded in her diary that "Mr. Wright's paper" was "presented and debated" at Hull House on Friday, 1 March 1901. [Swarthmore College Peace Collection, The Jane Addams Papers, Diary 14 (1901), Microfilm Reel 29, Frame 710.] The lecture series was noted in "Chicago Arts and Crafts Society," *Hull-House Bulletin,* 4 (1 January–1 May 1901): 10–11. Other speakers included Chicago architect Dwight Perkins (then Wright's co-architect for the Abraham Lincoln Center) on arts and crafts at the Paris exhibition of 1900, and printer R. R. Donnelly on the possibilities of the Chicago press. The final speaker was Prince Kropotkin of Russia on industrial organization. See George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic, *The Anarchist Prince* (London: T. V. Boardman, 1952), 284–85.

Wright's collaborator in this period, sculptor Richard W. Bock, in his *Memoirs of an American Artist: Sculptor Richard W. Bock,* ed. Dorothai Bock Pierre (Los Angeles: C. C. Publishing, 1989), 92, recalled: "Wright had been preparing himself for the art of public speaking, so that he could present his thesis about architecture to the world. His premise was that 'form follows function.' He wrote, he talked, he preached, and he debated the subject, especially to his office force. When all of his thoughts had been clarified and written up, it was in the form of a long scroll. Miss Roberts, who worked in his office, then proceeded to type it up in a more presentable form. This manuscript was then presented to the public, at Hullhouse [sic]." Bock recalled that those present at Wright's talk were Jane Addams, Professor Zueblin of the University of Chicago, architects Hugh M. Garden and Birch Burdette Long, Wright's office staff (meaning Marion Mahoney, Walter Burley Griffin, William Drummond, and Isabel Roberts), Wright's wife Catherine, and Bock and his wife.

Among these listeners, Professor Charles Zueblin (1866–1924) of the University of Chicago was an earlier lecturer in the series, speaking on decoration of public buildings. As president of the American League for Civic Improvement, Zueblin's principal writings included *American Municipal Progress: Chapters in Municipal Sociology* (New York: Macmillan, 1902) and *A Decade of Civic Development* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1905). He also gave an address, "The Bearing of Art on Industry," published in *National Education Association, Journal of Proceedings and Addresses,* (1908), 808–13.

Architect Hugh Garden (1873–1961) had executed drawings for Wright from 1896, and was a central contributor to the life of the Chicago Architectural Club. See Bernard C. Greengard, "Hugh M. G. Garden," *Prairie School Review,* 3 (first quarter 1966): 5–18. See also Garden, "The Influence of the New Thought in Design on Architecture," *Inland Architect and News Record,* 62 (December 1903): 35–36. Birch Burdette Long was a well-known renderer for Wright and other Chicago architects around 1900. See Brooks, *The Prairie School: Frank Lloyd Wright and His Midwest Contemporaries* (1972; New York: W. W. Norton, 1976), 30, 37, 43, 50 n.

Wright read another version of "The Art and Craft of the Machine" two weeks later, on Wednesday, 20 March, to the Western Society of Engineers in Chicago. The Hull House version recurred, yet for the engineers Wright added a new preface emphasizing his opposition to what he cited as the current debilitating conditions of architecture's dependence on historical tradition, and of art's opposition to machines. He framed his position as an alternative effort to integrate aesthetic ideals and mechanical ingenuity. As presented to these engineers, Wright's talk was "illustrated by lantern slides of certain notable buildings, complete or in process of construction." See Wright, "The Art and Craft of the Machine," *Journal of the Western Society of Engineers,* 6 (July/August 1901): 354–55, and "Abstracts of Minutes of the Society," special meeting, 20 March 1901, ibid., (March/April 1901): 176.

3. Oscar Lovell Triggs, "The Industrial Art League," *House Beautiful,* 11 (February 1902): 198, reprinted in Triggs, *Chapters in the History of the Arts and Crafts Movement* (Chicago: Bohemian Guild of the Arts and Crafts, 1902), appendix 2, 197. In this effort, Triggs pursued one of the central aims of the Chicago Arts and Crafts Society. It was constituted "to consider the present state of the factories and the workmen therein, and to devise lines of development which shall retain the machine in so far as it relieves the workman from drudgery, and tends to perfect his product; but which shall insist that the machine no longer be allowed to dominate the workman and reduce his production to a mechanical distortion." Chicago Arts and Crafts Society, constitution, adopted 31 October 1897, in *Catalogue of the Eleventh Annual Exhibition of the Chicago Architectural Club* (Chicago, 1898), 118. See also

"Chicago Arts and Crafts Society," *Hull-House Bulletin,* 2 (1 December 1897); 9. This intention echoed Jane Addams's concern for the lives of working people, as in her "Educational Methods," in *Democracy and Social Ethics* (New York: Macmillan, 1905), 178–220.

4. Triggs, "Arts and Crafts," *Brush and Pencil,* 1 (December 1897): 48. Triggs developed his ideas in the book, *Chapters in the History of the Arts and Crafts Movement,* op. cit., to which was appended two earlier addresses: "A Proposal for a Guild and School of Handicraft," delivered to the annual meeting of the Industrial Art League, Chicago, 23 November 1901, and "The Industrial Art League," as in note 3. Triggs's later writings included "The Future of the 'Arts and Crafts Movement,'" *Independent,* 55 (January/February 1902): 2449–52; "The Workshop and School," *Craftsman,* 3 (October 1902): 20–32; "The New Industrialism," ibid. (November 1902): 93–106; "Notes from the Conference of the Industrial Arts League," ibid. (December 1902): 121–25; "A School of Industrial Art," ibid. (January 1903): 215–23; "Arts and Crafts Movement," *Current Literature,* [New York] 36 (February 1904): 203–4; and *The Changing Order: A Study of Democracy* (Chicago: O. L. Triggs, 1905).

Triggs's views on art and machines compared closely with those of Morris, who considered the relations between art, the workingman, and the machine in these lectures and essays: "Art, Wealth, and Riches" (1883), "Art and Socialism: The Aims and Ideals of the English Socialists of To-day" (1884), "Art Under Plutocracy" (1884), "The Revival of Handicraft" (1888), and "Art and its Producers" (1888). *Architecture, Industry and Wealth: Collected Papers by William Morris* (London: Longmans, Green, 1902), 80–104, 105–32, 164–97, 214–27, and *The Collected Works of William Morris* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1966), vol. 22, 342–55. Longmans, Green, New York, also published the first edition of Frank Lloyd Wright's *An Autobiography* in 1932.

5. On Ashbee's School and Guild of Handicraft, see Alan Crawford, *C. R. Ashbee: Architect, Designer and Romantic Socialist* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1985), 23–41. On Addams's response to Toynbee Hall, and arts and crafts at Hull House, see Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull-House* (New York: Macmillan, 1909), 87–88, 375–76.

6. Wright, Lecture, Hull House, Chicago, 8 November 1939. Esther Kohn Papers, Hull House Miscellaneous Papers, vol. 1, 1. Jane Addams Memorial Collection, Department of Special Collections, University of Illinois at Chicago Library. Quoted in Lloyd C. Engelbrecht, "The Association of Arts and Industries: Background and Origins of the Bauhaus Movement in Chicago," Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1973, 5–6. Other parts of Wright's 1939 lecture appeared in Gutheim, ed., *Wright: Selected Writings,* 261–65.

7. The Ashbee Journals, King's College Library, Cambridge, 8 December 1900, quoted in Crawford, "Ten Letters from Frank Lloyd Wright to Charles Robert Ashbee," *Architectural History,* 13 (1970): 64, and *C. R. Ashbee,* 98. Ashbee paraphrased Wright's position in Ashbee, "American Architecture," *Munsey's Magazine,* 26 (October 1901): 8–9. In *An Autobiography* (1932), 29, Wright recalled that Zueblin and Triggs, and architects and craftsmen, had opposed his ideas, while Jane Addams and Julia Lathrop supported them.

8. Wright, "The Architect" (1900), in Pfeiffer, ed., *Wright: Collected Writings,* vol. 1, 45.

9. Ibid., 46.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid., 50.

12. Ibid., 52.

13. Louis Sullivan, Kindergarten Chat XLII: "What Is an Architect?" *Kindergarten Chats and Other Writings,* ed. Isabella Athey (New York: George Wittenborn, 1947), 140. See also Sullivan, Kindergarten Chat XLIX: "The Art of Expression," ibid., 164.

14. "The New Schlesinger and Mayer Building, Chicago," *Brickbuilder,* 12 (May 1903): 101. Sullivan's later account of technical progress in Chicago building appeared in his "Development of Construction," *Economist,* 55 (24 June 1916): 1252; 56 (1 July 1916): 39–40, published in Robert Twombly, ed., *Louis Sullivan: The Public Papers* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988): 211–22.

15. Louis Gibson, "The Machine in Art," *Brush and Pencil,* 1 (March 1898): 202.

16. Ibid.

17. Dankmar Adler, "Influence of Steel Construction and Plate Glass Upon the Development of Modern Style," *Inland Architect and News Record,* 28 (November 1896): 35, published as "Function and Environment," in *Roots of Contemporary American Architecture,* ed. Lewis Mumford, 247, as in note 1.

18. Adler, "Influence of Steel Construction," 35.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid., 36. On the local manufacturers and craftsmen of different architectural materials who worked under Adler and Sullivan's direction on the Chicago Auditorium, see Edward R. Garczynski, *The Auditorium* (Chicago: Exhibit Publishing, 1890), 15. On this monument, see recently Robert Twombly, *Louis Sullivan: His Life and Work* (New York: Viking Penguin/Elisabeth Sifton Books, 1986), 161–95.

21. Wright, "Art and Craft of the Machine," in Pfeiffer, *Wright: Collected Writings,* vol. 1, 59.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid.

25. Mention of the stonecutters' strike in Chicago and its relation to the terra cotta industry appears in *Brickbuilder,* 7 (June 1898): 129, and (July 1898): 148. On the relation of the stonecutters' labor actions to the use of machinery for stonecutting in Chicago, see [United

States Industrial Commission], *Report of the Industrial Commission on the Chicago Labor Disputes of 1900, with Especial Reference to the Disputes in the Building and Machinery Trades* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1901), lxxv-lxxvi, 132–33, 211–19, 355–61, 398–93. On the efficiencies of mechanized stoneworking, see also *Hand and Machine Labor,* Thirteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Labor, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1899), 319–26, 414–18.

In an unpublished version of "The Art and Craft of the Machine" [Frank Lloyd Wright Archives, Ms. 2401.007, pp. 13–15], Wright refers to the stonecutters' strike as a case of the machine rendering handicraft obsolete. Wright described the then new sawing machines for cutting stone, concluding:

> These new gang saws have made it possible to cut a block of marble ten feet long, six feet deep and two feet thick, into slabs of the size 1/8″ in thickness in eight hours, making marble possible as an exquisite wall covering in which the slabs as a veneer may be turned and matched at the edges to develop pattern, emancipating hundreds of superficial feet of color and marking that formerly were wasted in the heart of the block; making possible a distinctly new use to bring out the beauty of this material, impossible to handicraft. But what happened? The artist persists in taking a dishonest advantage of this machine and building up an imitation of solid piers with molded caps and bases, mitreing them cunningly at the edges until detection is difficult except to the trained eye. His method does not change to suit the new technical possibility,—no, he is simply enabled to make more piers and columns,—for he can now make them hollow. His architecture becomes a fake, because his forms not only tell of the methods which used to be and belie the method that is, but cheat progress of its aim. Witness the Congressional Library, the Boston Library or any Art Institute.

26. On the Chicago bricklayers' strike of 1883 and its possible relation to Jenney's innovative construction of the Home Insurance Building, see Henry Ericsson, *Sixty Years a Builder* (1942; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1972), 67–71, 216–9. Recent studies of this monument include Theodore Turak, "Remembrances of the Home Insurance Building," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* 44 (March 1985): 60–65; idem., *William Le Baron Jenney: A Pioneer of Modern Architecture* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1986), 237–63; Gerald R. Larson and Roula Geraniotas, "Toward a Better Understanding of the Iron Skeleton Frame in Chicago," *J.S.A.H.,* 46 (March 1987): 39–48, and Larson, "The Iron Skeleton Frame: Interactions Between Europe and the United States," in *Chicago Architecture 1872–1922: The Birth of a Metropolis,* ed. Zukowsky (Munich: Prestel-Verlag, 1987), 39–56.

On the Bricklayers and Stonemasons Union, see Royal E. Montgomery, *Industrial Relations in Chicago Building Trades* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1923), 23; Bessie L. Pierce, *A History of Chicago,* 3 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), vol. 3, 262–63, 537, and Illinois Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Fourth Biennial Report, 1886* (Springfield, Ill., 1886), 172, 179, 196, 369. The strike of 1883, and its sequels of 1886 and 1887, were noted in *Report of Industrial Commission,* 366, 476, 479. See also editorials in *Inland*

Architect and Builder, 1 (March 1883): 15–16; (April 1883): 32; (May 1883): 48; (June 1883): 62; 2 (August 1883): 89; and "Review of Chicago Building for 1883," 2 (January 1884): 154–55. On architecture and bricklaying in Chicago, see George Beaumont, "Brickwork," and the Bricklayers Union Committee to Beaumont, 8 April 1886, *Inland Architect and Builder,* 7 (May 1886): 61–64.

27. Sullivan, foreword to *Suggestions in Artistic Brick* (St. Louis: Hydraulic-Press Brick Co., c. 1910), reprinted in Twombly, ed., *Sullivan: Public Papers,* 201, wrote: "There are many instances in modern building construction where the use of a clean-cut mechanically pressed brick is desirable. Particularly so perhaps for large office buildings and structures where exact surfaces and lines are desired." The Wainwright Building's rental pamphlet of 1891 noted: "Commencing with the third story the faces of the building are red pressed brick, with ornamental trimmings on the pilasters and in the panels between the window heads and sills." See also "St. Louis Pressed Brick," supplement, *Inland Architect and Builder,* 4 (January 1885), and *Catalogue of Molded and Ornamental Pressed Brick Made by the Chicago Anderson Pressed Brick Company* (Chicago, 1887), which made brick for Adler and Sullivan's Troescher Building (1884) and Burnham and Root's Rookery Building (1885–87). See also Ericsson, *Sixty Years A Builder,* 225, 255, and Cecil D. Elliott, *Technics and Architecture: The Development of Materials and Systems for Building* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1992), 38–41. Wright cited the Wainwright in his annotations to a copy of "The Art and Craft of the Machine" in the *Catalogue of the Fourteenth Annual Exhibition of the Chicago Architectural Club* of 1901 [Frank Lloyd Wright Archives, Ms. 2401.491] and in an unpublished version of the text [Frank Lloyd Wright Archives, Ms. 2401.002].

28. "Technical Review of the Interesting Development of the Building Arts," supplement to *Inland Architect and News Record,* 34 (January 1900): 1.

29. Ibid.

30. Wright, "Art and Craft of the Machine," in Pfeiffer, ed., *Wright: Collected Writings,* vol. 1, 60.

31. Ibid., 62.

32. Ibid.

33. Ibid., 63.

34. Ibid. George M. R. Twose, "Steel and Terra Cotta Buildings in Chicago, and Some Deductions," *Brickbuilder,* 3 (January 1894): 1, had similarly written of terra cotta as the material which would "at last permit steel construction to have an architectural expression of its own," equivalent to, yet not imitative of, historic architectures. In his account of "Architecture in Chicago: Adler and Sullivan" (1896), Montgomery Schuyler had written of the Guaranty Building: "I know of no steel-framed building in which the metallic construction is more palpably felt through the envelope of baked clay. The designer has in this respect fully availed himself of the plasticity of his enclosing material." Schuyler, *American*

Architecture and Other Writings, 2 vols, eds. William H. Jordy and Ralph Coe (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1961), vol. 2, 393.

On Northwestern Terra Cotta Company's use of its masons to set terra cotta cladding, see Sharon F. Darling, *Chicago Ceramics and Glass: An Illustrated History from 1871 to 1933* (Chicago: Chicago Historical Society, 1979), 165. The same company supplied and set the terra cotta for D. H. Burnham & Co.'s Fisher Building in Chicago, also of 1895, of which it was claimed "here, for what we believe to be the first time in human experience, one of the highest commercial buildings in the world has been erected almost without bricks." Bricks were used solely "in backing up and strengthening parts of the terra cotta fronts. *Only two bricklayers were employed at any time in this part of the work.*" ["Technical Review, The Fisher Building," special supplement, *Inland Architect and News Record,* 27 (May 1896).]

35. The relationship of terra cotta's characteristics as a material to its usage as cladding in the form of classical columns is discussed in Charles U. Thrall, "Terra Cotta: Its Character and Construction, I," *Brickbuilder,* 18 (October 1909): 204–6. See also "Design and Construction of Terra Cotta Columns," *Brickbuilder,* 8 (September 1899): 176–8.

In 1898, a collaborator of Root and Sullivan, Fritz Wagner, head of Northwestern Terra Cotta Company, sponsored a competition for the members of the Chicago Architectural Club "to develop a terra cotta column, not merely a modification of the accepted examples of stone architecture but an entirely new treatment, recognizing the peculiar qualities of the material in question." See "Chicago Architectural Club Competition," *Construction News,* 7 (26 October 1898): 446. The competition's program noted that as "finished [terra cotta] pieces vary slightly in size and precision of form, it is almost impossible to build up a large column enriched with hollow fluting, and at the same time maintain a clean alignment and elegant sweep of hollow and arris attainable in stone." The winning designs were published in *Inland Architect and News Record,* 32 (December 1898): 49–50. See also Fritz Wagner, "Hints on Design in Terra Cotta," *Brickbuilder,* 12 (June 1903): 119–24. Earlier, Wagner had aided John Wellborn Root in his translations of Gottfried Semper's, "The Development of Style," *Inland Architect and News Record,* 14 (December 1889): 76–78; ibid., 15 (February 1890): 5–6; and ibid. (March 1890): 32–33. On Wagner, see "A Factor in the City Beautiful," *Brick and Clay Record,* 44 (16 June 1914): 1364, and Walter Geer, *The Story of Terra Cotta* (New York: Tobias A. Wright, 1920), 297.

36. Wright, "Art and Craft of the Machine," in Pfeiffer, ed., *Wright: Collected Writings,* vol. 1, 63.

37. Ibid., 64.

38. Ibid.

39. Ibid., 63.

40. Ibid. An example of the type of woodworking machinery that Wright denounced was that devised by a French inventor to carve complicated moldings with noncontinuous profiles. See "Machine for Carving Wood Moldings," *Scientific American Supplement,* no. 1437 (18 July 1903): 23024.

41. Wright, "Art and Craft of the Machine," in Pfeiffer, ed., *Wright: Collected Writings,* vol. 1, 65.

42. Ibid.

43. On the dining room of the Carson House, see Benjamin Sacks, *Carson Mansion and Ingomar Theatre* (Fresno, Calif.: Valley Publishers, 1979), 57–59. See also David Gebhard, Hariette Von Breton, and Robert Winter, *Samuel and Joseph Cather Newsom: Victorian Architectural Imagery in California 1878–1909* (Santa Barbara, Calif.: University of California, Santa Barbara Art Museum, 1979), note 85.

44. Wright, "Art and Craft of the Machine," in Pfeiffer, ed., *Wright: Collected Writings,* vol. 1, 65. On Webb's variation of materials in Standen, see Peter Davey, *Architecture of the Arts and Crafts Movement* (New York: Rizzoli, 1980), 34–37. On Wright's use of cement over wood frame in houses of this period, see Sanford E. Thompson, "The Coming of the Concrete Age," *Suburban Life,* 7 (1908): 116; Charles E. White, Jr., "Insurgent Architecture in the Middle West," *Country Life in America,* 22 (1912): 15–18, and "The Best Way to Use Cement," *House Beautiful,* 34 (1913): 130–34. See also David Handlin, *The American Home: Architecture and Society, 1815–1915* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1979), 299–302.

45. Wright, "Art and Craft of the Machine," in Pfeiffer, ed., *Wright: Collected Writings,* vol. 1, 65.

46. The Winslow Brothers documented their achievements in metalwork in the firm's own publications, beginning with the monthly *Ornamental Iron,* (August 1893–May 1895) and later in two extensive catalogues: *Photographs and Sketches of Ornamental Iron and Bronze Executed by The Winslow Bros. Company* (Chicago, 1901), and *Ornamental Iron and Bronze* (Chicago, 1910). See also Hugh W. Coleman, "American Art Industries—I: Ornamental Iron-Work," *Brush and Pencil,* 7 (October 1900): 22–34, and Hanks, *Decorative Designs of Frank Lloyd Wright,* 223–24. On Winslow as one of Wright's early residential clients, see Leonard K. Eaton, "W. H. Winslow and the Winslow House," *Prairie School Review,* 1 (third quarter 1964): 12–14. On metalwork along the base of the Schlesinger and Mayer store, see Siry, *Carson Pirie Scott: Louis Sullivan and the Chicago Department Store* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 95–97, 173–78.

47. "Architecture in the Shopping District," *Inland Architect and News Record,* 34 (January 1900): 47.

48. Kirk D. Henry, "American Art Industries—III: Stained Glass Work," *Brush and Pencil,* 7 (December 1900): 149–54.

49. Henry, "Stained Glass Work," 162. See also Sharon S. Darling, *Chicago Ceramics and Glass: An Illustrated History from 1871 to 1933* (Chicago: Chicago Historical Society, 1979), 120–28.

50. Henry, "Stained Glass Work," 162. See also Arthur Louis Duthie, *Decorative Glass Processes* (1911; reprint, New York: Dover Publications, 1982), 216–19. On Winslow, and elec-

troglazing, see Dietrich Neumann, "'The Century's Triumph in Lighting': The Luxfer Prism Companies and their Contribution to Early Modern Architecture," *J.S.A.H.*, 54 (March 1995): 26–27, and Kenneth Frampton, "Modernization and Mediation: Frank Lloyd Wright and the Impact of Technology," in *Frank Lloyd Wright: Architect,* ed. Terence Riley (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1993), 63–64.

51. Wright, "Art and Craft of the Machine," in Pfeiffer, ed., *Wright, Collected Writings,* vol. 1, 65.

52. On techniques for fabrication of Wright's art glass, see Hanks, *Decorative Designs of Frank Lloyd Wright,* 56–58, and Edgar Kaufmann, Jr., "Frank Lloyd Wright at the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin,* 40 (fall 1982): 34.

53. Wright, "In the Cause of Architecture," *Architectural Record,* 23 (March 1908): 161.

54. George R. Dean, "A New Movement in American Architecture, II: Glass," *Brush and Pencil,* 6 (April 1900): 33.

55. Wright, "Art and Craft of the Machine," in Pfeiffer, ed., *Wright: Collected Writings,* vol. 1, 66.

56. Ibid.

57. Ibid. Both Wright's and Triggs's proposals for the training of artists in mechanical techniques may have drawn inspiration from the earlier movement for manual training in American secondary education. On this movement, see Calvin M. Woodward's writings, such as *The Manual Training School* (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1887), and Lewis F. Anderson, *History of Manual and Industrial School Education* (New York: D. Appleton, 1926), 155–77, and Melvin L. Barlow, *History of Industrial Education in the United States* (Peoria, Ill.: Charles A. Bennett, 1967), 30–50.

58. Wright, "Art and Craft of the Machine," in Pfeiffer, ed., *Wright: Collected Writings,* vol. 1, 66.

59. Ibid., 67.

60. Ibid., 68.

61. On Triggs's Industrial Art League, see Engelbrecht, "Association of Arts and Industries," 13–21. An analysis of Triggs's position appeared in Thorstein Veblen, "Arts and Crafts," Review of *Chapters in the History of the Arts and Crafts Movement,* by Oscar Lovell Triggs, in *Journal of Political Economy,* 11 (December 1902): 108–11.

62. Among the many accounts of Gropius's position is that in Reyner Banham, *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age,* 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1980), 276–88. See also Lauren S. Weingarden, "Aesthetics Politicized: William Morris to the Bauhaus," *Journal of Architectural Education,* 38 (spring 1985): 8–13.

63. Emil Lorch, Discussion of Wright, "The Art and Craft of the Machine," in *Journal of the Western Society of Engineers,* 6 (July/August 1901): 368. See also Lorch, "Some Considerations upon the Study of Architectural Design," *Inland Architect and News Record,* 37 (June 1901): 34.

64. Wright, "Art and Craft of the Machine," in Pfeiffer, ed., *Wright: Collected Writings,* vol. 1, 69.

65. Ibid., 68.

66. Ibid., 69. On similarities and differences between Wright's view of Chicago and Hugo's view of Paris, see Connors, "Wright on Nature and the Machine," 10–12, and Menocal, "Frank Lloyd Wright as the Anti-Victor Hugo." See also Sidney K. Robinson, "Frank Lloyd Wright and Victor Hugo," in *Modern Architecture in America: Visions and Revisions,* eds. Richard G. Wilson and Robinson (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1991), 106–11.

2

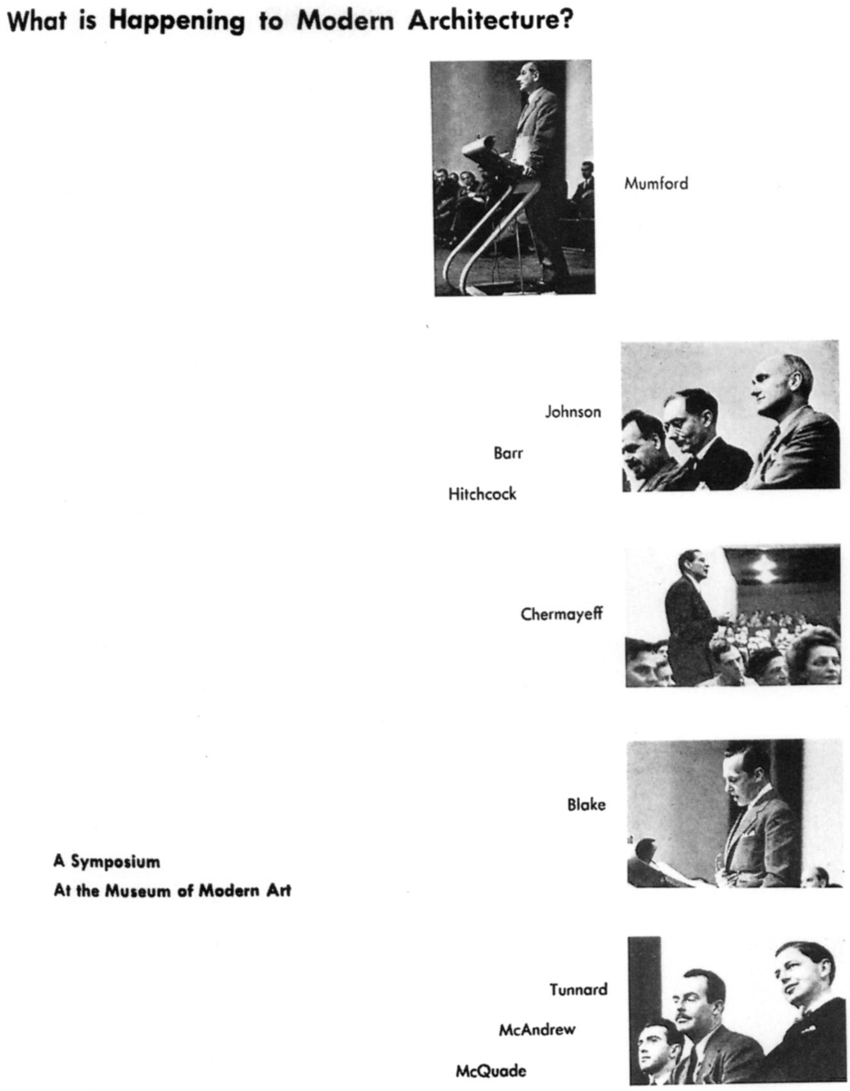
LEWIS MUMFORD, HENRY-RUSSELL HITCHCOCK, AND THE BAY REGION STYLE

Gail Fenske

Lewis Mumford and Henry-Russell Hitchcock's impassioned confrontation at the Museum of Modern Art's 1948 symposium, "What Is Happening to Modern Architecture?" culminated a 20-year debate between the two historian-critics. At stake were no less than two competing historiographies for modern architecture, Mumford's firmly ensconced in the organic tradition, with ecological and cultural concerns, and Hitchcock's favoring the machine metaphor, its criteria formal, style-oriented, and symbolic. The debate originated in Mumford's and Hitchcock's earlier, conflicting assessments of Frank Lloyd Wright and the Prairie School in 1929, and now in the postwar period it turned to a new subject, the architecture of the California Bay Region. Mumford championed the "Bay Region style" as a modern and vital American regional tradition that responded to human values. Hitchcock, by contrast, judged it only a minor architectural phenomenon, at best a casual inflection of the prevailing European avant-garde modernism he christened "International Style" at the Museum of Modern Art's 1932 exhibition. Mumford's and Hitchcock's polarized conceptions about the significance of the Bay Region in the history of modern architecture were articulated so forcefully at the 1948 symposium as to generate related contemporary debates, and they continue to influence our interpretation of twentieth-century American architecture today.[1]

The symposium's debate was incited by an article Mumford had recently published defining the Bay Region style. The article, entitled "Status Quo," appeared in his architecture column, "Skyline," in *The New Yorker* of 11 October 1947. There he proposed the style as an alternative to what he considered the sterile, excessively circumscribed modernism still promoted by the Museum of Modern Art's polemical circle fifteen years after its International Style exhibition. Henry-Russell Hitchcock in particular, he pointed out, had overlooked modernism's actual complexity, sense of social purpose, and personalism by identifying it with cubism in modern painting and investing it with a narrow and artificial symbolism of the machine. Mumford advocated instead the "native and humane form of modernism" practiced by the architects of the California Bay Region, from Bernard Maybeck to William Wurster. As a truly regional idiom, "a free yet unobtrusive expression of the terrain, the climate, and the way of life on the coast," the Bay Region style respected architecture's human dimension and responded sympathetically to the natural environment. Signs of current professional interest in the Bay Region, Mumford further added, reflected the livelier state of modern architecture in general, now fortunately maturing beyond the narrow-mindedness of its 1930s "adolescent period."[2] Of course Mumford's pointed questioning of the authority of the International Style as modernism's principal mode of explanation looked like an act of heresy to his former associates at the Museum of Modern Art, Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Alfred Barr, and Philip Johnson, whom he had earlier advised on the housing section of the 1932 exhibition.[3] With the exhibition and its publications they cultivated European avant-garde modernism on American shores, their promotional effort having received new impetus with the arrival of Mies van der Rohe and Walter Gropius in 1937.[4] As a consequence, Barr and Johnson could not let Mumford's challenge to unanswered, and so organized "What Is Happening to Modern Architecture?" for 11 February 1948 as their official response[5] (figure 2.1).

The Museum of Modern Art distributed to the symposium's participants an excerpt from Mumford's *New Yorker* essay, and later acknowledged its expectation that discussion would be divided between the originators of the International Style and the proponents of the Bay Region's "new humanism." Mumford's challenge, however, never received the level of debate it deserved. Alfred Barr and Henry-Russell Hitchcock opened the symposium by aggressively undermining Mumford's argument for the Bay Region's "native and humane form of modernism," and subsequent speakers, Walter Gropius, Marcel Breuer, and Frederick Gutheim among them, charted ancillary lines of discussion through related contemporary debates concerning monumentality, functionalism, and style, and so further diffused the argument's force and clarity. Gropius accused Mumford of "chauvinistic sentimental national prejudice," a limited American perspective, and others failed to understand Mumford's regionalist point of view. Only Gerhard Kallmann, who affirmed British "New Empiricism" as paying closer attention to the potentialities of ordinary materials, the needs of the individual, and to society, and Ralph Walker, who maintained that "humanism is the basis of all art," seemed sympathetic to Mumford.[6] The cleverest strategy of Barr and Johnson was to assign the role of moderator to their antagonist; Mumford, consequently, could not possibly defend his cause until presenting the expected concluding remarks at the end of the discussion.[7]



What is Happening to Modern Architecture?

Mumford

Johnson
Barr
Hitchcock

Chermayeff

Blake

A Symposium
At the Museum of Modern Art

Tunnard
McAndrew
McQuade

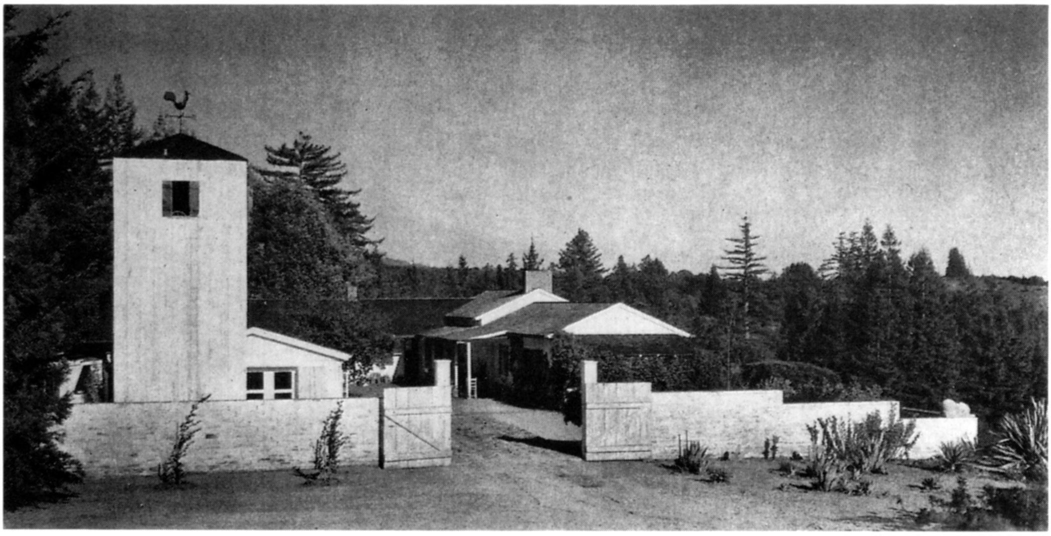
Figure 2.1 *Museum of Modern Art Bulletin,* 15 (spring 1948).

Barr and Hitchcock called into question Mumford's proposal of the Bay Region style as a significant alternative development in modern architecture. Barr asserted, first of all, that the Bay Region style was not the distinctive regional architecture Mumford made it out to be, but rather a local manifestation of a much broader artistic phenomenon, the International Style. He recapitulated the visual principles of the international style devised by Hitchcock in 1932:

> There is, first, a new conception of architecture as volume rather than as mass. Secondly, regularity rather than axial symmetry serves as the chief means of ordering design. These two principles, with a third proscribing arbitrary applied decoration, mark the productions of the international style.[8]

The International Style, Barr argued, had enough influence and elasticity to account for individualized forms of expression in wood, as typified in the buildings of the Bay Region. Second, Barr criticized the Bay Region style for what he considered its limited range of expression in "cottages"; these he thought lacked the universality characteristic of the International Style. William Wurster's practice, he argued, provided a case in point. Wurster was known for detached suburban and country houses, such as the Warren Gregory farmhouse near Santa Cruz (1926–27) (figure 2.2), rather than for solutions to universal problems such as low-cost housing, and when he designed office

Figure 2.2 William Wurster. Gregory farmhouse, Scotts Valley, California, 1926–27. (*Arts & Architecture*, 81 [July 1964].)



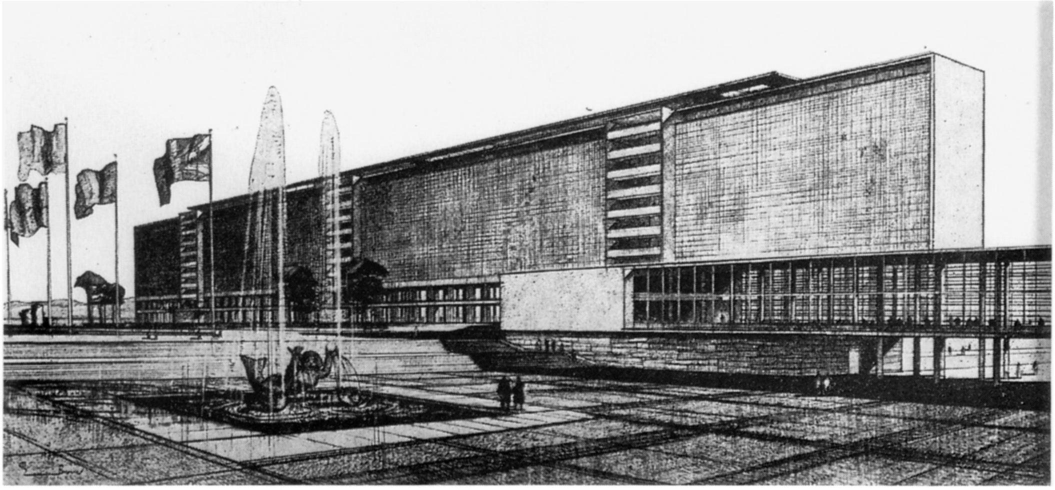


Figure 2.3 William Wurster. Project for a United Nations Center for San Francisco, Strawberry Point, Marin County, 1945. (*Arts & Architecture,* 62 [June 1945].)

buildings or large projects, such as the United Nations Center for San Francisco (1945) (figure 2.3), he fell back on "a pretty orthodox version of the international style." Finally, Barr argued, the Bay Region style, with its emphasis on cottages, lacked the serious-mindedness of the International Style. This he emphasized by using witty variants of the museum's earlier slogans to describe it, among them "international cottage style" and *Neue Gemütlichkeit.*[9] "International cottage style" reduced Bay Region architecture to a quaint and escapist paraphrase of the International Style, with nineteenth-century pattern book associations, and also conflated it with the recent British New Empiricism, denying it the continuity of its own tradition.[10] *Neue Gemütlichkeit* evoked a homely degeneration of the 1920s' tough-minded *Neue Sachlichkeit.* Both mockingly relegated Bay Region architecture to the periphery of the museum's earlier "rigorous" modernism.

Hitchcock joined Barr in characterizing the Bay Region style as a less serious, provincial version of the International Style, and then with additional points of his own attempted to further discredit Mumford's argument. He observed that the Bay Region style was not as new or as historically consequential as Mumford might think, because anything good in the "cottage style" had already been done by Le Corbusier.[11] Le Corbusier completed the Errazius house in Chile a year before the 1932 International Style exhibition, and more recently used thick rubble walls in the Pavilion Suisse in Paris (1930–31) and in Madame de Mandrot's house near Le Pradet (1929–32) (figure 2.4). Such

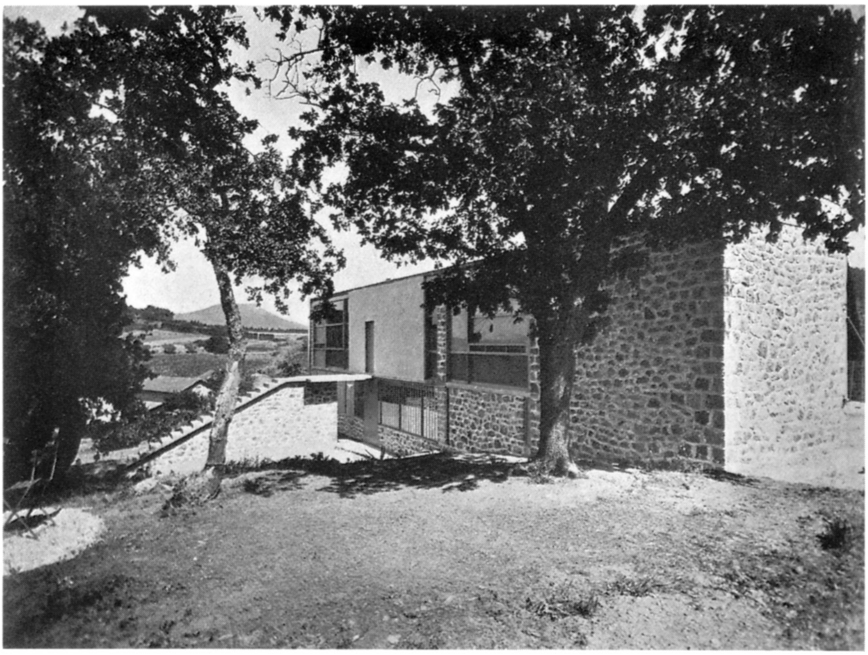


Figure 2.4 Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret. De Mandrot house, Le Pradet, near Hyères, France, 1930–31. (*Modern Architecture: International Exhibition,* 1932.)

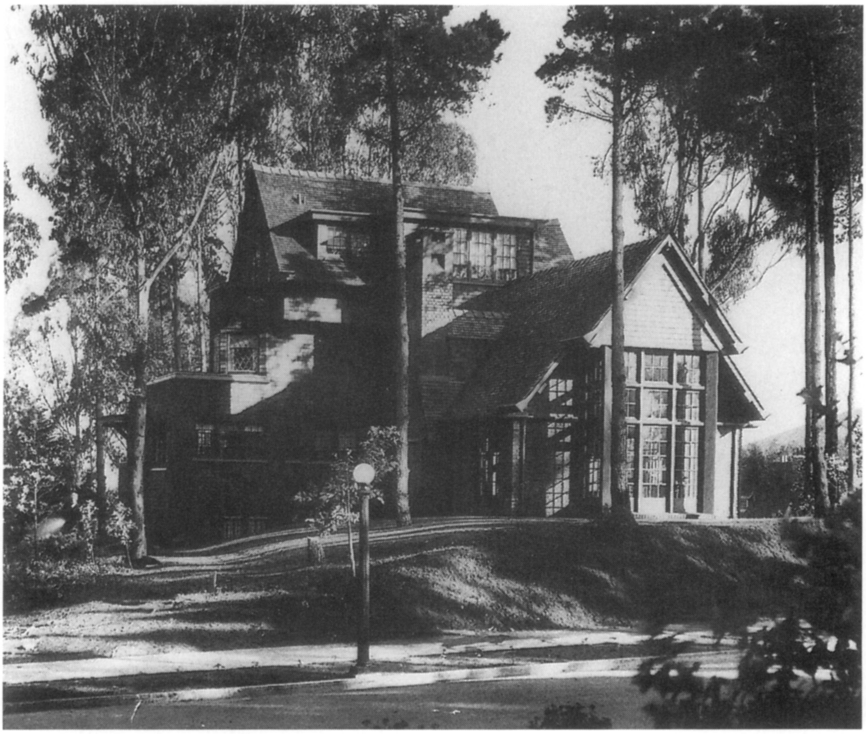
primitive, indigenous features, Hitchcock proposed, were already a part of "the loose frame that Mr. Johnson and I draw around the concept of an international style," and so consequently it was hardly necessary for the museum's polemical circle to shift off axis to the Bay Region. Hitchcock went on to speculate that Mumford's interest in the Bay Region might be subsumed within a larger problem emerging in modernism, "expression in architecture," although he never fully developed his argument. He chose to focus instead on what he considered the subversive element in Mumford's challenge: an ill-timed effort to identify a formal development of equal significance to the reigning International Style. "We are not," he stated, invoking the authority of the Museum of Modern Art's polemical circle, "ready for such a reaction."[12]

Mumford, having had little opportunity to speak during the course of the symposium, responded incisively at its conclusion to each of Barr's and Hitchcock's points, as well as in a letter to Barr, published with the symposium's proceedings. He focused on what he considered Barr's and Hitchcock's exclusively academic, narrow, and Europe-oriented perception of modernism. First, Mumford argued, the Bay Region style was not as provincial as Barr and

Hitchcock made it out to be, but instead a native form of modernism, which matured in concert with America's cultural development. Second, the style was more than just a cottage style; its variety accommodated many building types and situations, and its complexity, humanism, and range transcended the mere localism suggested by the term "cottage style." Finally, Mumford thought that Barr's and Hitchcock's cottage style, with its air of the trendy and whimsical, and its strictly domestic denotation, did not adequately account for the depth and range of the Bay tradition, "so wide that it includes Maybeck at one end and Gardner Dailey at the other"[13] (figures 2.5 and 2.6). The tradition's continued vitality over time, along with the example its varied accomplishments provided other regions throughout the world, invested it with much greater relevance to contemporary architecture, in Mumford's opinion, than the by now old and straitened canon of European avant-garde forms constituting Hitchcock's visual formula.

Mumford and his adversaries Barr and Hitchcock, clearly, had established positions at strong cross-purposes in their interpretation of recent postwar ar-

Figure 2.5 Bernard Maybeck. S. H. Erlanger house, San Francisco, 1916. (From Sally Woodbridge, *Bernard Maybeck: Visionary Architect.* New York: Abbeville Press, 1996.)



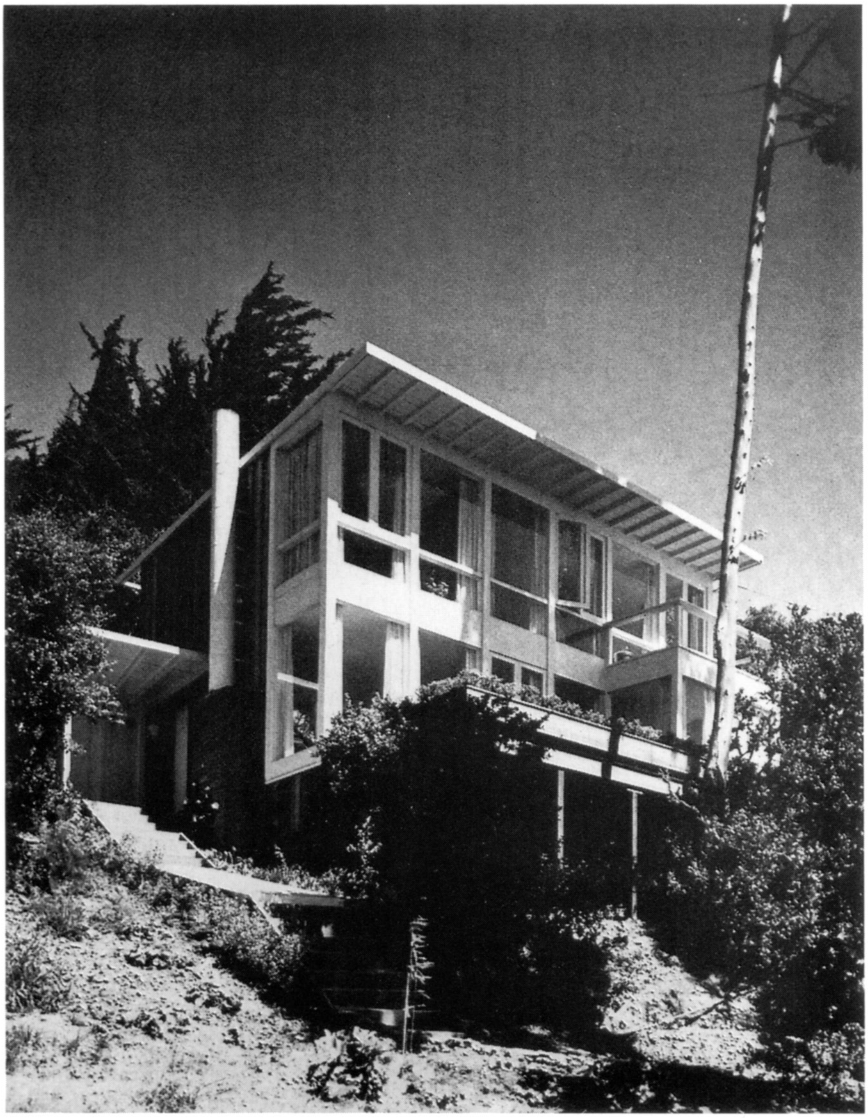


Figure 2.6 Gardner A. Dailey. Owens house, Sausalito, California, 1939. (*Architectural Forum,* 74 [May 1941].)

chitecture. Mumford refused to accept Barr's and Hitchcock's precept that buildings should be evaluated strictly on the basis of formal criteria and Barr and Hitchcock refused to appreciate Mumford's complex, cultural mode of understanding. Each was seeking what they wanted to find in the Bay Region example. For Hitchcock, whom Barr considered his teacher, the visual *did* reign paramount.[14] The art historian's task was to trace through objects and forms of their selection broad and concise outlines delineating a style which would, in turn, serve as a forceful visual analogue of the far less explicit, and far more difficult to describe, spirit of an age. For Mumford, by contrast, the whole of a culture had to be examined before its architecture could be judged to have enriched the life of its people, and this entailed the analysis of many influential variables, not the least of which were societal and environmental. It was incumbent upon the historian to describe the intricate process through which these variables contributed to the flowering of a culture, as expressed by its artistic achievements, among the most tangible and influential of which was architecture.

For Mumford, Bay Region architects were individual personalities contributing to the definition of a well-advanced regional culture, and the merits of their work deserved a richer explanation than could be provided by Barr's and Hitchcock's exclusive focus on modern architecture's formal attributes. That is perhaps why Mumford never pointed out what amounted to Barr's polemical tricks of insinuating that Bay Region architects neglected social housing or that they fell back on the International Style for nonresidential projects. Wurster did in fact design low-cost, prefabricated housing projects for war workers, among them Chabot Terrace near Vallejo (1941–42), with Franklin & Kump, and Valencia Gardens in San Francisco (1943–46), with Harry Thomsen, both demonstrating his engagement with architecture's social and political dimensions (figure 2.7). Moreover, his nonresidential projects, for instance, the Schuckl Canning Company's office building in Sunnyvale (1943), confirmed the expressive possibilities of his modern California idiom in other building types (figure 2.8); and his monumental United Nations Center project for San Francisco, with lattice-like detailing and shaded loggias, although showing a full understanding of "international" architectural developments, also suggested sensitivity to the city's temperate climate.[15] Such large-scale commercial and governmental office projects, arguably more universal as types, whose modular structural rhythms, tendency toward geometric clarity, and flush planarity of surface had few precedents in local vernacular traditions, posed an especially difficult challenge to Wurster's search for regional continuity. Still, what Mumford appreciated most about Wurster was his vision of architecture as a complex and culturally entrenched art, its forms and spaces

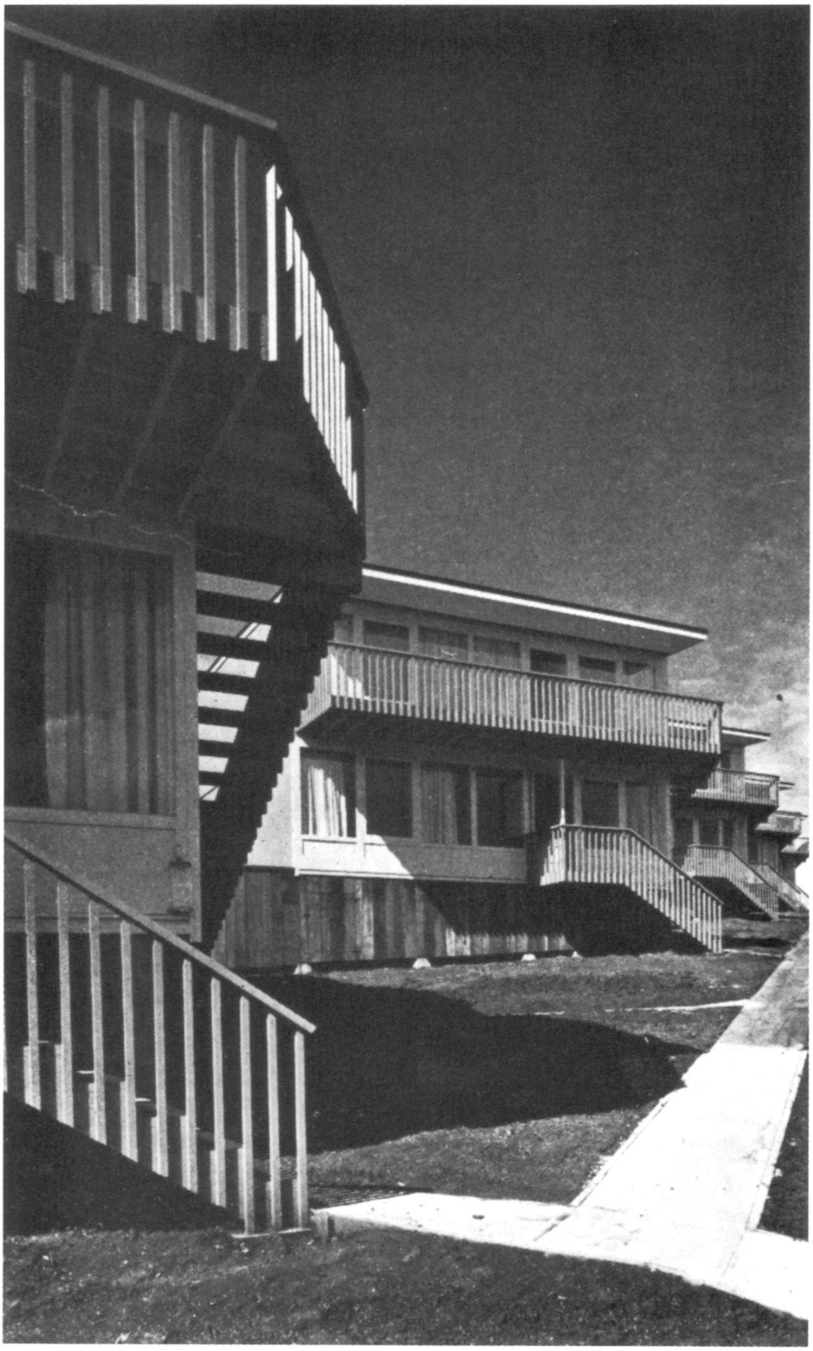
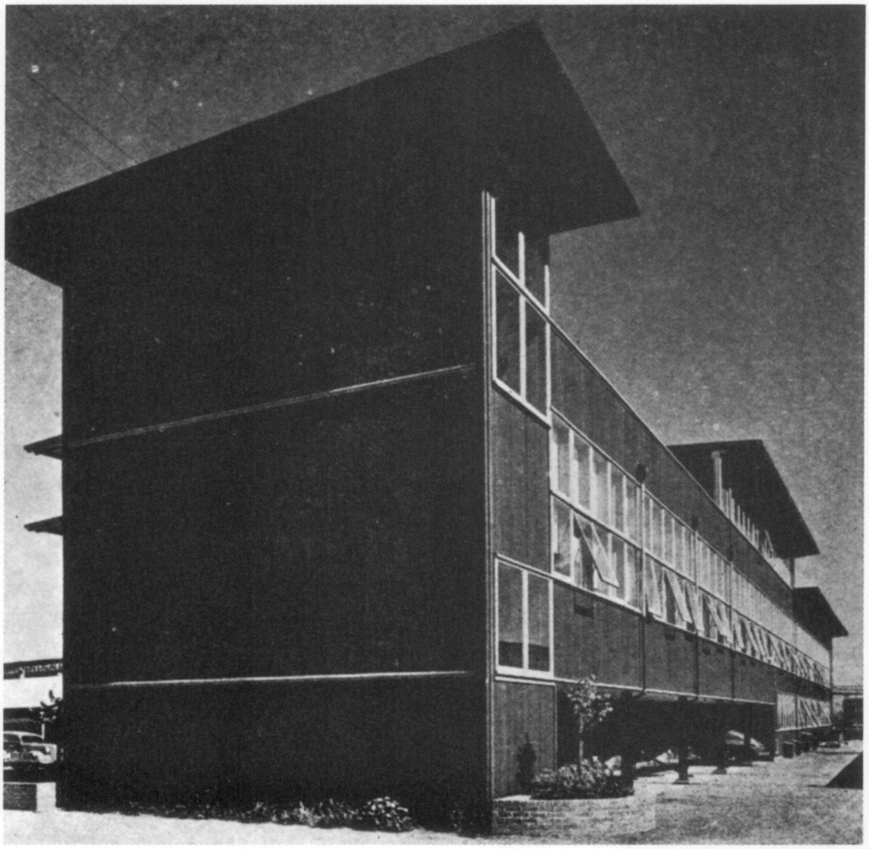


Figure 2.7 William Wurster. Chabot Terrace war housing, near Vallejo, California. (*Architectural Forum,* 79 [July 1943].)

respectfully woven into the prevailing contextual totality. If architecture were foremost a signifier of the vitality of a regional culture and a contributing mode of creative expression in American cultural life at large, then it represented many more facets of its creator's imagination, a people, and a place than could possibly be conveyed by Barr's and Hitchcock's limited and abstract International Style canon of forms. What truly mattered most to Mumford was Wurster's refinement of sensibility about the region.

Mumford and Hitchcock, then, were obviously at odds over what it meant to be modern, Mumford's regionalist argument favoring an architecture that meshed with the society, culture, and environment of its place, and Hitchcock seeking touchstone monuments with formal images so powerful that they reso-

Figure 2.8 William Wurster. Schuckl Canning Company, Sunnyvale, California, 1943. (Elizabeth Mock, ed., *Built in U.S.A.: A Survey of Contemporary American Architecture Since 1932,* 1945.)



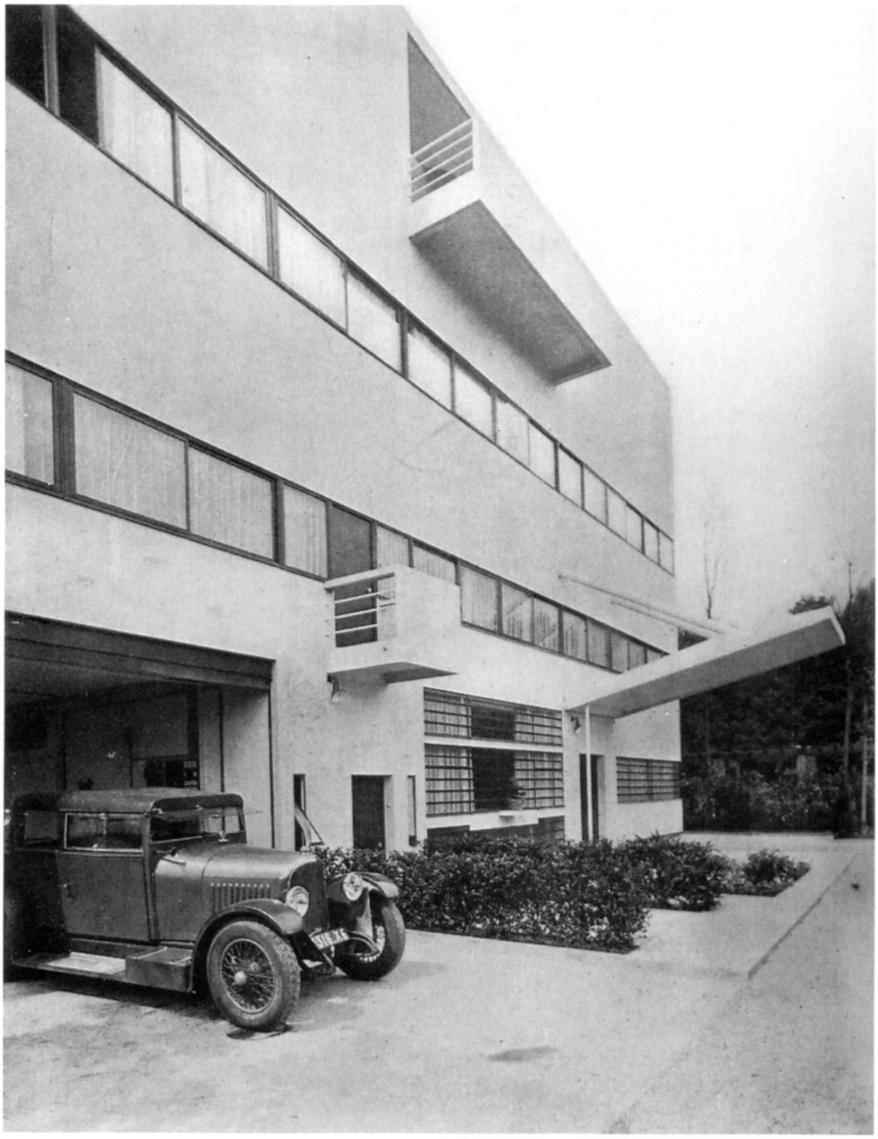
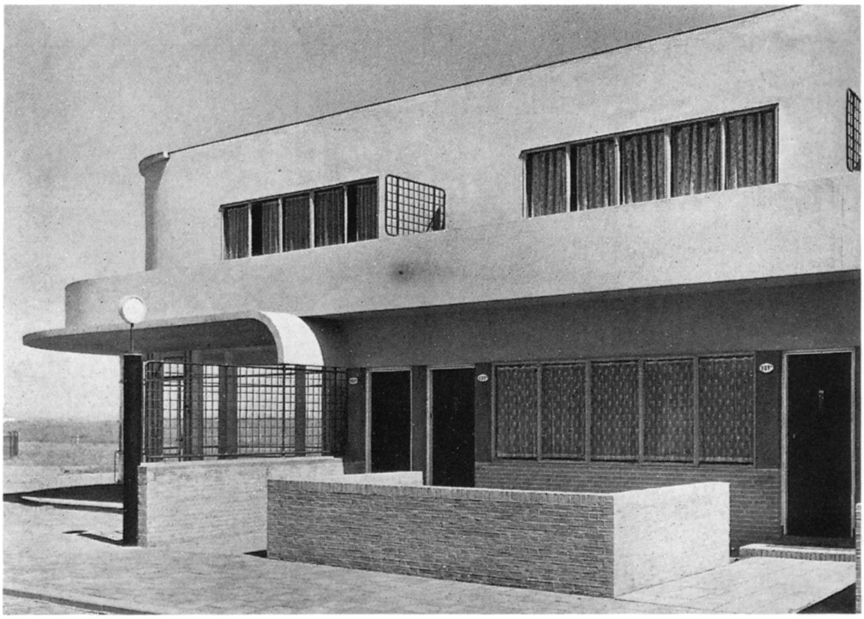


Figure 2.9 Le Corbusier. *Les Terrasses,* Stein house, Garches, near Paris, 1927–28. (*Modern Architecture: International Exhibition,* 1932.)

nated as acontextual objects. Their differences, ultimately, reflected two competing historiographic schemas. Hitchcock grounded his judgments as a critic in the set of broad and comprehensive visual principles developed in *Modern Architecture: Romanticism and Reintegration* (1928), codified in his selections for the International Style exhibition of 1932 and its catalog, *Modern Architecture: International Exhibition,* and then further clarified with the collaboration of Philip Johnson as a strictly aesthetic argument about style in the popular *The International Style: Architecture Since 1922.*[16] Hitchcock and Johnson were determined to have their visual principles characterize modern architecture in a fashion comparable to corresponding principles they maintained archaeologists also discerned in the great styles of previous eras.[17] For Hitchcock the works of Le Corbusier, Gropius, Mies, and Oud embodied the ideal of high modernism, which he circumscribed with his own category, "New Pioneers," in *Modern Architecture: Romanticism and Reintegration* (figures 2.9 and 2.10).

In the 1932 International Style exhibition, Hitchcock and Johnson exalted the work of the New Pioneers and assigned to it a concise set of identifying formal principles, which served the end of delimiting a virtually closed canon of high modern forms. The *International Style* referenced the contributing role of cubism and neoplasticism in modern painting to defining the new style.[18]

Figure 2.10 J. J. P. Oud. Workers' houses, Hook of Holland, 1926–27. (*Modern Architecture: International Exhibition,* 1932.)



Hitchcock's and Johnson's line of reasoning, which guided their selection of works and their formal analysis of them, however, was derived from Hitchcock's conviction that modern architecture declared in its precise lines, unornamented surfaces, and weightless volumes "a new feeling for form and the search for certain specific effects," or a lyrical visual equivalent for the audacious technological contrivances of the machine age. "On a plane that admits of a fully developed aesthetic, the buildings of the New Pioneers appeal in the same way as machinery with its generally recognized technical beauty."[19] The airplanes and automobiles exposed by Le Corbusier in *Vers une Architecture* (1923), as boldly elegant as nineteenth-century engineering in metal and concrete, Hitchcock thought, proclaimed the inevitable: a new standard of beauty should replace those of the past.[20] The machine had become the visual metaphor for a modern, twentieth-century industrial reality.

Mumford's criticism, on the other hand, was grounded predominantly in the organic metaphor as a universal standard for assessing the beauty, richness, and variety in built artifacts and environments, and the sense of ethical purpose in their creators. Mumford's organicism, as Leo Marx described it, dominated his thought as a "sustained vindication of a single view of reality, a comprehensive historical, metaphysical—one might say cosmological—doctrine."[21] Its sources were the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century counter-Enlightenment, which Alfred North Whitehead called "the romantic reaction"; the nineteenth-century writers Mumford admired, among them Emerson, Greenough, Ruskin, and Spengler; and most significantly, the post-Darwinian biological princples of Patrick Geddes.[22] Geddes's sense of ecological wholeness held paradigmatic sway in Mumford's thought—design was above all else an organic matter, and universally so—from the intimacy of an individual dwelling to the vastness of a global landscape.

Mumford voiced the scope of his intellectual commitment to organicism in architecture and regional planning in *Sticks & Stones* (1924). Here he invoked the organic metaphor as a critical standard for assessing works of architecture from the seventeenth century to World War I—their aesthetic virtues, the processes governing their making, and the integrity of purpose in their creators. Organic architecture in its purest state, he thought, was exemplified by the seventeenth-century New England vernacular, his model being the John Ward house in Salem (figure 2.11). The house's "weathered oaken masses" were piled up "with a cumulative richness of effect"; its rustic forms dynamic, suited to their purposes, and in harmony with their built and natural surroundings; and its crafted timber-framed construction a product of the cooperative community activity of frame raising.[23]

Mumford was disappointed by what he considered the compromise of his medieval ideal of organic architecture in the early nineteenth century, as the

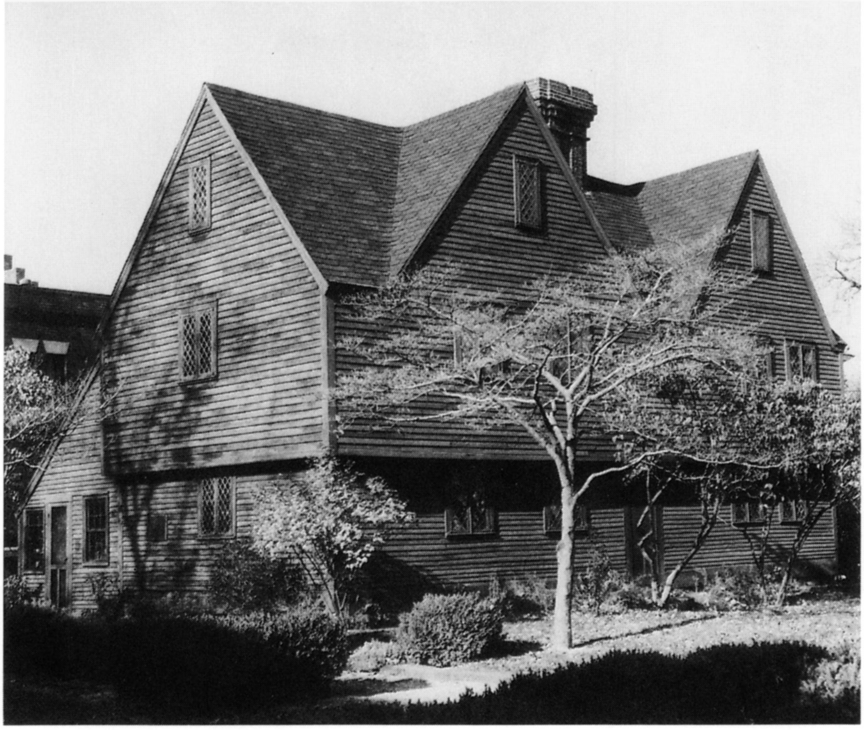


Figure 2.11 John Ward house, Salem, Massachusetts, 1684. (From Barbara M. and Gerald W. R. Ward, "The John Ward House" in *Houses of the Essex Institute,* eds. Anne Farnam and Bryant Tolles, Jr. Salem: Essex Institute, 1976. Photograph by Richard Merrill, 1975.)

classical revival styles supplanted the vernacular; then, by the mid-nineteenth century, it reached a state of near disintegration under the weakening forces of industrialism. Mills and factories, described by Mumford as gaunt "packing boxes," appeared on the scene; these he judged as aesthetically inferior regardless of their visual merits because he found them socially disrespectable. To the mid-nineteenth century's new machine processes, as well, could be attributed the pioneer's eclectic and landscape-marring "false work and scantling." Not until the 1880s did architects with the imagination necessary to reinvigorate the impoverished legacy emerge on the American scene, as the "great succession that began with Richardson and culminated in Frank Lloyd Wright" (figures 2.12 and 2.13). Wright, especially, exemplified for Mumford what it meant to be organic in an overwhelmingly industrial age; his houses, "the very products of the prairie," signaled the optimism of organicism's continuing influence in the dark and spiritless morass of "mechanical architecture"—from factories to any "standardized conception of style."[24]

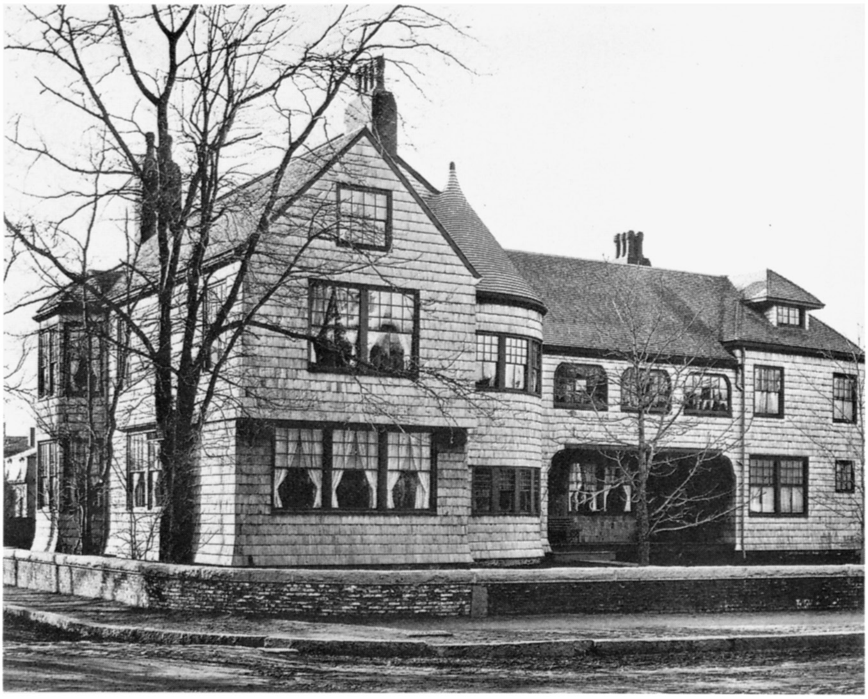


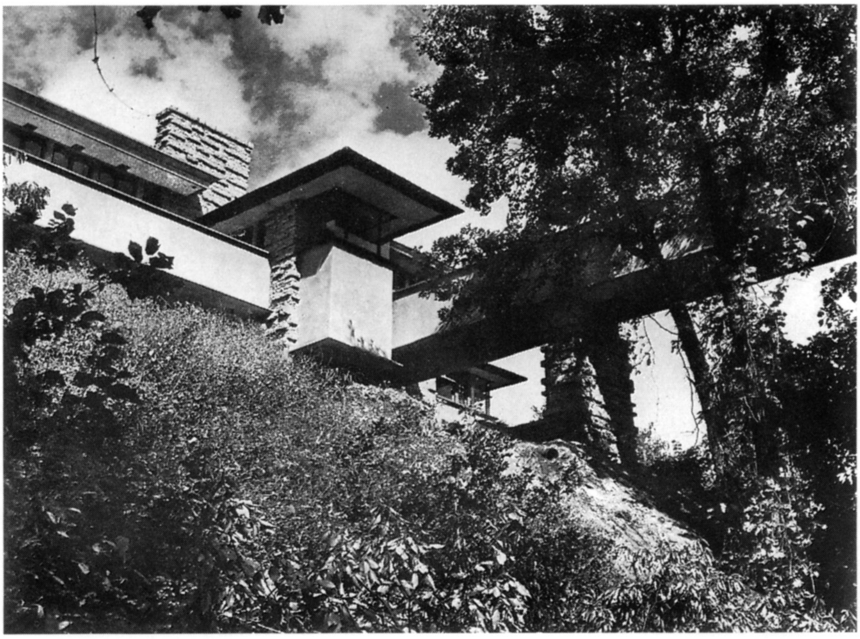
Figure 2.12 Henry Hobson Richardson. Stoughton house, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1882–83. (From Arnold Lewis, *American Country Houses of the Gilded Age*. New York: Dover, 1982.)

Mumford's ideal of organic beauty was grounded in principles of simplicity, the truthful expression of function, and solid craftsmanship. These he found expressed in the writings of Emerson and Greenough, and forcefully demonstrated in works of architecture such as John Wellborn Root's Monadnock building in Chicago (1889) where, as Mumford observed in *The Brown Decades* (1931), "a final clarification of the structure was going on from within," or the Brooklyn Bridge, which he called "an organism of nature," quoting the American architectural critic Montgomery Schuyler.[25] Evidence in the Monadnock's brickwork of the hand of the craftsman further supported Mumford's ideal of organic beauty, insofar as it echoed the vision of the cooperative and human-based medieval society he esteemed in the writings of Ruskin and Morris. "Craftsmanship, to put the distinction roughly, emphasizes the worker's delight in production."[26]

Mumford blamed industrialism and its attendant machine processes of standardization and mechanization for destroying America's craft tradition before it had the chance to fully take root. Craftsmanship, consequently, reached its lowest ebb around 1860 as the work of builders was "reduced to the assemblage of parts" and the methods of mechanical reproduction made an egregious display in the architecture of American cities.[27] Fortunately, Richardson's sense of color in stonework and elevation to prominence of the ancillary arts, or sculpture, painting, and craftsmanship in glass and iron; Sullivan's nature-inspired lacelike ornament; and Wright's "rich feeling for materials" suggested the return of craft, offering an inspirational starting point for future architects.[28] For Mumford craftsmanship revealed the intricate human imprint in any art, a source of universal respect, and so was essential to a beautiful as well as ethical architecture.

Mumford developed his convictions about the American urban environment in the narrative thread of *Sticks & Stones*. It began in the coherent medieval order of the early nineteenth-century New England seaboard towns, their hierarchical theocracies strangely untroubling to Mumford, who lauded their "tradition of culture applied to the land itself" and their sense of community purpose, evident in their emblematic landscapes with tree-lined streets converging on a ceremonial common flanked by a school and meetinghouse (figure 2.14). Mumford's story assumed an increasingly critical tone as the mid-nineteenth century's pioneers of progress and expansion, in search of "mechanical progress" and "manifest destiny," recklessly mined human resources, along with forests and soil, and consequently suffered a loss of human

Figure 2.13 Frank Lloyd Wright. Taliesen III, Spring Green, Wisconsin, begun 1925. (From Frank Lloyd Wright, *A Testament*. New York: Horizon Press, 1957, p. 163.)



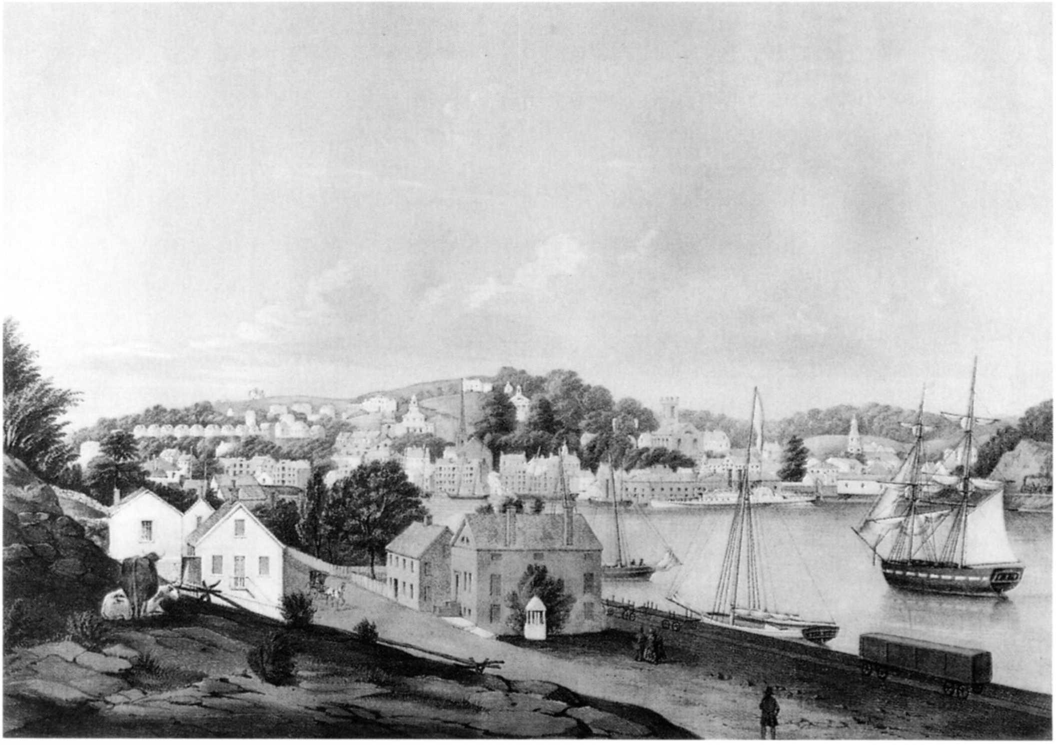


Figure 2.14 Fitz Hugh Lane, *View of Norwich from the West Side of the River,* 1839. Lithograph, 11 3/4 × 16 1/2." (Boston Atheneum, Massachusetts.)

community, as illustrated by the careless shanty architecture of their squatter settlements.[29]

Mumford's story reached an abrupt end in the final shattering of the once organic pattern by modern industrialism, with its machine processes and policies of progress and expansion, these evident by the century's turn in the mushrooming of a centralized, overconcentrated, and mechanistic metropolitan civilization. Monopolists in the monstrous cities, guided by a reckless policy of imperialism, drained for their acquisitive purposes the resources of surrounding regions, and built colossal congestion-abetting systems of rapid transit, sewers, and water conduits, along with imposing architectural marvels to symbolize their power, "the simulacra of a living architecture," as egregious in style and scale as the plaster confections of the World's Columbian Exposition or the grandiose, overbearing monuments of ancient Rome. Mumford advised in a coda that only through renewed focus on the planning of communities and on their builders' intimate relationship with nature and the land—that is, on recovering unity in the region—would it be possible to regain a sense of human balance.[30]

In Mumford's rendition of American civilization the antagonistic counterforces of industrialism repeatedly threatened to disrupt the organic evolution of regional cultures and their artistic creations. As a consequence, Mumford was totally unable to appreciate, much less comprehend, Hitchcock's emphasis on the machine as a symbol. Mumford, to the contrary, employed the machine in his criticism as an overarching metaphor to describe impoverished architecture—"one kind of manufactured product on a counter of manufactured products"—as well as the industrial society that produced it: builders were "creatures of the machine system" and architects "doomed to be extruded by mechanism."[31] In later works such as *The City in History* (1961) and *The Myth of the Machine* (1966) Mumford's machine metaphor broadly signified a range of postmedieval urban and societal phenomena of which he became increasingly critical, from the "mechanical order" of Baroque capitals to "the civilization of the machine," or the advanced industrial complex with its monopolizing technological systems.[32] To the machine and its processes generally, Mumford ascribed the eventual ruin of Western civilization. Consequently, if architecture were the signifier of a civilization's state—"the shell that we create for ourselves marks our spiritual development as plainly as that of a snail denotes its species"—then the buildings of Hitchcock's New Pioneers, with their austere and unadorned machine associations, would only be aesthetic disasters.[33]

The intellectual backgrounds of Hitchcock and Mumford explain in part their contrasting viewpoints. Hitchcock studied art history at the Fogg Museum at Harvard under the medievalist Arthur Kingsley Porter. Porter was known for his emphasis on the aesthetic consequences of available building methods and materials, and this, in turn, inspired Hitchcock's attraction to the visual. Among Hitchcock's other teachers were Edward Waldo Forbes and Paul Sachs, who had reputations for heightening student interest in modern art.[34] Most important, the Fogg and its students were committed to connoisseurship, or to basing all historical inquiry and criticism on sharp scrutiny of the artifacts themselves, a tradition of study established earlier by Bernard Berenson. From the beginning of his studies, Hitchcock considered himself an art historian who specialized in the field of architecture.[35]

Outside of his education at the Fogg Museum, one of the most important influences on Hitchcock in developing his historiography of modern architecture was Oswald Spengler's *The Decline of the West* (1918, 1922), controversial in intellectual circles, but still highly influential, particularly in America after the translation of its first volume in 1926. Hitchcock was intrigued by Spengler's historiography of a society's life cycle, from its creative phase of culture, to its cold and rigidified phase of civilization, and finally to its downfall; and by Spengler's precept that a culture's great constructions were majestic "prime symbols" clarifying its pattern of life and thought.[36] That Hitchcock read and reflected on Spengler's *Decline* was evident in his own "The Decline of Architecture" (1927). Having absorbed Spengler's pessimism about Western civilization's deteriorating age of bigness, bureaucracy, and rationality, Hitchcock questioned whether architecture, in its quest for technical perfection and lack of traditional feeling for art and symbols might just as inevitably be coming to an end. The only viable escape from its impending demise, Hitchcock proposed, was the reintegration of architecture with civilization, "as a sound organ in an aging body." Invoking Spengler's theme of architecture as a symbol of a culture, he hypothesized that "the older symbolism which established [traditional] hierarchies" was now unconsciously being replaced "by a symbolism which fits the life of the moment."[37] In *Modern Architecture: Romanticism and Reintegration* (1928), Hitchcock totally recast Spengler's morphology of a declining "Faustian," or western European culture, to suit his own hypothesis about modernity, and argued that to the contrary "one Modern style" had been advancing since the culmination of the High Gothic style in the thirteenth century.[38]

In constructing his modern style Hitchcock freely extended the Fogg's methods of connoisseurship into seeing, describing, and evaluating buildings. These, he believed, were not unlike fine works of high art; their settings, whether social, political, urban, or regional, were simply not germane to their historical understanding. As Vincent Scully observed, Hitchcock simply "didn't care about sociology, capitalism, socialism, or any of that"; his "greatest, almost fatal, weakness as a critic" was that "he will *not* deal with city planning, or with the building of cities, or with architecture as the construction of the human environment or, most of all, of the human community."[39] Aesthetic criteria were for Hitchcock the ultimate standard-bearers of a building's merit, so he conceived his task principally as the choosing, describing, and ordering of key artifacts in a logical, comparative array under a Spenglerian schema that outlined with abstract clarity the cyclical chronology of a modern style. What Hitchcock refused to absorb from Spengler was his premise of unity among a culture's intellectual and artistic endeavors; Hitchcock's formalist training inspired instead a historiography totally internal to his object-oriented art-historical enterprise. His narratives, as a consequence, fell under the dominance of a cyclical chronology of style, which assumed a life of its own as architectural forms begot subsequent forms, sometimes under the influence of contemporary theoretical writings and building practices, although just as often eluding them. Context, without influence because without depth of meaning, lost relevance in the process.

Mumford, by contrast, never officially undertook a formal program of study in art history or architecture. Instead he educated himself as an American cultural historian and critic through academic coursework at the City College of New York and firsthand walking surveys of Manhattan, finding profound inspiration in the writings of Patrick Geddes, the Scottish biologist-turned-regional planner. Mumford read Geddes's *City Development* (1904) and *Cities in Evolution* (1915) during his student days and later voiced repeatedly the centrality of Geddes's thought to his understanding of the built environment.[40]

> From the moment I gathered the import of Geddes's words, I began walking through the streets of New York and planning excursions into its hinterland with a new purpose: looking into its past, understanding its present, replanning its future became indissoluble parts of a single process. . . . [41]

Significantly for Mumford's interpretation of Bay Region architecture, Geddes taught Mumford *how* to see and evaluate buildings, through travel and direct observation, in the context of their cities, cultures, and regions. Geddes's outlook and method were, in essence, ecological, well before ecology emerged as an academic discipline. His fundamental proposition that organisms, including human beings and their artistic creations, thrived in communities interdependent with their natural surroundings provided a new conceptual framework for planning theory and practice, and nourished Mumford's growing conviction that individuals, societies, and their architecture could not be studied, much less properly understood, in isolation from a broader cultural, urban, and geographical context.[42] In Mumford's words, "Geddes was the exponent of life in unity"; all organisms, people included, engaged in cooperative activity to produce an indigenous and characteristic style of existence.[43]

> "On pain of economic waste, of practical failure no less than artistic futility, or even worse, each true design," Geddes noted, "each valid scheme should and must embody the full utilization of local and regional conditions and be the expression of local and regional personality. 'Local character' is thus no mere accidental old world quaintness, as its mimics think and say. It is attained only in course of adequate grasp and treatment of the whole environment, and in active sympathy with the essential and characteristic life of the place concerned."[44]

Any Geddes-inspired interpretation of a people and their environment, consequently, had to spring from the presupposition that architecture was inextricable from its place and a prominent signifier of "regional personality";

architecture's analysis involved many more complex variables, grounded in real contextual conditions, than did the search for a single crystalline aesthetic of style.

Mumford extended Geddes's essentially ecological orientation toward the region into his own integrated program for renewing American culture, which included writing history as cultural criticism, along with a hands-on commitment to large-scale regional planning. His *The Golden Day* (1926) examined the literature of nineteenth-century New England, and particularly the period 1830–60, as a vital regional culture of the American past, with the objective of ascertaining how similar cultures might be nurtured in the present. In what Mumford called "the climax of the American experience," Emerson, Thoreau, Whitman, Melville, and Hawthorne absorbed essential lessons from their European heritage, then broke away from it just as its decaying cultural order fractured, to develop a fresh, characteristically indigenous literary expression: "an imaginative New World came to birth . . . a new hemisphere in the geography of the mind."[45] Such a genesis of imaginative literary works in the soil of a region did not preclude their universal significance. Those Mumford examined in *The Golden Day,* rather, illustrated a twin phenomenon, being at once native to their place as well as pivotal artistic contributions to civilization at large.

Mumford's analysis in *The Golden Day* of New England's regional culture, humanistic at its basis, was rooted in Geddes's ideology of the organism and its environment: "cultivation is man's proper condition; without it, life is raw and empty." Mumford considered a society's process of cultivation akin to tending a flourishing garden. It selected and nurtured promising growths, while cutting down weeds, which if allowed to run wild, would only accelerate the lapse of humanity into an unattractive and meaningless feral state. The New England Transcendentalists, in "re-molding, re-forming, re-creating, and so humanizing the rough chaos of existence," were engaged in such a process of cultivation, their idealism nourished by the "one great permanent source," or nature.[46] Unspoiled nature "seeped into every pore of Emerson's mind" and when Thoreau "tasted the land," it entered the American consciousness as an "inner treasure."[47] Ultimately, all human cultural endeavors, as Mumford viewed them, were from their origins seeking a return to the garden, "to become in a deeper sense, more cultivated and civilized," and consequently had to be rooted in the landscape itself.[48]

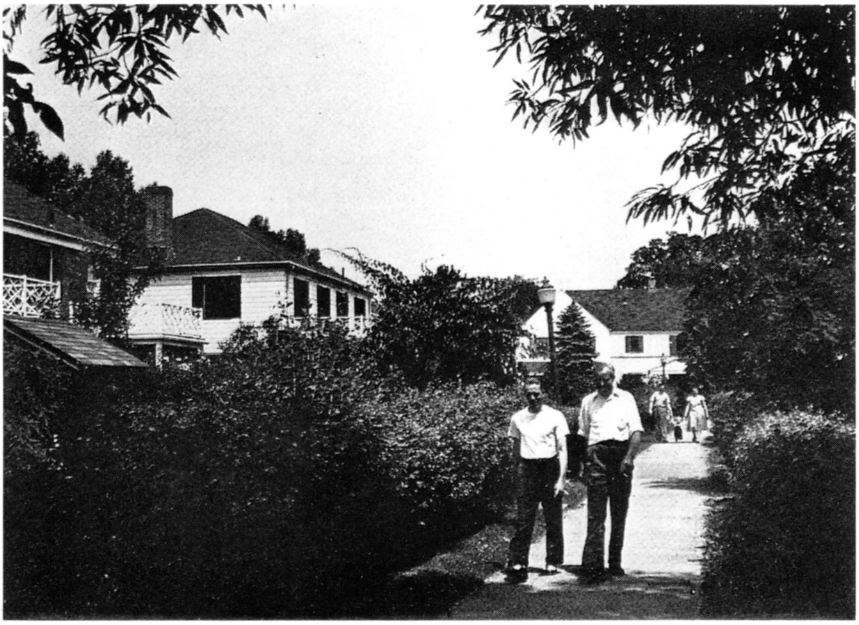
Mumford's study of New England literature convinced him that vigorous regional cultures flourished in places with strong indigenous characters at singular moments in time. They were "old" insofar as they assimilated from their inheritance the necessary but provisional sustaining principles for growth, but also "new," insofar as their mission, given the uniqueness of their particular environment, was to integrate the past's lessons into an intrinsically developing, original, and spirited expression. "We cannot, indeed, make the ways of other cultures our ways; but by entering into all their life in the spirit, our ways will become more deeply humanized, and will, in fresh modes, continue the living past."[49] For Mumford regional cultures were always cultures in totality: just as the work of New England writers bore the imprint of their place, so did their villages, as he portrayed them in *Sticks & Stones,* regardless of their strongly theocratic character; what counted most was their organic pattern of community settlement, their common social and economic institutions, and their shared sense of a larger corporate purpose.[50] Architecture, then, was only one manifestation of a region's broader cultural undertaking. As a historian Mumford sought to describe a unity among the artistic endeavors of regional cultures existing in the past, or in his terms, Thoreau's dream of "what it means to live a whole human life," never losing sight of Geddes's ecological emphasis.[51]

Mumford's regionalism, beyond its purpose as a mode of cultural criticism, was also an ethic about reconfiguring the contemporary built environment, which took into account the myriad social, economic, and ultimately political factors that inevitably influenced a comprehensive mode of physical planning. With Geddes's example in mind, Mumford thought it essential that he realize the lessons of his historian's understanding of regionally integrated communities by implementing new and concrete demonstration projects. His vehicle was the Regional Planning Association of America (RPAA), founded in 1923, its core membership comprised of himself, Henry Wright, Clarence Stein, and Benton MacKaye.[52] Mumford and the RPAA, with the financial support of Alexander Bing and his City Housing Corporation, built Sunnyside Gardens (1924–28) in Queens, and Radburn, New Jersey (1928–33), both garden communities comprised of low-density housing open to the natural surroundings (figure 2.15).

It was overcrowded metropolitan New York, however, a Geddesian "conurbation," that Mumford and the RPAA attacked with the greatest vengeance. They, too, read Spengler's *Decline of the West,* and found there a compelling description of the declining early twentieth-century city, which they thought matched the New York of their day: a mechanized, rigidified, and expanding metropolitan civilization symptomatic of the West's decay—a veritable "barrack-city" with congested districts of skyscrapers and overcrowded subways—which supplanted an earlier rich, developing, and creative urban culture.[53] The RPAA's alternative, a decentralized constellation of cities, was put forward in the 1926 *Report of the New York State Commission on Housing and Regional Planning,* written by Henry Wright. The report was presented as a counterproposal to Thomas Adams's and the Russell Sage Foundation's earlier 1925 "Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs," which Mumford criticized as a makeshift effort at alleviating Manhattan's congestion: it projected the development of the city's surroundings as a giant, tributary commuter suburb within an arbitrary 40-mile radius that ignored the region's geography.[54] Mumford, Wright, and the RPAA, by contrast, outlined a plan which emphasized correcting New York's imbalanced relationship with the surrounding regions and reversing its trend toward concentration (figure 2.16). It treated New York State as a whole and New York City as one of its parts in a complex ecological network with coordinated rail and motor transportation systems, electrical power and water distribution, decentralized industry, and intensification of local agriculture. At its core was the still existing metropolis—heavily zoned, less congested, and in Mumford's eyes more humane.[55]

The RPAA's intellectual stimulus from the outset was Ebenezar Howard's *Garden Cities of Tomorrow,* but Mumford, its secretary and later its theorist and chief spokesman, aspired to tailor its program to American conditions, and so directed it toward Geddes's method of civic survey—or detailed diagnosis from direct observation—and his "valley section," the paradigmatic geographical

Figure 2.15 Clarence S. Stein and Henry Wright. Radburn, New Jersey, 1928–29. (C. S. Stein, *Towards New Towns for America,* 1957.)



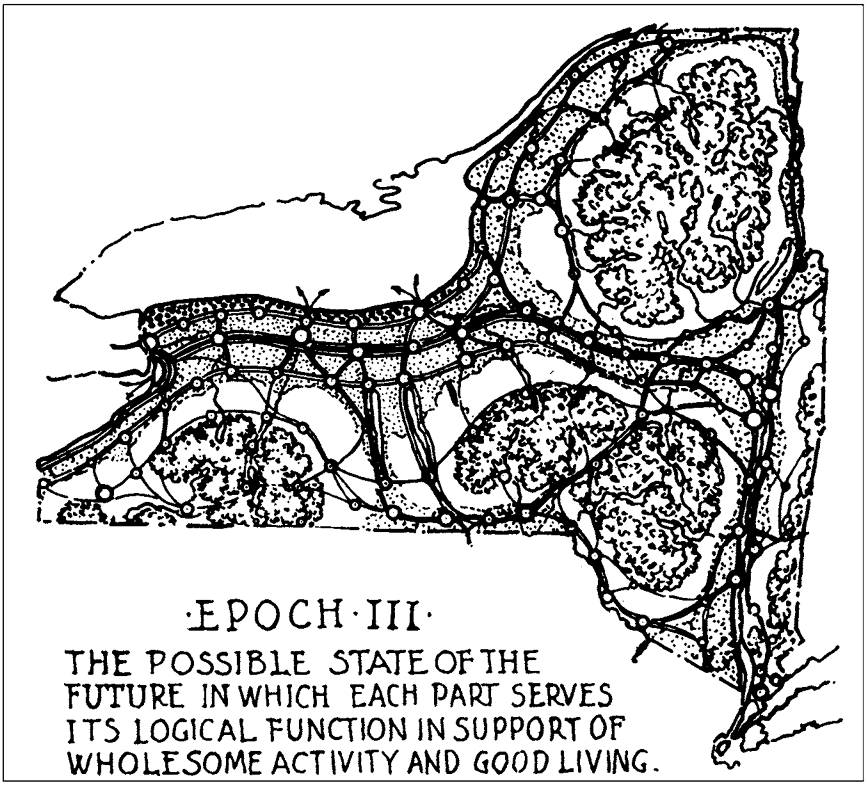

·EPOCH·III·
THE POSSIBLE STATE OF THE
FUTURE IN WHICH EACH PART SERVES
ITS LOGICAL FUNCTION IN SUPPORT OF
WHOLESOME ACTIVITY AND GOOD LIVING.

Figure 2.16 State of New York. *Report of the New York State Commission on Housing and Regional Planning,* 1926.

model which graphically outlined in its falling topography the characterizing features of a region: its pattern of human settlement, geography, natural features, and economic life (figure 2.17). Mumford earlier explored the valley section as a standard for regional planning in *The Story of Utopias* (1922), a history of pre- and postindustrial utopias from Plato to Bellamy, in which he noted that Plato, whether he knew it or not, envisioned his republic with "an 'ideal' section of land in mind—what the geographers call the valley section"—and identified the city-region as the basic political and geographical unit in the utopias of Plato and Sir Thomas More.[56] With Wright and the RPAA, Mumford employed the valley section, along with their own version of Geddes's civic survey, the "regional survey," to create the conceptual framework for a statewide regional plan.[57] Mumford later credited Geddes's theoretical constructs for helping him "put the whole clinical picture together."[58] They provided him with the necessary tools for considering all at once the complex-

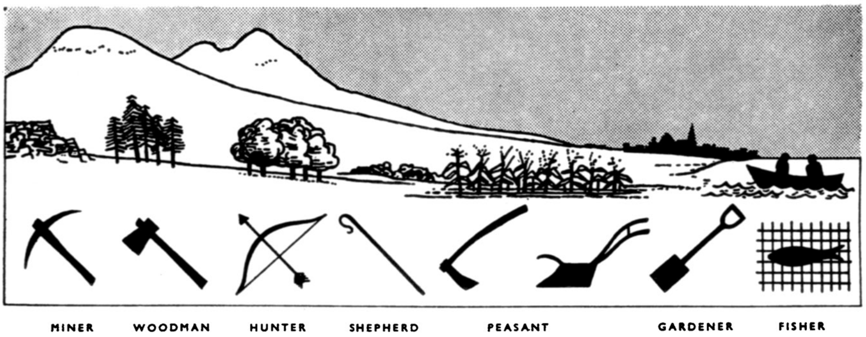


Figure 2.17 Patrick Gedded. "Valley section," c. 1895. (From Philip Mariet, *Pioneer of Sociology: The Life and Letters of Patrick Geddes*. London: Humphries, 1957; courtesy of the New York Public Library.)

ity and range of variables which inevitably influenced large-scale physical planning.

Given Mumford's Geddesian breadth of vision, then, it is not surprising that he should see architecture as a highly contingent discipline, never autonomous, and so never purely a visual art. Inextricable from the civilization of which it was a part and enmeshed in myriad social, cultural, political, economic, and environmental conditions, it could not rely for fulfilling its higher purposes on "the virtuosity of the architect" or on the "peculiar ornateness or originality of any particular building."[59] Rather it drew its force instead from the characterizing particulars that Mumford's Geddes-inspired critical perspective invested with conceptual accountability—the personal needs of an individual, the expressive qualities of building materials, the distinctiveness of a building site, or the cultural and geographical character of a region.

Mumford's integrated and balanced approach to the particular in architecture's critical interpretation could not have eluded Hitchcock more. Such matters intrinsic, individual, and characteristic, Hitchcock maintained, militated against the crystallization of style. So, too, did excessive emphasis on nature and the environment, which threatened at every turn to dismantle architecture under the name of the picturesque. All of these Hitchcock grouped under the rubric "romanticism," which he invested with amazing explanatory power in *Modern Architecture: Romanticism and Reintegration* as *the* reason for architecture's nineteenth-century decline. Romanticism's action upon architecture Hitchcock called "primarily disintegrant"; it was at best the near antithesis of a style.[60] Mumford, alternatively, considered romanticism a positive force in modern architecture's development. "There was in the romantic movement, from its beginning in Rousseau, an element of energy and vitality that could not be denied: the belief in nature, as a resource of the human spirit."[61] Romanticism's emphasis on nature and the characteristic, furthermore, ultimately had positive consequences for the flourishing of an organic, regional architecture, if only because of its concern for the built environment's effectiveness in mediating the subtle, sympathetic, and mutually enhancing relationships between a person and the natural surroundings.

Mumford thought that it took humility in historians and critics to interpret the actual complexity of architecture in its regional surroundings, along with a hands-on knowledge of its countless human, craft-related, cultural, and environmental facets. Moreover, it required a perspective on the landscape and its artifacts analogous to the circumambient vista from Geddes's "outlook tower," which incorporated a range of scales into a highly contextual totality. Mumford had little use for drifting completely detached over the physical terrain in the realm of context-free visual abstractions. That is why he failed to appreciate Hitchcock's art-historical methods, despite their effectiveness in forcefully describing canonic works of high modern architecture, determining a compelling chronology of style, and incisively tracing lines of influence. And while Mumford himself acknowledged that Hitchcock charted new territory to establish a fundamental level of knowledge about modernism as a visual phenomenon, a knowledge on which he to a certain extent depended—"Hitchcock's 1929 volume . . . still seems to me remarkably sound and even prescient"—he refused to accept Hitchcock's intensity of focus on defining with uncompromising clarity an absolute modern style.[62]

The explosive confrontation between Mumford and Hitchcock over the Bay Region style at the Museum of Modern Art's "What Is Happening to Modern Architecture?" symposium in 1948, then, was rooted in two fundamentally opposing ways of seeing the world of built artifacts, Hitchcock's grounded ultimately in methods of connoisseurship and interpretation from the history of art, and Mumford's in the ecological and social orientation of Geddes. Long before the debate at the Museum of Modern Art, however, the differences between Hitchcock and Mumford over the significance of the region were already markedly apparent in a much earlier contentious dialogue over Frank Lloyd Wright's place in the development of modern architecture, which began in 1929. Mumford sought in Wright's work substantiation for his own regionalist argument: he found an intellectual kinship in Wright's organicist viewpoint, and especially in his deep and intuitive feeling, as an architect, for the natural environment. Hitchcock the connoisseur, resolved to document modernism's progressive evolution through the detailed visual study of its artifacts, based his evaluation of Frank Lloyd Wright on a building-by-building analysis and comparison of Wright's achievements with those of his European contemporaries. Both viewed Wright as a key figure in the history of modern architecture, but for each he occupied an entirely separate place in the context of their larger historiographic aims.

The debate between Mumford and Hitchcock over Frank Lloyd Wright began when Hitchcock stated in *Frank Lloyd Wright* (1928) that he could not possibly include Wright's work in his exalted high modern category New Pioneers, classifying it instead as part of the preceding "New Tradition." He blamed Wright's problematic and persistent attachment to nature, orientalism, and Whitman—in essence signs of a persisting nineteenth-century romanticism—which later he and Johnson traced to Wright's isolated youth in Madison, Wisconsin, his training under Sullivan, and to his character: he was a "rebel by temperament." This diminished Wright's intellectual and logical command of his art, Hitchcock argued, and while it had a positive influence on his ornament, it was dangerous as a doctrine for his architecture.[63] Mumford disagreed with Hitchcock's assessment of Wright as a forerunner of the New Pioneers and proposed in a 1929 review of Hitchcock's *Frank Lloyd Wright* that, to the contrary, Wright should be regarded historically as the New Pioneers' further advanced successor; Wright's commitment to organicism prophesied a future, ecologically aware society: he "kept the way open for a type of architecture which can come into existence only in a much more humanized and socially adept generation than our own."[64] Mumford went on to explain in *The Brown Decades* (1931) that romanticism, hardly Hitchcock's countervailing force in the history of modern architecture, was to the contrary an inevitable and necessary phase of its evolution in America; what germinated as romanticism in Richardson's work matured into the organic discipline of Wright.[65]

Mumford's and Hitchcock's opposing interpretations of romanticism lay at the heart of their argument over Wright. While Hitchcock considered Wright's romanticism problematic, Mumford ultimately viewed it as a heightened and refined sensibility to the natural surroundings. Wright's houses, particularly, showed a deeply intuitive, responsive understanding of their landscape settings through native materials, rambling and open plans, horizontal massing, and low-pitched roofs.[66] Further, they symbolized nature in gardens, which created artistic unity in counterbalancing foliage and outcropping masonry forms. But most significantly, they manifested a thoughtfully conceived regionalism. "Mr. Wright is, definitely, our greatest regional architect; his Chicago houses *are* prairie houses, as his Pasadena houses are 'Mediterranean' ones, to harmonize with that climate and milieu"[67] (figure 2.18). In essence, the very qualities in Wright's work that Mumford regarded as positive, durable, and essential to the growth of a full-fledged regional style—its uniqueness to

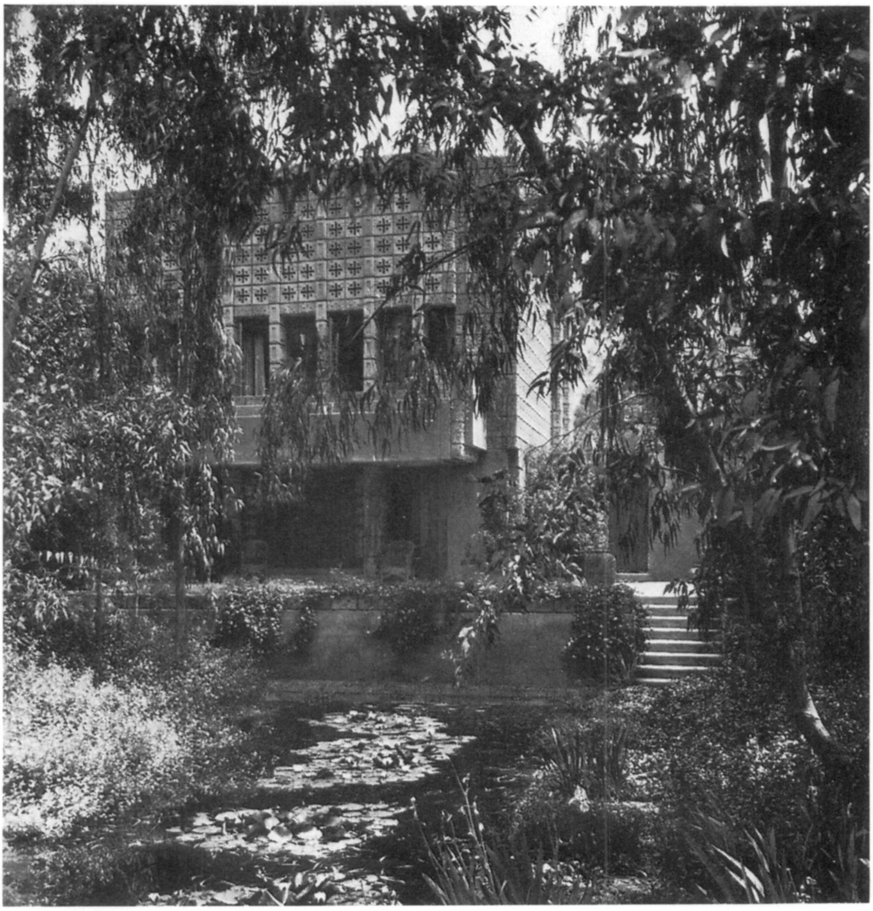


Figure 2.18 Frank Lloyd Wright. Millard house, Pasadena, California, 1923. (From Frank Lloyd Wright, *A Testament,* p. 145.)

its setting, respect for the characterizing particulars of a defining cultural or geographical milieu, and its dominant emphasis on the ambient natural environment—Hitchcock considered the weakening influences of Wright's "romanticism."

The question of regionalism's proper emphasis in Wright's work and in the historiography of modern architecture in general was, in the end, largely responsible for clearing the unbridgeable chasm between Mumford and Hitchcock. After Hitchcock realized in the early 1940s that Wright's renewed and continually evolving career—spectacularly illustrated by Fallingwater (1936) and the Johnson Wax Administration Building (1936–39)—was compromising the explanatory power of his decade-old historiographic structure, he conceded in his Frank Lloyd Wright exhibition catalog, *In the Nature of Materials* (1942), that his earlier essay, *Frank Lloyd Wright,* was "perhaps rather blind" and that the "concept of a closed style is false to the first principles of Frank Lloyd Wright's approach to architecture." He praised Wright's ability to balance and contrast a house with its natural surroundings, his respect for the nature of materials, and his sensitivity to human needs such as privacy and scale; these concerns, he observed, distinguished Wright's career from those of the Europeans. He even lauded Fallingwater's "organic order" and "romanticism about nature."[68] Hitchcock's interpretation of Wright's work, somewhat surprisingly, began sounding more like Mumford's. Hitchcock drew the line, nonetheless, at wholeheartedly supporting Mumford's convictions about Wright's regionalism. Wright's California houses of the 1920s, Hitchcock observed, were not "a regional Californian style" so much as an "expression of the new textile block construction." Moreover, rather than illustrating "Wright's relationship to a general region very different from the prairies of the Middle West," they showed instead his "capacity to renew again and again his architectural imagination by drawing on the implications of particular uses of materials and the opportunities of very carefully chosen sites."[69] Regionalism simply did not have a significant place in Hitchcock's historiography of the modern.

Mumford's and Hitchcock's differing views about the relevance of regionalism to an understanding of Wright's work hinged on the question of whether it was possible for an architecture to be intimately connected with its place and to be completely, if not heroically, modern at the same time. Mumford, of course, thought so.

> Mr. Wright's architecture is an early witness of what may generally come to happen when our regional cultures absorb the lesson of the machine without losing their roots or renouncing all those elements which give landscapes and men their individualities.[70]

Hitchcock, obviously, had long since refused to recognize the virtues of rootedness in a region. Le Corbusier's Villa Savoye (1929–30), a symbolic object of modernity in *The International Style,* was anything but ensconced in its setting (figure 2.19). Hitchcock's critical acclaim of the villa signified that architecture, if it were to make a decisive break with the past, must free itself of its setting completely to achieve an iconoclastic self-reflexiveness transcending place and time.

Mumford, of course, thought it totally incomprehensible to reject a place's past for the purposes of seeking a symbolic modernity. Indeed, his *Story of Utopias* and *Golden Day* provided regionalism with both intellectual roots and a cultural rationale, and in doing so, located regionalism in "the recovery of

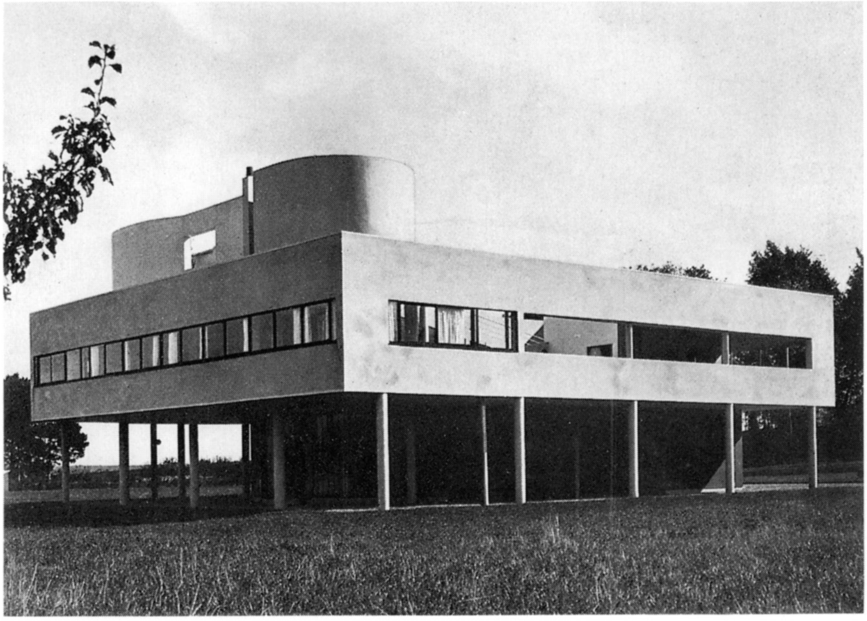


Figure 2.19 Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret. Savoye house, Poissy-sur-Seine, France, 1929–30 (*Modern Architecture: International Exhibition,* 1932.)

the past."[71] Furthermore, Mumford's regionalist criticism of architecture had a regressive element which belonged more in spirit to the nineteenth-century American organic tradition and Spengler's *Decline* than to the twentieth-century quest for the modern. His deep antipathy toward anything mechanical and his pessimism about advanced industrial society in general strictly prohibited his acknowledgment of Hitchcock's high modern vocabulary and its attendant machine-based aesthetic evocations. Most significantly, Mumford refused to accept Hitchcock's basic working assumption that modern buildings had to be context-free, autonomous objects of art. He acknowledged that universalizing forces—science and invention, travel and trade or "the common fund of ideas"—contributed to regional vitality, but also that a region first must establish and cultivate its own identity; otherwise, exchange with the universal would not be fruitful.[72] Architecture, the most visible manifestation of that identity, and thus inextricable from such a stable, place-defined culture, could not be observed, much less evaluated, in total isolation from a particular people and its past.

Hitchcock's and Mumford's competing interpretations of Wright, which they clarified around the issues of whether Wright should be regarded historically merely as a forerunner in relation to the European architectural avant-garde or instead as a more advanced phenomenon; whether his organic doctrine suggested a problematic romanticism or instead a heightened sensibility to the natural environment; and whether the interpretation of his work should emphasize its international stature or instead its regional responsiveness, brought to glaring light the polarizing tensions in their historiographies, and this, in turn, virtually predicted their decisive intellectual split at the Museum of Modern Art's 1948 symposium. That the 1948 debate should have as its subject Bay Region architecture only further exacerbated their differences. Whereas earlier they were at least able to find some common ground in Wright's organic approach, when confronted with the work of William Wurster and his contemporaries, they met insurmountable obstacles. Hitchcock could connect Wright's designs to avant-garde international developments easily enough, but in Wurster's architecture he found little spatially, much less iconographically, to stimulate his high-modernist sympathies.

Central to Mumford's favorable assessment of Wurster and California Bay Region architecture, not surprisingly, was its fulfillment of the many criteria he had already long since established for determining a regional architecture's vitality: its potency in expressing an evolving cultural identity, its strong reciprocity with the natural environment, its human basis, and the authenticity of its native materials and craft. Mumford considered California Bay Region architecture an exemplary modern regional idiom, and hence an ideal modern alternative to Hitchcock's and Johnson's International Style. For Hitchcock, of course, questions pertaining to an architecture's regionalism had little meaning or consequence. Even the most cursory visual analysis of the California Bay Region architecture showed that it did not consistently conform to the formal criteria of his International Style and so by his deduction had to be of minor historical significance.

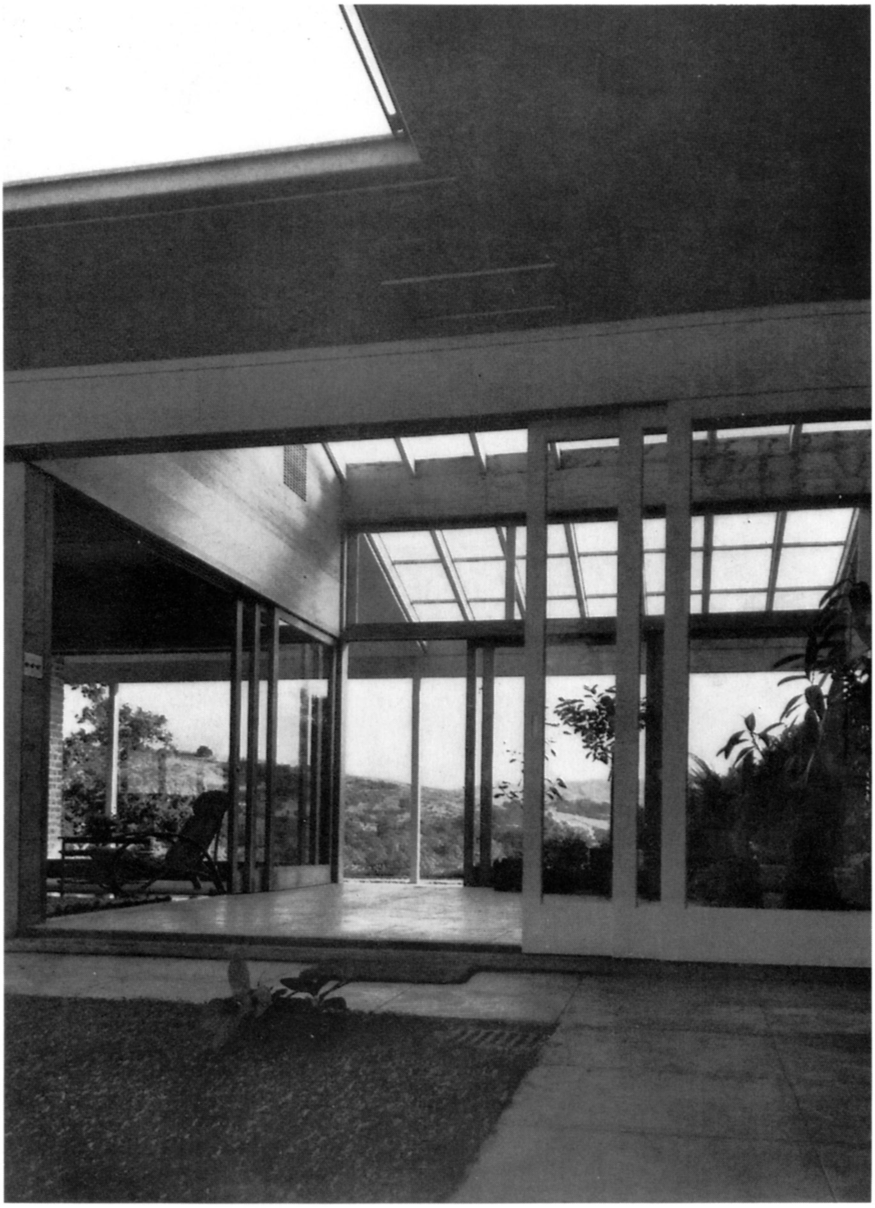
Hitchcock initially became acquainted with Bay Region architecture on a visit to the West Coast during the late 1930s. There he judged Wurster's work "perhaps duller than one expects," and could not understand why he had not carried over "something positive and worthwhile from tasteful traditionalism into more radical contemporary work," as his eastern contemporaries had done. For an "international phenomenon," one had to go see Richard Neutra's houses in Los Angeles.[73] Mumford's encounter with Wurster and Bay Region architecture on a visit to California a few years later, in 1941, was a wholly contrasting affair of discovery, and set the tone for his advocacy of the Bay Region style in the 1947 *New Yorker* essay "Status Quo."[74] In 1941 Mumford also published *The South in Architecture,* its abiding theme architecture's potential to powerfully enhance a region's identity. He characterized Henry Hobson Richardson as "our first true regional architect" and Wright as an inveterate regionalist, who tried in many regions "to evolve forms that identified a house with its landscape."[75] Mumford hoped when meeting Wurster, then, to find an architect similarly seeking through built forms a meaningful regional expression.

Mumford later recounted that during his 1941 visit he explored the Bay Region with Wurster by car, listened to Wurster's "autobiographic observations," and, when standing before the First Church of Christ Scientist in Berkeley (1910), to his appreciation of Bernard Maybeck's "poetic architectural imagination." Wurster's own consciousness of his relationship to his place and to its past signified to Mumford that the Bay Region had recently matured culturally and so, he thought, made timely the delineation of "the origins and continuities of this vital modern tradition."[76] Mumford believed he had discovered through his direct experience of the built environment surrounding the San Francisco Bay still another instance of a fully developed American regional culture, not unlike the literary culture of mid-nineteenth-century New England he described earlier in his *Golden Day.*

Wurster observed in 1949, "when in the West, Lewis Mumford sensed that something vital had always been happening around San Francisco Bay. I am sure he felt this stemmed from a number of conditions and evidenced itself in the bulk of the work of many architects."[77] It was Wurster's architecture, nonetheless, that epitomized for Mumford the spirit of the Bay Region—an environment whose unique geography, climate, and vegetation combined to stamp it with a powerful physical identity. It exemplified Mumford's ideal modern regional idiom: it was not consciously or iconoclastically modern, nor obsessed with the theoretical debates of Europe, but rather straightforward and simple in its expression, and intimately adapted to human use; to precipitation, breezes, views, and to the landscape; and to local vernacular craft traditions in wood and masonry. As Wurster himself described it, "I like to work in direct, honest solutions, avoiding exotic materials, using indigenous things so that there is no affectation and the best is obtained for the money."[78] Architecture, Wurster thought, should be a recessive construction that supported the complex pattern of human life and that opened outward toward the ambient landscape with extended spaces and views—"the picture frame and not the picture"[79] (figure 2.20).

Mumford found in Wurster's architecture the simple, unostentatious, and highly contextual buildings he had praised earlier in *Sticks and Stones*. It had a studied tension between the vernacular and the formal, and so seemed to capture the proper balance of the native with the universal, and to render explicit the 50-year-old California tradition behind such a balance. It was embedded in its surroundings, yet assertive of a powerful local character (figures 2.21 and

Figure 2.20 Clarence Mayhew. Manor house, Contra Costa County, California, 1939. (William Wurster, "San Francisco Bay Region Portfolio," *Magazine of Art,* 37, [December 1944].)



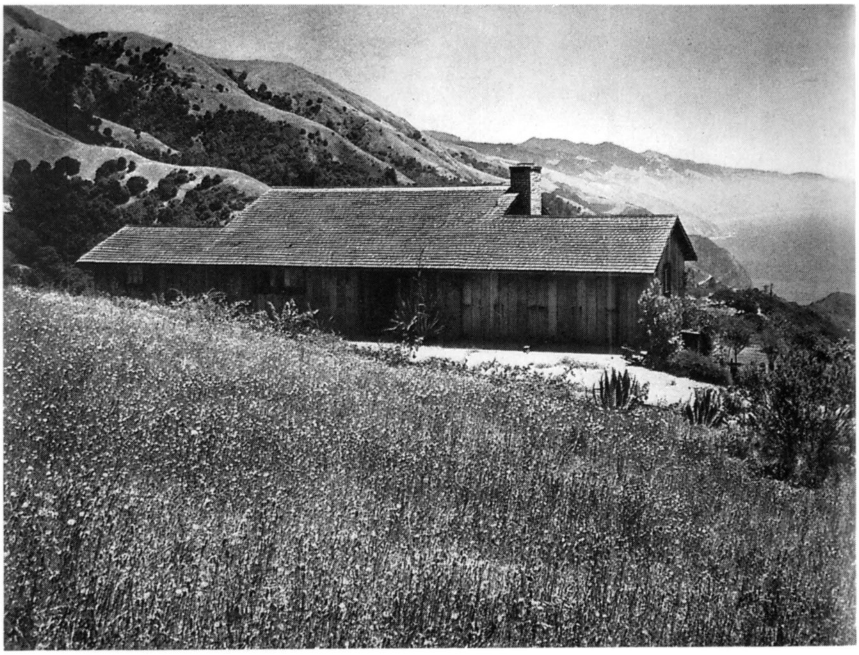


Figure 2.21 Voss House, photograph by Roger Sturtevant, William Wurser/WBE Collection Environmental Design Archives, University of California Berkeley.

2.22). In essence, Wurster's work appealed to Mumford for precisely the same reasons that it did not appeal to Hitchcock.

After his discovery of Wurster's architecture, Mumford made it an objective in the late 1940s to heighten national awareness of Bay Region architecture as paradigmatic modern regional idiom and as a significant parallel modern tradition. He was joined by the Museum of Modern Art's Elizabeth Mock, who pointed out in her catalog accompanying the museum's 1945 exhibition, *Built in U.S.A. Since 1932,* that Wurster "was producing straightforward, essentially modern houses well before 1932."[80] Mumford's 1949 "The Architecture of the Bay Region," for the San Francisco Museum of Art's exhibition catalog *Domestic Architecture of the San Francisco Bay Region,* reemphasized earlier points from the Museum of Modern Art's 1948 symposium regarding architecture's personalism and sensitivity to the environment and went on to advocate proper recognition by historians and critics of what he now called the "Bay Region school."[81] Mumford proposed that histories of American architecture be amended to account for "the existence of a vigorous tradition of modern building, which took root in California some half century ago."[82]

Figure 2.22 Voss House, photograph by Roger Sturtevant, William Wurser/WBE Collection Environmental Design Archives, University of California Berkeley.

In writing "The Architecture of the Bay Region" Mumford was also determined to set the record straight with his adversaries Barr and Hitchcock. Again he pointed to the virtues of the Bay Region school as a thoroughly modern idiom without the International Style's restrictive formulas, fetishes, or clichés, and as an architecture indigenous to its place, as opposed to imported from Europe, having developed spontaneously in the conducive ambiance of a regional culture as an "unforced personal growth." The Bay Region school, actually far more sophisticated than Barr's and Hitchcock's officious "redwood cottage style," exuded in its every facet "qualities of boldness, directness, and human sensitivity, combined with a certain quiet restraint," all of which seemed to be "embedded in the very character of the region." The Bay Region architects, Mumford emphasized, "have given form to their very informality."[83] In essence, Mumford discovered in the Bay Region school a fully developed architectural embodiment of Geddes's "regional personality."

Mumford's impassioned defense of California Bay Region architecture, which he considered at once unique to its place and part of the modern architecture of the world, strengthened his growing convictions about the centrality of the region in modernist historiography. In 1949 he cogently argued his regionalist position in the context of "Monumentalism, Symbolism, and

Style," while also attacking Hitchcock's "narrow canon of modernity," its stark forms emanating from the newest centers of fashion such as Paris or Berlin. Mumford hoped that historians would resist what amounted to a Spenglerian "covert imperialism of the world Megalopolises" by focusing instead on a broader, unified, and more inclusive interpretation of modernism, which examined the "interplay of the universal and the regional" across a range of integrated regional cultures developing within the larger framework of an international culture.[84] Then the region would receive its proper emphasis.

Part of the problem, Mumford thought, was that the historiography of modern architecture should not be conceived in terms of Hitchcock's hegemonic map of style centers and diffusion, but rather in an open-ended, nonhierarchical fashion, which accounted for the actuality of its ongoing dynamic of growth and change. He proposed instead a treelike conceptual model. Its trunk would represent the characterizing impulse of modern life: "the increasing use of new materials, of new technical processes, of new forms of construction, along with an aesthetic infused with the conceptions of space, time, energy, life, and personality that have been developing since the sixteenth century." From the trunk would extend many branches, interpreting "fresh conceptions" as varied tendencies, schools, and movements that at certain times evolved and flourished, and at other times receded and withered. Such an organic model might describe any number and variety of modern regional cultures, developing intrinsically, but also open to cross-fertilization, just as the earlier and authentically "international" Gothic, Renaissance, and Baroque styles accommodated a similar richness of regional diversity while also expressing the whole of Western civilization. Regional forms and adaptations would take shape independently, and then would be gathered into the mainstream; different centers—Chicago, Brussels, Paris, San Francisco, Rio de Janiero—would serve as dynamic foci of activity at different times.[85]

Mumford's organic, treelike historiographic model vividly heightened the contrast between the cultural orientation of his own interpretive method and the self-referential academicism of Hitchcock's International Style. Mumford had long since clarified what he considered the principal limitation of such a predetermined stylistic construct in *The South in Architecture* (1931): its failure to explain the inescapable and the complex interdependence between architectural forms and the cultures which produced them.

> There is an organic connection between the forms of an age and the rest of its culture—its religion, its economic organization, its political institutions, its moral disciplines, its sense of human personality; and therefore any formula that denies this contemporary connection is condemned to feebleness and sterility.[86]

Besides the basic limitations of its intellectual method, Mumford now argued that the International Style had other problems as well. In treating works of architecture as acontextual art objects, like paintings or sculptures in a gallery, the style failed to account for the centrality of the human perceptual experience, particularly as it unfolded in a spectator's passage toward, around, and through a building.[87] Mumford's criticism was in all likelihood stimulated by Hitchcock's recently published *Painting Towards Architecture* (1948), which argued for abstract art as "a major influence on modern architecture," while observing that Le Corbusier visually organized his houses "with all the perfection of his purist paintings."[88] Mumford also continued to be deeply troubled by Hitchcock's one-sided symbolism of the machine, which he now considered a last-ditch effort at seizing a spurious symbol in an alienated, industrialized age that had unfortunately abandoned long ago the social, political, and spiritual values "a great many historic symbols" represented. Mumford proposed, alternatively, that architects replace Hitchcock's advocacy of the machine as symbol with a "new hierarchy of function," which elevated instead of the biological, the social, and the personal.[89] Altogether, Mumford's "Monumentalism, Symbolism, and Style" mounted a concerted attack on the principal intellectual assumptions underlying Hitchcock's International Style formula, from its most fundamental aesthetic precepts to its loftier iconographic aims. Little wonder that Mumford thought the formula could not begin to properly explain the significance to modernism of California Bay Region architecture.

Hitchcock, ultimately, refused to show any acknowledgement of Mumford's advocacy for the region as a unifying conceptual device in the history of modern architecture, even though by the late 1940s it was obvious that the International Style had never been a single, dominant mode of design; neither could he accept Mumford's continued support for the Bay Region. Instead, Hitchcock reasserted in his retrospective essay "The International Style Twenty Years After" (1951) that Bay Region architects followed International Style principles to "the point of parody," although now he confessed, "not in their best and most characteristic country house work." He admitted having difficulty with explaining the later work of Frank Lloyd Wright, as well as that of Alvar Aalto and Auguste Perret, using his International Style construct, let alone with reconciling Wright's career and the style.[90] He even conceded that the International Style should not be seen as the "only proper pattern or program" for explaining modern architecture. Still, Hitchcock refused to seriously consider the possibilities regional criteria offered for fully explaining modern architecture's rich and varied complexity. He continued to argue instead for the merits of his connoisseur's strictly visual approach, seemingly unaware of its limitations: architecture *was* a "set of monuments" and the "idea of style" still had validity.[91] What mattered most to Hitchcock was whether twentieth-century high modernism was indeed still following the course he and Johnson initially prescribed for it.

Given the far-reaching disparities in Mumford and Hitchcock's historiographies, their impassioned confrontation during the Museum of Modern Art's "What Is Happening to Modern Architecture?" symposium in 1948 was perhaps to be expected. The Bay Region school, unfortunately, happened to be the historical casualty. In retrospect even the purely visual evidence—the sequence of creative work proceeding from Maybeck to Dailey to Wurster and most recently, to Moore, Lyndon, Turnbull & Whitaker's Sea Ranch (1964–66)—shows that there did indeed exist a vital, modern regional architecture in the California Bay Region, with a lasting intergenerational identity (figure 2.23).[92] Sea Ranch in particular, with its vernacular forms crafted in wood, its casual variety in interdependent indoor and outdoor spaces, and its powerful connection to a rugged coastal site, functioned as a late twentieth-century regionalist icon that substantiated Mumford's argument for the Bay Region school as a continuous, vital, and important parallel development in modern architecture.

Hitchcock and Mumford abandoned the argument over the Bay Region school as their intellectual trajectories diverged even more markedly in their later careers. Hitchcock moved away from style, and became increasingly concerned with tracing lines of influence, whether from architect to architect, building to building, or generation to generation, while still preserving his connoisseur's emphasis on form.[93] For Mumford history became increasingly a form of advocacy, his belief in the centrality of the region serving as the basis for a comprehensive ethic about reconfiguring the built environment. All of future civilization, he wrote, should live, ideally, in "balanced communities, cut to human scale, in balanced regions . . . part of an ever widening national, continental, and global whole, also in balance."[94] His increasing concern for moral philosophy, public policy issues, disarmament, and environmental preservation supported his larger vision of a decentralized, environmentally responsible, and humane global community.[95]

That Hitchcock and Mumford should have so little to say to each other after 1948 only underscored how differently each viewed his self-appointed role as a cultural historian who influenced the present and also planned the future. Hitchcock viewed himself as an arbiter of high style, who promoted the newest aesthetic standard within the Western world's expanding domain of influence. To this end, he tailored a conventional art-historical notion of style to suit the modern era, the resulting International Style reflecting above

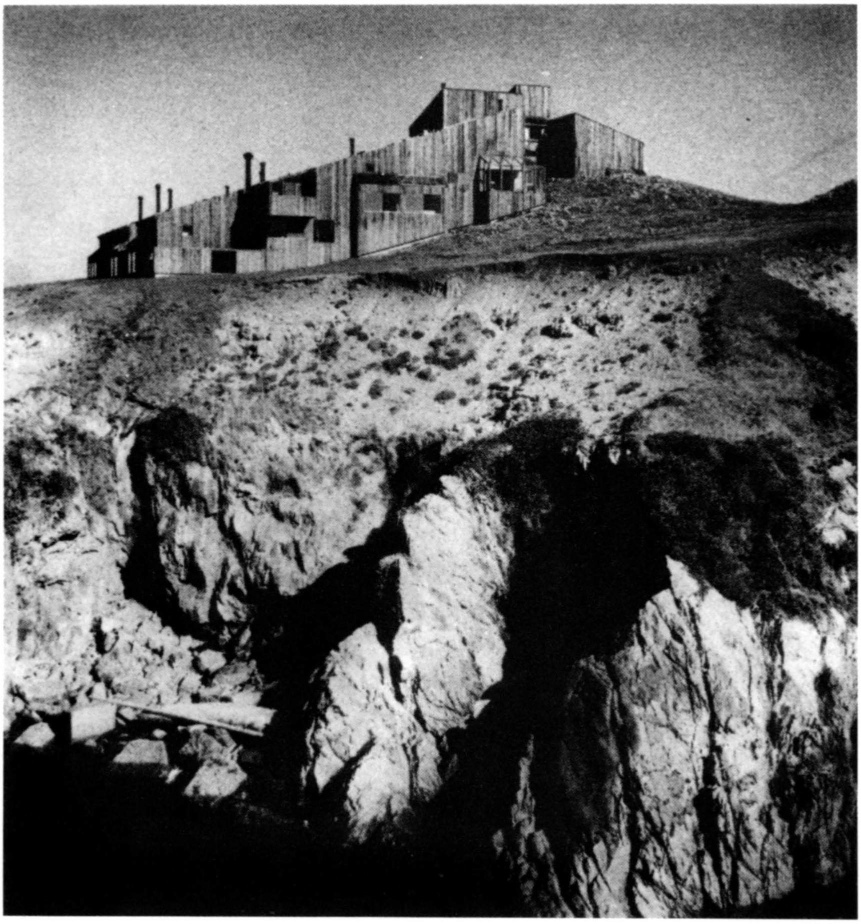


Figure 2.23 "Sea Ranch, 1964-1967." Photograph by Morley Baer ©2018 the Morley Baer photography Trust, Santa Fe. All rights reserved.

all else his connoisseur's nostalgia for the beautiful objects of a hierarchical past. Mumford's critical eye was drawn instead to architecture that invested with consequence the intricate pattern of human life and the intimacy of its connectedness with nature, metaphorically, spatially, or through authentic craft techniques and materials. Architecture was enmeshed in the continuity of an evolving culture, and more than the register of a systematic historical construct or the impeccable evidence of a twentieth-century academic ideal, it was to be a supportive framework for the human community, and a carrier of meanings, principally ethical and social, in the civilization that produced it.

Notes

I owe thanks to Stanford Anderson for his provocative introduction to Mumford, Wurster, and the Bay Region during a seminar on American architecture at MIT in spring 1983; for suggesting that I explore the Museum of Modern Art's 1948 symposium, "What Is Happening to Modern Architecture?" in depth; and for reading an early version of this chapter. I am also indebted to Leo Marx for helping to clarify my understanding of Lewis Mumford's ties with the past and to Richard Chafee for his insights on Henry-Russell Hitchcock as a compulsive collector of information and connoisseur of sharp visual perception. Richard Chafee, Stephen White, and Deryck Holdsworth read a draft and made thoughtful comments.

1. A parallel debate took place over the architecture of New England. Robert Woods Kennedy, writing about houses, advocated a "live regional architecture" or "contemporary architecture in the New England tradition" which incorporated lessons of organic planning and massing from the New England vernacular: "we are after a contemporary architecture in the New England tradition." "The Small House in New England," *Magazine of Art* 41 (April 1948): 123, 127. Peter Blake and Philip Johnson responded in "Architectural Freedom and Order: An Answer to Robert W. Kennedy," *Magazine of Art,* 41 (October 1948): 228–31 that for large-scale projects, which demanded formality, it was impossible to absorb anything from a tradition on the scale of cottages. For the broader postwar theoretical context of the debates, see Stanford Anderson, "The New Empiricism-Bay Region-Axis: Kay Fisker and Postwar Debates on Functionalism, Regionalism, and Monumentality" (School of Architecture & Planning, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1993, typescript), 1–9, 16–17, note. 9.

2. Lewis Mumford, "Status Quo," in "The Skyline," *The New Yorker,* 11 October 1947, 104–10. Part of Mumford's article is reprinted with an introduction in *Architecture Culture, 1943–1968: A Documentary Anthology,* eds. Joan Ockman and Edward Eigen (New York: Columbia University Books of Architecture and Rizzoli, 1993), 107–109.

3. Johnson asked Mumford to provide the text for the housing section of the International Style catalog and exhibition. Mumford wrote the catalog essay and his colleagues Catherine Bauer, Henry Wright, and Clarence Stein provided Johnson with text for the exhibition's panels. Terence Riley, *The International Style: Exhibition 15 and the Museum of Modern Art* (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), 192.

4. In "Architecture Chronicle," *Hound & Horn: A Harvard Miscellany,* 5 (January/March 1932): 275, Hitchcock argued that "there is nothing for us now to do, if we would go on, but to accept and transplant the international modern style as we did in the eighteenth century, grateful that Hobans, Mangins, and Latrobes are still ready to come to our shores." See Helen Searing, "Henry-Russell Hitchcock: Formative Years," *Skyline,* (December 1982): 10–11.

5. "What Is Happening to Modern Architecture? A Symposium at the Museum of Modern Art," *Museum of Modern Art Bulletin,* 15 (spring 1948). According to Peter Blake, *No Place Like Utopia: Modern Architecture and the Company We Kept* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993), 106, the symposium was Philip Johnson's idea. "[Johnson] was full of some article by Lewis Mumford that had just appeared in *The New Yorker*—an article which I had not read but which (I gathered) attacked all that Philip and the Museum of Modern Art held most dear."

6. "What Is Happening to Modern Architecture?," 4–18. Britain's "New Empiricism" and interest in Sweden and Switzerland paralleled America's concern for native regional developments on the West Coast. See Anderson, "The New Empiricism-Bay Region-Axis," 4.

7. I thank Stanford Anderson for making this observation.

8. "What Is Happening to Modern Architecture?," 5–6. Barr frequently cited the visual principles of the International Style, most notably in the foreword to *Modern Architecture: International Exhibition* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1932), 14–15, but told Mumford, "it is not my formula at all but one arrived at by Hitchcock and Johnson. . . . I was, however, chiefly responsible for applying the phrase International Style to architecture which Hitchcock in his earlier book [*Modern Architecture: Romanticism and Reintegration*] called the work of the New Pioneers," in ibid., 21.

9. "What Is Happening to Modern Architecture?," 7–8. Wurster was Fellow, Harvard Graduate School of Design during 1943–44 and Dean at MIT's School of Architecture & Planning during 1944–50. His "confrontational relationship" with the eastern professional establishment was echoed in Hitchcock's and Mumford's dispute. Wurster advocated a strain of modernism that embodied regional conditions and believed that architects should "relax their fixations on being aesthetically up-to-date." See Lawrence Anderson, "William Wurster: Architecture as a Social Art," *Thresholds,* 5 (9 March 1993): 3.

10. The editors of the London journal *Architectural Review* drew a clear line of distinction between their own recent New Empiricism and the native American tradition that evolved over 50 years into a characteristic modern regional style: "to sum up, the Bay Region style is not, like the New Empiricism, the architecture of a land which feels that it has come through the Modern Movement, but is rather a parallel development to the Modern Movement, local in origin though ever becoming less so in effect." "Bay Region Domestic," *Architectural Review,* 104 (October 1948): 164. See Anderson, "The New Empiricism-Bay Region-Axis," 16 note 9.

11. Vincent Scully was completing "The Cottage Style (An Organic Development in Later Nineteenth-Century Wooden Domestic Architecture in the Eastern United States)" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, New Haven, Conn., 1948) when the symposium was held. Hitchcock was involved with its supervision. Richard Chafee provided this information.

12. "What Is Happening to Modern Architecture?," 8–10.

13. Ibid., 18–19, 21.

14. Alfred Barr said in 1948, "Hitchcock . . . although now he seems evasive about it, was teacher and theorist for both Johnson and I." Riley, *The International Style: Exhibition 15 and the Museum of Modern Art,* 201 note 6.

15. Roger Montgomery, "Mass Producing Bay Area Architecture," in *Bay Area Houses,* ed. Sally Woodbridge (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith Books, 1988), 236–38. Wurster's office building for the Schuckl Canning Company was illustrated and described in *Built in U.S.A. Since 1932,* ed. Elizabeth Mock (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1944), 105. On the United Nations Center, see "A United Nations Center for San Francisco," *Arts and Architecture,* 62 (June 1945): 36–38. Houses by Wurster are documented with measured drawings and photographs in R. Thomas Hille, *Inside the Large Small House: The Residential Legacy of William W. Wurster* (Ann Arbor: College of Architecture & Planning, University of Michigan, 1994).

16. Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Modern Architecture: Romanticism and Reintegration* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1993 reprint of 1929 edition), 153–62. *Modern Architecture: International Exhibition* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1932) included a foreword by Alfred Barr, essays by Philip Johnson, Henry-Russell Hitchcock, and Lewis Mumford, and catalog entries on architects by Hitchcock and Johnson. Riley, *The International Style: Exhibition 15 and the Museum of Modern Art,* 9–27, describes the genesis of the exhibition in Hitchcock's and Johnson's travels in Europe and the decision to rewrite Hitchcock's 1928 *Modern Architecture* as a popular book about style. Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson, *The International Style: Architecture Since 1932* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1932).

17. Hitchcock and Johnson, *The International Style,* 20.

18. Hitchcock, *Modern Architecture: Romanticism and Reintegration,* 157–61; Johnson, "Historical Note," in *Modern Architecture: International Exhibition,* 18–19; Hitchcock and Johnson, *The International Style,* 31–32. Hitchcock and Johnson observed in *The International Style,* 32, that "Ozenfant's sort of cubism, called Purism, had perhaps inspired Le Corbusier in his search for sources of formal inspiration for a new architecture. But on the whole Le Corbusier in these early years turned for precedent rather to steamships than to painting."

19. Hitchcock, *Modern Architecture: Romanticism and Reintegration,* 162.

20. Ibid., 157, 160–61; Hitchcock and Johnson, *The International Style,* 22–23.

21. Leo Marx, "Lewis Mumford: Prophet of Organicism," in *Lewis Mumford: Public Intellectual,* eds. Thomas P. Hughes and Agatha C. Hughes (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 167.

22. Ibid., 167–68. Marx refers to Alfred North Whitehead's *Science and the Modern World* (New York: Macmillan, 1925), which describes "the romantic reaction" as "a protest on behalf of the organic view of nature." Of Whitehead Mumford wrote in *The Golden Day:*

A Study of American Literature and Culture (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1983 reprint of 1926 edition), 144, "Mr. A. N. Whitehead's *Science and the Modern World,* and Victor Branford's *Science and Sanctity* . . . both suggest the groundwork of a philosophy which shall be oriented as completely towards Life as the dominant thought since Descartes has been directed towards the Machine."

23. Lewis Mumford, *Sticks & Stones: A Study of American Architecture and Civilization* (New York: Dover Publications, 1955 reprint of 1924 edition), 6–9.

24. Ibid., 31–38, 84–85, 86.

25. Lewis Mumford, *The Brown Decades: A Study of the Arts in America, 1865–1895* (New York: Dover Publications, 1971 reprint of 1931 edition), 62.

26. Mumford, *Sticks & Stones,* 104.

27. Ibid., 31, 86, 100.

28. Mumford, *Brown Decades,* 51, 55, 62, 70, 76, 113–14.

29. Mumford, *Sticks & Stones,* 9–10, 95.

30. Ibid., 33–35, 55–66, 76, 107–12.

31. Ibid., 92, 100, 105, 107.

32. Lewis Mumford, *The City in History* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1961) and *The Myth of the Machine: Technics and Human Development* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1966); Marx, "Lewis Mumford: Prophet of Organicism," 167–78.

33. Mumford, *Sticks & Stones,* 69.

34. Linda Seidel, "The Scholar and the Studio: A. Kingsley Porter and the Study of Medieval Architecture in the Decade before the War," in *The Architectural Historian in America* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1990): 145–47, 155–56, and Helen Searing, "Henry-Russell Hitchcock: The Architectural Historian as Critic and Connoisseur," in ibid., 253, 263 note 17. Hitchcock finished his undergraduate studies at Harvard in 1924, and remained in Cambridge for his graduate education at the Fogg, which he completed in 1927.

35. Searing, "Henry-Russell Hitchcock: Formative Years," 10.

36. Oswald Spengler, *The Decline of the West,* 2 vols., trans. from the German by Charles Francis Atkinson (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926, 1928). Spengler describes his comparative morphological method in the book's introduction and analyzes "prime symbol" as expressed in architecture in vol. 1, 183–91.

37. Henry-Russell Hitchcock, "The Decline of Architecture," *Hound & Horn: A Harvard Miscellany,* 1 (September 1927): 29, 30, 30–35.

38. Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Modern Architecture: Romanticism and Reintegration* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1993 reprint of 1929 edition with new foreword by Vincent Scully), xxii.

39. Vincent Scully, "Foreword to the Da Capo Edition," in Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Modern Architecture: Romanticism and Reintegration,* viii-ix.

40. Patrick Geddes, *City Development: A Study of Parks, Gardens, and Culture-Institutes* (Edinburgh: Geddes & Co, 1904); Patrick Geddes, *Cities in Evolution* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1915). On Mumford and Geddes, see Helen Elizabeth Meller, *Patrick Geddes: Social Evolutionist and City Planner* (London: Routledge, 1990), 300–303, and Lewis Mumford, *Sketches From Life, The Autobiography of Lewis Mumford: The Early Years* (New York: Dial Press, 1982), 144–58. Lewis Mumford wrote an article on Patrick Geddes for the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences,* vol. 6, ed. David Sills (New York: Macmillan and Free Press, 1968), 81–83.

41. Lewis Mumford, "Mumford on Geddes," *Architectural Review,* 107 (August 1950): 84.

42. The intellectual sources of Geddes's regionalism are analyzed in Meller, *Patrick Geddes,* 18–52, 134–38.

43. Mumford, "Mumford on Geddes," 86–87.

44. Patrick Geddes, *Cities in Evolution,* quoted in "Mumford on Geddes," 87. See also "Cities in Evolution" in *Patrick Geddes: Spokesman for Man and the Environment,* ed. Marshall Stalley (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1972), 281.

45. Mumford, *The Golden Day,* 43.

46. Ibid., 21, 83, 89–90.

47. Ibid., 51; Mumford, *Brown Decades,* 30–31.

48. Mumford, *The Golden Day,* 57.

49. Ibid., 117.

50. For further perceptive analysis of Mumford's definition of a regional culture through his study of New England's literature in *The Golden Day,* see John L. Thomas, "Lewis Mumford, Benton Mackaye, and the Regional Vision" in *Lewis Mumford: Public Intellectual,* eds. Thomas P. Hughes and Agatha C. Hughes (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 89–93, 97. Mumford, *Sticks & Stones,* 9.

51. Mumford, *The Golden Day,* 142.

52. Mumford and Benton Mackaye, a progressive Washington D.C. forester who crusaded against resource exploitation, had already worked together as members of the American Institute of Architects' Committee on Community Planning in 1919. Carl Sussman, "Introduction," in *Planning the Fourth Migration: the Neglected Vision of the Regional Planning Association of America,* ed. Carl Sussman (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1976), 12–13. The RPAA was active during 1923–33. Lewis Mumford, "Introduction" in C. S. Stein, *Toward New Towns for America,* 3rd ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1973), 12–14.

53. See Spengler, *Decline of the West,* vol. 2, 85–110. Mumford wrote at least two essays on *Decline of the West.* Lewis Mumford, "Spengler's 'Decline of the West'" in *Books That Changed Our Minds,* ed. Malcolm Cowley and Bernard Smith (New York: Kelmscott Editions, 1939), 221, and "Downfall or Renewal?" *The New Republic,* 12 May 1926, 367. On Mumford and Spengler, see Donald L. Miller, *Lewis Mumford: A Life* (New York: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1989), 300–302. For the influence of Spengler on the RPAA, see Sussman, "Introduction," in *Planning the Fourth Migration,* ed. Sussman, 28.

54. State of New York, "Report of the New York State Commission on Housing and Regional Planning to Governor Alfred E. Smith," in *Planning the Fourth Migration,* ed. Sussman, 145–94. Lewis Mumford, "The Plan of New York," in ibid., 225–32.

55. State of New York, "Report of the New York State Commission on Housing and Regional Planning," in ibid., 145–94.

56. Lewis Mumford, *The Story of Utopias* (New York: Boni & Liveright, 1922), 30, 33, 64, 311.

57. State of New York, "Report of the New York State Commission on Housing and Regional Planning," 145–70, 183.

58. Mumford, *Sketches From Life,* 151.

59. Mumford, *Sticks & Stones,* 110.

60. Hitchcock, *Modern Architecture: Romanticism and Reintegration,* 5–15.

61. Mumford, *Sticks & Stones,* 53.

62. "What Is Happening to Modern Architecture?," 21.

63. Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Frank Lloyd Wright* (Paris: Editions Cahiers d'Art, 1928), n. p. "Qu'il y ait dans sa théorie d'une architecture pure, un mélange d'adoration de la nature, de démonstration extatique et individualiste à la Whitman et d'un orientalisme dont nous avons signalé la sérieuse influence sur son ornementation plutôt que d'influences littéraires qui seraient plus acceptables pour l'esprit contemporain, cela ne fait qu'augmenter la valeur lyrique de cette théorie en tant que poésie. Cependant, cette tendance peut diminuer la

maîtrise intellectuelle et logique de l'artiste et entretenir en lui, pour l'ornement, un goût positif aussi dangereux pour sa doctrine que pour son architecture." See also Hitchcock, *Modern Architecture: Romanticism and Reintegration,* 114–17, and Hitchcock and Johnson, *International Style,* 25–30. Wright, fully aware of Hitchcock's viewpoint, "was annoyed that a historiography of modern architecture had grown up that relegated him to the position of grandfather of the modern movement, a prophet who had charted the course in the early days but who like Moses would never himself enter the promised land." See Joseph Connors, "Wright on Nature and the Machine," in *The Nature of Frank Lloyd Wright,* eds. Carol R. Bolon, Robert S. Nelson, and Linda Seidel (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 13–15.

64. Lewis Mumford, "Frank Lloyd Wright and the New Pioneers," in *Writings on Wright,* ed. H. Allen Brooks (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1981), 153.

65. Mumford, *Brown Decades,* 75.

66. Ibid., 76.

67. Mumford, "Frank Lloyd Wright and the New Pioneers," 153–4. Wright designed only one textile block house in Pasadena, the Millard House (1922–23).

68. Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *In the Nature of Materials: The Buildings of Frank Lloyd Wright, 1887–1941* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1986 reprint of 1942 edition), xxix, 39–48, 76–77, 90–91.

69. Hitchcock, *Nature of Materials,* 76.

70. Mumford, "Frank Lloyd Wright and the New Pioneers," 154.

71. Thomas, "Lewis Mumford, Benton Mackaye, and the Regional Vision," 81.

72. Lewis Mumford, "Regional Planning" [1931], in *Planning the Fourth Migration,* ed. Sussman, 201–2.

73. Henry-Russell Hitchcock, "An Eastern Critic Looks at Western Architecture," *California Arts and Architecture,* 57 (December 1940): 22–23.

74. Mumford was able to further observe Bay Region architecture during 1942–43 when he taught at Stanford University. Miller, *Lewis Mumford,* 408–11.

75. Lewis Mumford, *The South in Architecture* (New York; Da Capo Press, 1967 reprint of 1941 edition), 102, 127. Mumford overlooked Wright's consistent use of the hexagon for planning Usonian houses in widely varying regions (such as the Hanna house in Palo Alto, California, 1936–38, and the Sundt house project in Madison, Wisconsin, 1941), and his application of the grid of Broadacre City universally, regardless of the changing American landscape. Richard Chafee pointed out this discrepancy.

76. Lewis Mumford, "The Architecture of the Bay Region," in *Domestic Architecture of the San Francisco Bay Region* (San Francisco: San Francisco Museum of Art, 1949): n. p. For Wurster's own perspective on the Bay Region tradition, see "San Francisco Bay Portfolio," *Magazine of Art,* 37 (December 1944): 301–305.

77. William Wurster, letter to the editor, *Progressive Architecture,* 30 (January 1949): 8.

78. "Quoting Mr. Wurster" in "William Wurster: Four Houses in California," *Architectural Forum,* 64 (May 1936): 36. On Wurster, see Richard C. Peters, "William Wurster: An Architect of Houses," in *Bay Area Houses,* 2nd ed., ed. Sally Woodbridge (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith Books, 1988), 121–53, and "The Integrity Is Implicit; the Sincerity Intense: William Wilson Wurster, Gold Medalist, 1969," *American Institute of Architects Journal* 51 (May 1969): 72–78.

79. William Wurster, quoted in Richard C. Peters, "William Wurster," 121. Stephen White brought this quote to my attention.

80. Elizabeth Mock, ed., *Built in U.S.A.: A Survey of Contemporary American Architecture Since 1932* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1945), 14. Elizabeth Mock (Wurster's sister-in-law) singled out Wurster's designs as exemplary of the "native, modern approach." Mock also argued that Wurster and his contemporaries represented an alternate, parallel modern tradition.

81. Mumford confessed that he made an "unfortunate slip" in using "Bay Region style" in his *New Yorker* article and at the Museum of Modern Art's symposium. Mumford, "The Architecture of the Bay Region," n.p. California architects thought that "Bay Region style" did not adequately represent their sense of integrity, their concern for architecture's social aspects, and the varied quality of their achievement. See "Architecture—Not Style," *Progressive Architecture,* 29 (December 1948): 49, 120, 122, 138, and "Is There a Bay Area Style?" *Architectural Record,* 105 (May 1949): 92–97.

82. Mumford, "The Architecture of the Bay Region," n.p.

83. Ibid.

84. Lewis Mumford, "Monumentalism, Symbolism, and Style," *Architectural Review,* 105 (April 1949): 174, 177.

85. Ibid., 174, 177.

86. Mumford, *South in Architecture,* 91.

87. Mumford, "Monumentalism, Symbolism, and Style," 174.

88. Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Painting Towards Architecture* (New York: Duell, Sloan, & Pearce, 1948), 26, 54.

89. Mumford, “Monumentalism, Symbolism, and Style,” 177, 178.

90. Henry-Russell Hitchcock, “The International Style Twenty Years After,” *Architectural Record,* 110 (August 1951): 90–93. Hitchcock found it easier to turn Wright’s career itself into a style: “Wright’s ‘highly individualistic style’ could be used as ‘a framework for architectural advance if his precepts for ‘organic architecture’ were widely accepted and conscientiously followed.” Hitchcock’s article is reprinted with an introduction in *Architecture Culture, 1943–1968,* eds. Ockman and Eigen, 137–48.

91. Ibid., 89–91, 92. Hitchcock contended that the International Style had properly characterized modern architecture at its point of crystallization in the 1920s, and proposed further refinements in its visual vocabulary to bring it up to date, such as incorporating the “articulation of visible supports.”

92. Sea Ranch’s formal relationship to Wurster’s Gregory Farmhouse is assessed in Paulo Polledri, “‘The Nearest Thing to a Contemporary Vernacular’: The Bay Area Architectural Tradition in Perspective,” *Zodiac: International Review of Architecture,* 11 (March/August 1994): 39–41.

93. The evolution of Hitchcock’s approach is illustrated by a comparison of his exhibition catalog *The Architecture of H. H. Richardson and His Times* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 1936) with his chapter on Richardson in *Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (New York: Penguin Books, 1958).

94. Lewis Mumford, “Introduction” [1951] in C. S. Stein, *Toward New Towns For America* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1957), 15.

95. Marx, “Lewis Mumford: Prophet of Organicism,” 4. See, for instance, Mumford’s *The Conduct of Life* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1951) and *The Human Prospect* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1956).

3

MODERN ARCHITECTURAL IDEOLOGY IN COLD WAR AMERICA

Mitchell Schwarzer

In 1945, America's wealth and power indicated great potential for new architectural openings. No configuration described this potential as much as the productive machines of the military-industrial complex. Machines enabled American victory across both oceans. They would be the engine for future American hegemony—economic and political. What is more, the machine had already stirred revolutionary performances in prewar Europe. Its aesthetic had led a part of European architecture away from stylistic historicism and toward an industrial rethinking of plan, structure, and materials. Now, many of these architects, Walter Gropius and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe among them, were working in the United States.

In large measure, of course, a machine aesthetic did dominate postwar American architecture. In the decade after the war, buildings by Pietro Belluschi, Charles Eames, Gropius, Wallace Harrison, Philip Johnson, Mies van der Rohe, and Eero Saarinen confirm this observation. In no period of American history did the axes of art and industry converge as brilliantly as in those years. Nonetheless, the story of the machine's acceptance by American architectural culture was far from uncomplicated. Today, many historians have forgotten that during the period of its greatest ascendancy the machine and its architectural metaphors were the subject of intense debate.[1]

Reflecting misgivings reaching back to Thomas Jefferson, the machine and its rationalizations were viewed as a threat to America's rural ideal as the nation entered the nuclear age. Here was a country with the world's most vibrant economy, yet with grave doubts as to the nature of its contribution to the world's architecture. If machine functionalism was embraced, would American architecture remain American? Would it retain a sense of creativity and individuality in the face of those European political agendas that dominated the pre-war Modern movement?

In the decades after the war, nonfunctionalist agendas were extremely important. One has only to look at the strong formalist tendencies launched by

Colin Rowe in the 1950s and carried forward thereafter by John Hejduk, Robert Venturi, and Peter Eisenman. But, even immediately after the war, countercurrents to machine functionalism were influential. In those years, vigorous attacks on a functionalist, machine-based aesthetic were launched by Frank Lloyd Wright, Lewis Mumford, Joseph Hudnut, and Leopold Arnaud. The postwar swerve toward the machine can only be understood in the context of their oppositions.

It is critical to examine, in this regard, how theorists of architecture in postwar America—both natives and European emigrés—found machine functionalism both an unduly restrictive design foundation and a spark toward new reflections on existence.[2] Architecture as a functional machine spilled across reflections on what international modernism meant to the nation's postwar society: thoughts on the interplay between the country's traditional isolationism and its new status as a world power, and the nation's penchant for collective pragmatism weighed against its sensitivity to individual expression. Functionalism and the machine acted as powers of reconfiguration, catalyzing theories of the region and artistic individual from their amelioration, transformation, and even dissolution. Machine functionalism was a narrative framework for structurings of architectural modernism.

Two debates best encapsulate this framework: (1) the attempt to preserve regional traditions in the face of international standardization, and (2) the hope of placing considerations of personal expression above laws of minimal efficiency exemplified by industrial processes. It is the great paradox of American modernity that the elements of its realization—commodity commerce, scientific and technological rupture, and avant-garde art—are constantly accompanied by pastoral and romantic sympathies.

The International Forum

Before proceeding to a discussion of debates on the region and art, it will be necessary to sketch their origins amid prewar American reactions to international modern architecture. That strand of twentieth-century architecture codified as *Neues Bauen, L'Esprit Nouveau,* or the International Style already drew reactions in the United States before 1930.

They were the subject of a 1928 essay entitled "Modern Architecture" by the architectural historian Henry-Russell Hitchcock. Of crucial importance for future debates, Hitchcock stamped an oppositional mark upon modernism. He organized European architecture into two camps: the New Traditionalists and the New Pioneers. Whereas the New Traditionalists (including Auguste Perret) developed modern forms out of historical compositional arrangements, the

New Pioneers (and Le Corbusier) utterly rewrote architecture's language of forms and spaces.[3] In giving priority to an opposition between continuity and discontinuity, Hitchcock ignored the fact that both groups recognized their modernity within complex questions concerning the balance between the individual and the social, the international and the regional, the functional and the artistic. His priorities lay elsewhere than in subtlety. They lay in a captivating story.

In 1930, George Howe, who along with William Lescaze was also responsible for inflecting modernism along oppositional coordinates of innovation and tradition, continued aspects of Hitchcock's narrative. Howe cast modernism as the opponent of stylistic tradition and the proponent of industrial functionalism. Sounding like a New Pioneer, he recommended "the interpretation of function, spiritual as well as material, logically and imaginatively, in terms of modern materials, internally structurally as well as visible."[4] In the spirit of Le Corbusier, Howe called on architecture to be universal in its application. Only as part of an inseparable concomitant with social progress could architects hope to realize forms for the contemporary age.

But, in a qualifying statement, Howe also insisted on the spiritual and imaginative aspects of this new modern functionalism. He asked a question that would become central in postwar debate: What is the correct balance between reason and imagination, the social and individual, the national and international, in determining the function of architecture?

Despite the presence of European architects like Lescaze, Richard Neutra, and Rudolf Schindler on the American scene of the 1920s,[5] European modernism only became a central focus of American attention after the *Modern Architecture: International Exhibition* held at New York's Museum of Modern Art in 1932. Popularized in Henry-Russell Hitchcock's and Philip Johnson's book, *The International Style* (1932), the exhibition coalesced a series of discrete buildings of the preceding decade into an architectural movement. It also polemicized Hitchcock's earlier definitions of the New Traditionalists and New Pioneers.[6]

In the new book, the New Traditionalists were now criticized as the last representatives of romanticism. Condemning Behrens, Perret, and Van de Velde, Hitchcock and Johnson equated individualism with half-baked modernism.[7] By contrast, the internationalists—including J.J.P. Oud, Le Corbusier, Mies van der Rohe, Gropius, Howe, and Lescaze, as well as Wright—were associated with a technological revolution in building aesthetics. They were the true heroes of the age.

The focus here, however, was almost exclusively on formal features. Hitchcock and Johnson set new standards for starched appearance. The new architecture was volume and not mass; it was regularity but not axial symmetry; it was a style exclusive of arbitrarily applied ornament.[8] With different aims in mind than the functionally oriented CIAM. (Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne),[9] Hitchcock and Johnson's apolitical descriptions acclimated modernism to American business and cultural relations.[10] Despite its title, *The International Style* became a point of departure for American reflections on regionalism. And because of its formalism and avoidance of social issues, the book raised the issue of artistic individualism so important to postwar thinkers.

Because of the exhibit and the book's ability to stimulate self-reflection, Americans increasingly began to read their destiny against that of international modernism. In an early critique, "The Evolution of a New Architecture" (1932), Leopold Arnaud, later dean of Columbia University's School of Architecture, already cautioned against European extremism. What preoccupied Arnaud was the European's formal emphasis on verticality and horizontality, their seemingly complete eradication of decoration, and their proclamations for functionalism. Arnaud worried that this new architecture too rashly sacrificed privacy and individuality. In Mies's Tugendhat House, for example, Arnaud pointed out the problems to be faced in an American adaptation of European forms. Insufficient interior partitions and vastly exaggerated window expanses would not permit the type of quiet thinking he found exemplary of the native mind. In sum, Arnaud cautioned that machine standardization should not result in the sacrifice of American privacy and individuality.[11]

A year later, in 1933, the Columbia art historian and librarian Talbot Hamlin criticized the International Style's encouragement of a functionalist aesthetic. Great architecture, for Hamlin, is always an exuberance of color and form that expresses that instinctive human delight in creation. Architects not only arrange but also decorate, and encourage a superfluity: "more than enough."[12] Architecture, it follows, can never emerge from the hard-and-fast functional, from values like economy, efficiency, and bareness.[13] Associating the International Style more with the CIAM than with Hitchcock and Johnson's book, European modernism was put into an oppositional role; one that could never embody the qualities of great architecture for America.

In the wake of such criticism of international modernism, its proponents sought to better explain their vision of functionalism. In 1935, William Lescaze stated that function does not dictate form. Function indicates form. In the consciously worded "The Classic of Tomorrow," Lescaze found that since modern architecture exists to serve man

> The real architect (that rare combination of artist, scientist, businessman) chooses from the many possible forms, all functionally adequate, that one which is aesthet-

> ically most satisfying . . . "International" refers to a common approach to life and to design, not to a set of "universal" forms.[14]

Soon, however, other events conspired to cast further European modernism as the conscious triumph of sober utilitarianism. By the end of the 1930s, the advent of European modernism on American shores had become much more pronounced. Gropius and Marcel Breuer had arrived in Cambridge, Massachusetts, Laszlo Moholy-Nagy and Mies had established themselves in Chicago.[15] At the same time, the German art historian Walter Curt Behrendt's *Modern Building* (1937) described modernism in formal terms recalling Hitchcock and Johnson: the flat roof; dynamic massing of cubes, planes, and lines; smooth, white-colored walls to accentuate shadows; and overall dematerialization of form.[16] Moreover, in a renewed challenge to tradition-minded Americans, Behrendt also cast European architects in opposition to Frank Lloyd Wright's luxuriant architecture for the upper classes. Behrendt framed Hitchcock's earlier opposition between the New Pioneers and New Traditionalists as one between revolutionary building and backward architecture: "the question of its future development simply reads 'Corbusier or Wright?'"[17]

More than Hitchcock and Johnson, Behrendt required that architectural form emerge from modern construction. Even though Behrendt referred to the importance of relating form to human emotions, his implicit revival of Otto Wagner's dictum, *Artis sola domina necessitas,* would convince many Americans that European modernism represented the death of regional traditions and individual expression. It is no surprise, then, that well before Gropius and Mies could have made a substantial visual presence in the American built landscape, more protests against the foreign style were made.

Amazingly, in 1940, the architectural historian Hugh Morrison declared that international modernism was already on its way out in the United States.[18] Its forms were too harsh, and its use of materials too consciously aesthetic for the national taste. By "aesthetic," Morrison referred to revolutionary compositions and geometries and not the overabundance of artistic expression. He was at pains to remind readers that as a style, international modernism was bounded by the historical phases of stylistic evolution.[19] Contradicting therefore the notion that international modernism was a permanent inevitability, Morrison ended his essay by writing: "I see no other way out but to seek a living tradition by reverting to that point in our architectural history at which style was genuine, and to build on that. This point was in general, I believe, the Colonial."[20]

In such arguments for historical continuity, Morrison and a host of later American writers framed their theory of modernism in opposition to the self-proclaimed discontinuities of the New Pioneers.[21] Despite the disavowal of stark functionalism by many Europeans and Americans like Hitchcock and Johnson, modernism's social emphasis, its utilitarian focus, and its frequent attacks on Wright's individualism led many American critics to position functionalism as a foil to American culture. They claimed it destroyed regional traditions and artistic expression. The result was a discourse on modernism after 1945 that would invoke the concepts of the region and art for dramatically different ends.

Outlining the Region

Regionalism was the guiding concept of one of the most important architectural debates of the postwar period. This debate had a long history in the United States. Criticisms of too-rapid technological change and the deleterious growth of commodity industry were first voiced during the nineteenth century. Still, by no means were such criticisms wholly antagonistic to industry. The Chicago school (and particularly Louis Sullivan), as well as Wright and the Prairie school, attempted to incorporate regional traditions of decoration and craft into new engineering technologies. In 1923, the Regional Planning Association of America (RPAA) was founded with the aim of assimilating modern industry with regional building traditions. Instigated in part by the architectural and cultural critic Lewis Mumford, the RPAA proposed an alliance of community planning and technological progress as the sensible route to diverse regional architectures around the country.

During the 1940s, the debate on regionalism took on myriad hues. For an America emerging out of the war, New Deal, and grandiose planning projects like the Tennessee Valley Authority, regionalism pointed at the same time toward both centralization and individualism. For many European emigrés and American adherents of the International Style, regionalism was associated with social values. It meant the adaptation of centralized industrial techniques to local human, environmental, and material conditions. By contrast, certain American writers found in regionalism tools to temper centralizing notions of social progress. Invoking individualism in the form of regional identities, they sought an antidote to the potential socialism inherent in internationalism. Complicating matters further, the debate on regionalism raised altogether the issue of nurturing creative realities in harmony with the growing industrial and technological complex.

A great many postwar Americans found the architectural expression of this complex as irrelevant to the spiritual and material qualities of the American landscape. Formal uniformity and machine-based standardization were the vices most criticized after the war. The tenor for debate had already been set, as we have seen, by historians like Morrison, and it was continued by critics like Katherine Murrow Ford. In her article, "Modern Is Regional" (1941), Ford wrote that

> Many of the elements that have endeared accepted forms of architecture to Americans can be identified as regional traits. Past and present meeting the same conditions may utilize the same expedient to meet a common aim. Regional necessity is in each instance the mother of invention and the reason for its continuance.[22]

Ford set forth formal and material principles of regionalism which would be repeated time and time again during the subsequent decade: clapboard for New England; low-pitched tile roofs and sparkling white walls for Florida; long, low lines for the prairies; solid walls resembling pueblos in Arizona; tall timber with wide overhanging eaves for the Northwest; and the open plan for California.[23] In each case, she combated both the political and social internationalism of the CIAM and the domination of building by the forces of international commerce, as evidently supported by Hitchcock and Johnson.

Another object of Ford's and much postwar discourse on regionalism was Sigfried Giedion's book *Space, Time and Architecture* (1941). Secretary of the CIAM, Giedion believed that the surface manifestations of regional architectural traditions could not hold back what he liked to call the constituent facts of emergent modernism. Giedion's argument equated modernism with a progressive teleology characteristic of the social functionalism of the machine. He wrote of how the potentialities of the contemporary age were first seized upon by engineers and not architects. Modern architecture, it followed, was the artistic, humane, and unified expression of such constructive experiments. Focusing on many of the same figures as Hitchcock and Johnson and Behrendt, Giedion pointed to Gropius and Le Corbusier as exemplars of the new space-time conception of design.[24] Their modern aesthetic was based on machine-stimulated perception.

Giedion's advocacy of a mechanized language of architectural form was resisted by numerous American writers after the war. In 1946, even Henry-Russell Hitchcock found it necessary to soften his advocacy of internationalism. Hitchcock related the new modern style to the great styles of the past in that while it was precisely formulated in a specific area (in this case, presumably Germany and France of the 1920s), it was now developing regional variations. Totally shifting gears from his earlier position, Hitchcock now predicted that modern architecture would soon serve as a vehicle for regional and national particularities.[25] Citing the new regional schools of modernism which had developed in Brazil in the 1940s and the example of Alvar Aalto in Finland, he was confident that regionalism would soon color modernism in the United States.

What had happened to the revolutionary spirit of the New Pioneers? It was largely forgotten. Thus, in 1951, Hitchcock praised the San Francisco Bay Region style as an alternative to the International Style. The Bay Region style, wrote Hitchcock, exemplified the "elasticity" and possibilities for "general growth" within the basic framework of the International Style.[26]

The Bay Region style had been announced by Mumford in 1947. Challenging the exclusive European origins of modern architecture, he wrote of how San Francisco design, both at present and some fifty years earlier in the work of Bernard Maybeck and John Galen Howard, was a unique American blending of Occident and Orient.[27]

At this time, at the peak of American military and commercial presence worldwide, many American architects and critics turned inward. Regionalism struck a nerve in American architectural culture, challenging any notion that postwar architecture was debated irrespective of traditional building methods. Indeed, at a symposium at the Museum of Modern Art in 1948, entitled "What Is happening to Modern Architecture," the subject of regionalism was very much at the forefront. Here architects were concerned with spelling out the conditions by which international developments could emancipate localized powers of building. How, for instance, could the region reemerge within the international?

At the conference, Alfred Barr cited modernism's postfunctional nature. He praised William Wurster's San Francisco Bay cottage style and described Hitchcock's and Johnson's rejection of the cold, mechanical utilitarianism preached by Giedion and Hannes Meyer. Barr also mentioned the importance of regional American materials (i.e., wood and fieldstone).[28] Even Gropius stated that the aims of the Bay Region style were not radically new or antithetical to the machine age. Its expression of terrain, climate, and a way of life were aims much like those of modernists a quarter-century earlier.[29]

Still, Gropius refrained from placing regional considerations at the forefront of design, and continued to stress the importance of the machine and its rational analogies to the service of human life. More negatively, the critic Peter Blake decried the new regionalism as a backward step, writing: "I think those who today are going for the new holy trinity of fieldstone, flagstone, and the kidney shape, are delaying that Industrial Revolution in building."[30] What Gropius and Blake were grappling with was the question of how to allow regional variation while at the same time continuing scientific progress in the realms of technological innovation in structure, and the development of nonregional materials like reinforced concrete, steel, and glass. They worried, however, that a thorough orientation to regionalism could retard the changing conception of human nature as expression in a modern world architecture.

As the Polish emigreé architect Matthew Nowicki posed the problem shortly thereafter, the regional debate revolved around a tension between the individual and culture, between the unchanging qualities of the body, its emotions, and habits, and the constantly changing social world.[31] Rejecting the viewpoint that modern technology had imposed a single design solution upon the entire world, Nowicki pointed out that the tremendous functional flexibility of the machine age actually brought with it greater possibilities for regional and individualistic distortion and exaggeration.[32] Nowicki, of course, was articulating the sentiments of perhaps the most prominent critic of the standardized International Style encouraged by the Museum of Modern Art—Wright himself.

Comparing its effect on the American scene with the damage caused by the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago, Wright strenuously opposed an international architecture that neglected individuality and those organic ties to nature inherent within American civilization.[33] Like Nowicki, Wright stated that "Whatever is really modern in architecture should, in this new view of reality, intensify the individualities of all nations, not strip them of the charm of their innate distinctions."[34] For Wright, architecture took on political overtones. He advocated defying internationalism as we defy communism. Collectivism leads to an overemphasis on quantity and standardization, diminishing the human soul and the individual. The result is that "We then have the 'machine for living,' the theory that 'less is more' and other concepts that become, more and more, less."[35]

In the decade after the war, when America had become more influential on the international scene than ever before, many Americans found renewed reasons to fear foreign influences. Enhanced international commitments challenged the nation's myth of singularity and estrangement from European ideologies. The debate on regionalism may be seen, then, as an integral part of a crisis of American identity brought about by the nation's enhanced power and prosperity.

The Residue of Artistic Expression

No less than regionalism, critiques of artistic expression had a long history, debated by such important writers as Ralph Waldo Emerson and Walt Whitman as well as architects like Louis Sullivan. Analogous to remarks on regionalism, individual artistic expression promised a transcendence of the radical breaks and discontinuities common within industrial culture. Arguments for artistic expression also utilized the concept of organicism to engender belief in a holistic American creative spirit.[36] In 1926, Mumford's study *The Golden Day* rekindled these lines of reasoning for the mid-twentieth-century debate. As much as Emerson, Mumford turned America's past into an aesthetic artifact, and in the process came up with a theory of organic functionalism for architecture.[37] For architects in the postwar era, a critical question became: How could the artistic aspects of architecture be reconciled with the sensuous appetites of material and constructive change and the drive toward social utility?

The rigorous duality of art and utility, seized upon by opponents of machine functionalism, produced as many transitional positions as the debate on regionalism. Calls by Talbot Hamlin and others for a focus on artistic expression in modern architecture were by no means limited to those questioning international modernism.[38] Even Giedion stated unequivocally that the truth of modernism is something more than the mechanization of habitation. Interested deeply in monumentality, Giedion shrugged off pure functionalism, explaining that true modernism will be created when the new century's scientific and technological achievements were made relevant to humanity's inner life. A disharmony between science and art had, for him, been the great fault of the nineteenth century. Now, modernism in his own time was represented by architecture's slow movement toward self-consciousness: "social, economic, and functional influences play a vital part in all human activities, from the sciences to the arts. But there are other factors which also have to be taken into account—our feelings and emotions."[39] Interestingly, in such remarks, international modernism could be mistaken for the same aesthetic disinterestedness evident in the most decorative works of Wright. Giedion's new formal and spatial compositions were easily adapted to American myths of originality and individualism. Evidently, America's new role as a superpower found satisfactory expression in modern notions of standardization and abstraction.

Nonetheless, Mumford's idea of artistic symbolism was more different still. As he wrote in 1949, "Once we admit that a building should not merely facilitate function but disclose human intention, we open up the grand problem of style."[40] Responding to a journal issue on monumentality in the *Architectural Review* in 1948, Mumford took up Hitchcock's earlier question regarding continuity or discontinuity. Seeking to go beyond its opposition of innovation and tradition, Mumford claimed that the International Style had become a too one-sided reaction against symbolism: "Because we have dethroned symbolism, we are now left, momentarily, with but a single symbol of almost universal validity: that of the machine."[41] Mumford went on to demonstrate that machine symbolism was actually giving way to a broader symbolic aesthetic, inclusive of the ideology of the organism and the personal. Artistic expression, much more than the satisfaction of mechanical requirements, was the mirror of subjective personality. As such, modern architecture must be multifunctional.

The one-sided machine symbolism which Mumford loathed was exemplified by several of the most important practitioners of modern architecture in the United States of the postwar years. Mies's remarks of 1950 at the Illinois Institute of Technology bring the much criticized functionalism of international modernism out quite starkly. Architecture, he stated, has nothing to do with the invention of forms. Instead, architecture is the battleground of the spirit: "It is the crystallization of its inner structure, the slow unfolding of its form. That is the reason why technology and structure are so closely related."[42] Soon afterward, Belluschi located the principle of modern architecture in its creative inevitability, its requirement to express artistically new materials, new methods, and new spatial requirements.[43] The machine could not be overlooked, even if architecture must not be too cold and statistical, too restricted to technological functionalism. Finally, Eero Saarinen took modernism to mean a social responsibility for the total environment. He too bowed in part to the prevailing emphasis on art and spiritual meaning, but concluded with a vision that the most basic concern of modern architecture was the question of how to integrate structure and construction with its place in history.[44] For all these architects, the conquest of structural form by artistic means had become the prime directive for expression in design.

Such bows to artistic expression were not enough for Mumford. His argument in "Function and Expression in Architecture" (1951) expressed regret that many architects were still designing within the self-imposed poverty of the machine symbol. Criticizing Saarinen's singularly technical arch for St. Louis and the office building mentality of the United Nations headquarters in New York (which Wright would later also castigate), Mumford wrote that, "In properly rejecting antiquated symbols, they have also rejected human needs, interests, sentiments, values, that must be given full play in every complete structure."[45] In citing the positive example of Wright, Mumford again stressed that subjective and symbolic elements must be as important as mechanical requirements. Human ideals and expression turn building into architecture.

This belief was shared by Joseph Hudnut, dean of Harvard University's School of Architecture. Hudnut too felt that beauty in architecture could never emerge from pure necessity or its raw elements molded into technological form. Unlike Mies, Belluschi, or Saarinen, Hudnut thought that beauty resides in a quality of order by which necessity is only then exhibited. Looking back to historical examples in his article "Design for Living" (1951), Hudnut claimed that the contemporary age was the first to embrace an engineer's aesthetic. Unfortunately, he lamented: "Like the engineer we address our art, not to form—to a sensuous order of shapes and relationships set in space—but to a mechanical and clearly exhibited order of purpose and energy."[46]

For Hudnut, anticipating Rowe, form-making was the means by which buildings enter into the rituals of human thought and existence, lifting architecture out of its more parochial roles. In this respect, architecture needed to learn a great deal from painting and sculpture. In the abstract expressionist movement, as Hudnut observed, a supremacy of form over objective and representational truth characterizes art as a protest against the common experience of mechanization, mass production, and standardization. Architecture thus should not rationalize existence, but help men to realize themselves as more complete individuals: "Form does not require the negation of functional shape or of rational order but only the submission of these to the authority of that nobler artistry which, above the earthen air of our necessities, creates for architecture and for men the design by which they live."[47] The arts intensify the rituals of life, give them significance and formal beauty; and bring out in each what is universal.

In 1952, Hudnut argued further that architects must look beyond the confusions and frustrations of the material world. They must recognize that beneath these appearances a set of universals actually shape the quality and direction of human life.[48] These universals are encapsulated by the so-called human will to create form as a mirror image to the organic order of nature. As aesthetic expression is the supreme law of art, its intent for Hudnut must always be disinterested, irrational, and unpremeditated: "The expressive character of works of architecture is rooted in their mere abstract form and pattern and may be independent of all other characteristics."[49]

In the aftermath of these demands to *punctuate* architecture more strongly by art, the art historian Norris Kelly Smith attempted to build a compromise position between function and artistic expression. In particular, he built upon Johnson's and Hitchcock's aesthetic of form as divorced from social pronouncements. In "Meaning in Modern Architecture" (1953), Smith related the growing concerns of his American contemporaries for individual artistic expression to the European stress on economy of expression, honesty of construction, and efficient performance. Following Giedion's vision of modernism as engineering elevated to artistic taste, and Hudnut's notion that artistic expression always springs from individuality, Smith chose two recent modern buildings—Wright's Falling Water and Neutra's House in the Desert—as prototypical examples of this new aesthetic.

In a reversal of the hierarchies of classical architectural doctrine, Smith pointed out a new relationship between part and whole in modern architecture. Whereas the whole of a classical building embraced an ordered and readable series of parts, parts in a modern edifice lose their identity in the context of the whole. Wright's and Neutra's houses possess no nameable parts, such as walls or windows; units are not repeated, and it is hard to determine any correspondence between the shapes and sizes of individual elements. Building exteriors and interiors, horizontals and verticals, solids and voids are all so interpenetrated as to defy earlier definitions.[50]

Smith's goal was to describe the artistic powers and chimerical fantasy that participate in the otherwise functional existence of a modern house. The key to understanding this balance of art and utility, however, is the loss of any clear notion of the ordered structure of the building. In the very action of artistically fashioning technological building, the determinacy of classical equilibriums of part and whole are dissolved. The organic content of the work, described by Smith as a dynamic process, is sublime. Modern architecture, like its Baroque predecessor described by Heinrich Wölfflin, resides in a restless dissolution of forms and commingling of spaces.

If Hudnut and Mumford opposed the overt rationalization and standardization of architecture as typified by the historic stances of the CIAM, and Smith accomplished the artistic ennoblement of modern architecture through an afunctional aesthetic, how are we to explain the related interest in art by such icons of international modernism as Giedion and Gropius?

In his evaluations of the progress of modern architecture at the sixth CIAM conference at Bridgewater in 1947, Giedion summarized that the period of machine rationalism was nearing an end. Earlier modern gatherings were concerned with the industrialization of building methods and standardization. Now, concerns lay in the realm of aesthetics and the ability of architecture to embody emotional expression.[51] Like Hudnut, Giedion wrote that architects must more fully collaborate with painters and sculptors. And, like Mumford, the Swiss art historian stressed that in meeting the goals of social idealism, scientific planning, and the fullest use of material techniques, "we must enrich the aesthetic language of architecture in order to provide a contemporary means whereby people's emotional needs can find expression in the design of their environment."[52]

Shortly thereafter, Gropius concurred that too much fidelity to science and technology had thrown architecture out of balance. Like Giedion, he called for an organic balance between the social and individual, the scientific and artistic. Writing in the essay, "The Position of Architecture in the Century of Science" (1951), Gropius thought that the concept of functionalism was both misunderstood and abused, yet it is here that his essential difference with writers such as Mumford and especially Hudnut emerged.[53] While Gropius believed that architectural functionalism must not only deal with material problems but also with the human psyche, he also believed that standardization could be of great benefit to the development of culture.[54] In other words, even more strongly than Giedion, Gropius sought to bring the artistic aspects of architecture into proximity with society and utilitarian concerns. Unlike Hudnut, Gropius's superior at Harvard, architecture was denied its aesthetic tower. Instead, architecture was immersed within the testing laboratory of social and technological culture. Gropius encouraged the industrialization of architecture, so long as it was a cooperative effort—embracing engineers and artists—led by architects.

Lest the debate on artistic expression degenerate into an American–European emigré opposition, we have only to look to the chimerical position of Johnson. In a lecture given at Harvard in 1954, he lambasted customary definitions of modernism, those based on history, pretty drawing, utility, comfort, cheapness, the client, and structure. Staking middle ground, Johnson struck at both the New Pioneers and New Traditionalists. But what could be mistaken for nuanced criticism was really an acute form of hero worship. In attempting not to take a position, Johnson ended up arguing for the power of individual genius. Sounding a bit like Mumford and Hudnut, yet also praising international modernism, Johnson rediscovered himself as a traditionalist who believes in revolution. Tradition, for him, lies in the paths blazoned by its heroes; for America's modern era, these were Gropius, Mies, and Le Corbusier.[55]

Akin to the path that the country was taking in the Cold War years at the behest of its military and industrial leaders, architecture needed to look no further than its own giants. They would shape its states of affairs and lend the narrative of American modernism an amplitude that neither technological forces nor artistic traditions themselves could accomplish. But, unlike these other fields, American modernists, like Johnson, felt that architecture's giants were non-native.

Alien Modern

Postwar American modernism was by no means a unified current of triumphant functionalism, nor was it merely a depoliticized formalism. Rather, architecture of this era is better described as a fragmented set of responses to the country's new technological and material possibilities amid its stature as a world superpower. Describing the state of modernism in 1953, Saarinen divided it into six broad currents: (1) Wright and organic unity; (2) Wurster, Belluschi, and regional traditions and handicraft; (3) Aalto and the European individualists; (4) Le Corbusier and the functional manipulation of plastic form; (5)

Gropius and an architecture for the machine age; and (ironically) (6) Mies van der Rohe, the form-giver.[56] Between Gropius's position that design must express the industrial techniques of mass production and the new individualistic romanticism of Aalto are a range of viewpoints that take into account nature, human emotions, local traditions, textural qualities of industrial materials, and structural clarity.

But if postwar American modernism was not a single movement with agreed-upon aims, it did coalesce discursively with a set of shared issues. Because of the strong reactions to international modernism throughout the years of the Great Depression and Second World War, the discourse of the postwar years revolved around the need for a balance between the regional and international, the artistic and material realms.

Having said this much, what is most difficult to decipher from these debates is the fact that virtually all parties argued against utilitarian functionalism and an international architecture linked to the progress of the machine. Criticism of functional modernism's intolerance for artistic individuality and regional relations not only characterized traditionalist American positions but also was the focus of intrepid analysis by European emigrés and American adherents of the new building in Europe. Transatlantic compromises were common, with emigrés like Nowicki backing Wright's theory of organicism and native-born architects like Howe and Johnson making conscious overtures to Europe.

Once stated, the common argument disguises complex underlying distinctions. In general, European emigrés imported more technocratic and political readings of modernism, while native-born Americans were more sensitive to regional traditions and individualistic values. What sense can be made of these differences?

The regional debate was fueled in large part by anxieties on the part of Americans regarding the Cold War. For many writers, the new international building could not be divorced from the status of architecture as a social and political ideal in the European consciousness. International architecture, despite its censure by Nazis and Communists, still evoked the authoritarianism of recent European history. Amid the fear of current Soviet communism and overseas engagements, many Americans called for what amounted to an architectural retrenchment. They depicted international modernism as unrelated to the nation's innate building references and especially its democratic institutions.

Such arguments for regionalism injected myths of imagined national qualities into the debate on modern architecture. For Mumford and Wright, American architecture possessed a set of inborn qualities. These qualities were untainted by European political ideologies. They related more to natural phenomena than to the cultural contradictions of industrial capitalism or communism. Nevertheless, the mythic sources admired by American writers and architects were no more native to the New World than recent international modernism. They were only more established. Alongside an admittedly strong call to observe the wisdom of native building materials and climatic environments were a set of references to earlier American affiliations to European forms of expression. For instance, both Wright and Mumford were strongly influenced by the transcendentalist mythification of the medieval community—and hence European romanticism—now conveniently transformed into a preindustrial frontier fabric.

In the end, what most distinguished the point of view of postwar traditional regionalists was not anti-internationalism, but rather the fear that regional traditions were now being overtaken too rapidly, too universally, by modern ideologies. Even though advances in structure—steel and reinforced concrete—spoke to a long-standing American infatuation with change associated with pragmatic technologies, the new forms of international modernism increasingly brought up images of cultural loss, hasty innovation, and specious doctrinairism. As had been the case since the nineteenth century—and the Chicago Exposition's partial elision of the Chicago school—postwar defenses of regionalism enunciated a skeptical attitude toward modern ideologies of technological change and progress.

For advocates of international modernism, by contrast, regionalism was quite differently a compromise move made in the name of evolutionary progress and continuity within such ideologies. After the war, the popularity of these notions over radical change caused many European emigrés, and even American adherents of international modernism like Hitchcock, to attempt parallels between the new architecture and American traditions. Thus, although both Gropius and Wright, to take prominent figures, grasped the need to use native American building materials, their attitudes regarding the threat of international culture were dissimilar. Their differences boiled down to prioritization. For Gropius and many advocates of international modernism, an architectural center irrespective of nation and locality was the starting point for regional adaptation. Quite differently, Wright and many of the Americans sought to begin conceptions of plan and even technologies with allusions to the local environment. Whereas postwar international modernists forecast a modified degree of teleological determinacy, American regionalists laced their writings with romantic allusions to an organic American spirit and landscape.[57]

Given these differences, it is ironic that many Americans most opposed to the discontinuities of international modernism were also the greatest supporters of enhanced artistic license for designers. After all, the individualism incumbent on industrial capitalism was one of the most powerful forces working against regional traditions. Thus, the marriage of region and individual is one of the most striking and dissonant landmarks of American architectural thought.

Many aspects of the argument for artistic individualism were made from evidence similar to that of the regionalism debate. Roughly, individuals were seen as analogues to native forces and materials. Their cultivation and dominance of architecture would wrest control of architecture from impersonal international powers. The debate on artistic individualism brought up concerns which date back to the formulation of aesthetics in the eighteenth century. Fundamentally, postwar architects were debating the philosophical issue as to whether material or spiritual qualities take precedence in design.[58] As much as the regionalism debate replayed the dialectics of nationalism over the past two centuries, the debate over artistic expression exploited the irresolvable dilemma of first-order causes for architectural form. The debate asked the following questions: Should the individualistic artistic genius take precedence in design? Or should social goals and material conditions, scientifically determined, form a springboard for artistic acts?

Whereas Mumford, Hudnut, and Wright supported the former position, and adherents of international modernism like Giedion and Gropius supported the latter, Johnson's advocacy of the genius of artistic modernism within technologically oriented Europe formed an ultimately influential synthesis. Johnson advocated a concept of aesthetic universality refracted by the dissolution of the technological-individual distinction. This reconciliation of artistic genius with the progress of technologies in space and time set conditions for an understanding of art within architectural modernism that was more consonant with developments in painting during the 1940s and 1950s.

All in all, it is hard to explain the lack of congruence between abstract expressionist painting and the architectural discourse of the postwar years. Few architectural writers mention painting. Yet, the building forms of international modernism were associated with an artistic avant-garde whose transferral to New York after the war supposedly led to the enshrinement of abstract expressionism as the national and individual American art form. Insofar as the steel and glass curtain wall and complex new plan and elevational geometries could be looked on as typifying the individual spirit for the new architecture, why were they so rarely mentioned as representing artistic individualism in architecture?

Here again, as in the debate on regionalism, many American architects associated the artistic avant-garde with aggressive political ideologies and images drawn from movements like socialist realism and dada or surrealism. Even though abstract expressionism itself offered an ideology quite at peace with the American mentality, affirming freedom over totalitarianism, many architectural writers were slow to realize this fact. In a greater sense, avant-garde forms may have been resisted because they spoke of a relationship between art and culture at odds with American values. International modern architecture symbolized restrictive economic efficiency, a world outlook at odds with American belief in the renewing power of limitless production and consumption. Unlike the material limitations faced by Europeans in the 1920s, postwar Americans found their utopia in expansion over their endless landscape. Whereas Europeans cultivated art as a corrective to the deficiencies of practical and political life, most Americans felt much less need to redirect their material (and architectural) culture through radical art. American versions of modernism had less desire to create an aesthetic utopia than a practical one. Architecture, which for Gropius always remained an integrated artistic-scientific quest, was for native-born Americans like Hudnut a discrete series of business, technological, and artistic endeavors. Suspicions of machine functionalism were at heart not misgivings about the power of industry, but doubts as to the need for artists to direct industrial creation through ideology.

In the postwar years, the terms of architectural debate boiled down to those of global time-boundedness vs. national timelessness. Both positions incorporate their opposites. Why should what is global and seemingly universal be limited by the movement of time? How could that which is national and hence limited be free of time's passage?

In one case, European emigrés and some Americans applauded modernism as an ascendent, progressive ideology of social and artistic liberation. Modernism was a path out of capitalism's nineteenth-century indeterminability. Retaining aspects of the past for their own sake made no sense when the progressive aspects of the past were embodied in the present. There is no individual or region outside of the progressive flow of history.

In the other case, many Americans posited a quest for essential qualities, themes of the individual and region that transcend the chaotic events of the twentieth century. Yet, of course, such qualities were made contingent. They were given body and form within the sedimented identities of Americanness, within acts of imagination and construction justified by the land and its unique inhabitants.

Read between these positions, architectural modernism becomes a different problem than pro- or contrafunctionalism. It is much more a series of disclosures of the obscured truth of time. Modernism as a work of interpretation is partner of revelation, an enactment of the unknowable historical moment. And, as far as the postwar American scene goes, this moment may be deemed architecture's great expert.

Notes

1. Granted, reevaluations of the complex ideological contours of architectural modernism have been under way for a number of years now. They go back as far as Reyner Banham's "New Brutalism," *Architectural Review,* 118 (December 1955): 355–61; and Peter Blake's "Form Follows Function—Or Does It?," *Architectural Forum,* 108 (April 1958): 99–103.

2. A recent collection of writings on modern architecture, containing several of the essays discussed here, is Joan Ockman, ed., *Architecture Culture, 1943–1968: A Documentary Anthology* (New York: Rizzoli, 1993).

3. Henry-Russell Hitchcock, "Modern Architecture," *Architectural Record,* 63 (April/May 1928): 337–49, 452–60.

4. George Howe, "What is this Modern Architecture Trying to Express?" *American Architect,* 137 (May 1930): 22.

5. Interestingly, in describing the beginning of modern architecture in the United States, William Wurster added the name of the now-forgotten Harwell Harris to that of Neutra's and Frank Lloyd Wright's. "*Architecture Broadens its Base,*" *AIA Journal* 10 (July 1948): 31.

6. The Museum's director, Alfred Barr, pushed Hitchcock to take a more daring position. Terence Riley, *The International Style: Exhibition 15 and the Museum of Modern Art* (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), 17.

7. Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson, *The International Style* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1932), 26–27.

8. Ibid., 40–44, 56–64, 70–74.

9. Themes of the congresses illustrate this point: Frankfurt, 1929 (habitation according to the minimal needs of existence); Brussels, 1930 (rational building standardization); Athens, 1933 (the functional city).

10. On the exhibition and the particularly American appraisal of European modernism, see Deborah Frances Pokinski, *The Development of the American Modern Style* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1984), 9–17; and Richard Guy Wilson, "International Style: The MOMA Exhibition," *Progressive Architecture,* 63 (February 1982): 92–105.

11. Leopold Arnaud, "The Evolution of a New Architecture," *American Architect,* 141 (May 1932): 114.

12. Talbot Hamlin, "The International Style Lacks the Essence of Great Architecture," *American Architect,* 143 (January 1933): 16.

13. Ibid., 15.

14. William Lescaze, "The Classic of Tomorrow," *American Architect,* 147 (December 1935): 11.

15. On the immigration of European masters during the 1930s, see Roxanne Kuter Williamson, *American Architects and the Mechanics of Fame* (Austin: University of Texas, 1991), 115–29.

16. Walter Curt Behrendt, *Modern Building: Its Nature, Problems and Forms* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1937), 150–1.

17. Ibid., 165.

18. For an analysis of another early American critic of European modernism, see Robert Benson, "Douglas Haskell & the Criticism of International Modernism," in *Modern Architecture in America: Visions and Revisions,* eds. Richard Guy Wilson and Sidney Robinson (Ames: Iowa State University, 1991), 165–83.

19. To better illustrate his case, Morrison pointed out similarities between the growth, flowering, and decline of the Gothic Revival in England and the International Style in the United States. Both movements began in verbatim adaptation, prospered while adapting to local conditions, and became indistinguishable from national traditions in their development of an ornamental vocabulary expressive of those customs. Hugh Morrison, "After the International Style—What?," *Architectural Forum,* 72 (May 1940): 345.

20. Ibid., 347. Almost in the same breath, Morrison described the intervening nineteenth century as a creative blank. His prescription for architecture's ills—a return to Colonial foundations—was a direct echo of countless nineteenth-century efforts to found modernism upon the groundwork of the style most related and relevant to the contemporary age.

21. In 1952, Osbert Lancaster similarly wrote: "If a really live and profitable movement is to develop from this beginning (modernism), then many of the most cherished illusions of the Modern Movement will have to go overboard: that frenzied rejection of the past, for instance, that ridiculous attitude of having absolutely nothing to do with the period next door." Osbert Lancaster, "The End of the Modern Movement in Architecture," *Architectural Record,* 112 (September 1952): 123.

22. Katherine Murrow Ford, "Modern is Regional," *House and Garden,* 79 (March 1941): 79.

23. Ibid., 35–37.

24. In truly modern works, as Giedion wrote, "we discovered the interplay of imponderably floating elements irrationally penetrating or fusing with each other, as also the optical tensions which arise from the contrasts between various textural effects." *Space, Time, and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1941), 381.

25. Henry-Russell Hitchcock, "The Acclimatization of Modern Architecture in Different Countries," *Architect and Building News,* 186 (May 1946): 149.

26. Henry-Russell Hitchcock, "The International Style Twenty Years After," *Architectural Record,* 110 (August 1951): 91–92.

27. Lewis Mumford, "The Skyline: Bay Region Style," *The New Yorker,* (11 October 1947): 106, 109.

28. Alfred H. Barr, in "What is Happening to Modern Architecture," *Museum of Modern Art Bulletin,* 15 (spring 1948): 6–7.

29. Walter Gropius, in "What is Happening to Modern Architecture," 12.

30. Peter Blake, in "What is Happening to Modern Architecture," 16.

31. Matthew Nowicki, "Composition in Modern Architecture," in *Roots of Contemporary American Architecture,* ed. Lewis Mumford (New York: Reinhold, 1952), 405.

32. Matthew Nowicki, "Function and Form," in *Roots of Contemporary American Architecture,* 417.

33. Wright's statements on organic architecture are contained in his book, *The Future of Architecture* (New York: Horizon, 1953), and especially the essays "An Organic Architecture" (1939) and "The Language of an Organic Architecture" (1953).

34. Frank Lloyd Wright, "Frank Lloyd Wright Speaks Up," *House Beautiful,* 95 (July 1953): 88.

35. Ibid., 88.

36. On the literary origins of the principle of organicism, see F. O. Matthiessen, *American Renaissance: Art and Expression in the Age of Emerson and Whitman* (New York: Oxford University, 1941), 133–78.

37. Casey Nelson Blake, *Beloved Community: The Cultural Criticism of Randolph Bourne, Van Wyck Brooks, Waldo Frank, and Lewis Mumford* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1990), 224.

38. In the twentieth century, the most elaborate (and perhaps most ignored) attempt to continue the tradition of architectural treatises into the modern world of aesthetics, construction, and typologies, is Hamlin's *Forms and Functions of Twentieth-Century Architecture,* 4 vols. (New York: Columbia University, 1952). As described in the introduction by Leopold Arnaud, Hamlin's monumental work attempted to succeed Julien Guadet's *Eléments et théorie de l'architecture* (1902), mixing historical and modern examples to create the impression of continuity amid the radical creativity of the twentieth century.

39. Giedion, *Space, Time, and Architecture,* 350.

40. Lewis Mumford, "Monumentality, Symbolism and Style," *Architectural Review,* 105 (April 1949), 173.

41. Ibid., 177

42. Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, "Technology and Architecture," in *Programs and Manifestoes on 20th-Century Architecture,* ed. Ulrich Conrads (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1975), 154.

43. Pietro Belluschi, "Principles and Techniques of Modern Architecture," *AIA Journal,* 16 (September 1951): 101.

44. Eero Saarinen, "Our Epoch in Architecture," *AIA Journal,* 18 (September 1952): 247.

45. Lewis Mumford, "Function and Expression in Architecture," *Architectural Record,* 110 (November 1951): 107.

46. Joseph Hudnut, "Design for Living," *AIA Journal,* 16 (September 1951): 110.

47. Hudnut, ibid., 181.

48. Joseph Hudnut, *The Three Lamps of Modern Architecture* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1952), 11.

49. Ibid., 26.

50. As Smith writes, "the aesthetic appeal of the new architecture lies not in the perception of a substantial unity having fixed limits and proportions, but rather in the appreciation of subtle interrelationships among open shapes, and in the varied and complex traditions that unite shape with shape, space with space, and shape and space with one another." Norris K. Smith, "Meaning in Modern Architecture," *Magazine of Art,* 46 (January 1953): 28.

51. Sigfried Giedion, "Questionnaire at C.I.A.M. 6, Bridgewater 1947," in *A Decade of New Architecture,* ed. Sigfried Giedion (Zurich: Editions Girsberger, 1951), 34–35.

52. Ibid., 17. See also Giedion's further comments on modern architecture in "The State of Contemporary Architecture," *Architectural Record* 115 (January 1954): 132–7.

53. For a further articulation of these positions, see Gropius's essays from the 1930s to 1950s collected in *Scope of Total Architecture* (New York: Collier, 1962).

54. Walter Gropius, "The Position of Architecture in the Century of Science," *Architect and Building News,* 100 (July 1951): 72.

55. Wright, Johnson sniffed, "was the greatest architect of the nineteenth century." Philip

Johnson, "The Seven Crutches of Modern Architecture," in *Writings* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 140.

56. Eero Saarinen, "The Six Broad Currents of Modern Architecture," *Architectural Forum,* 99 (July 1953), 112–4.

57. On the attitudes of Gropius and Wright concerning organicism, see Donald Drew Egbert, "The Idea of Organic Expression in American Architecture," in *Evolutionary Thought in America,* ed. Stow Persons (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1950), 382–5.

58. This legacy was given distinct impression in the contrasts between Horace Greenough's strict functionalism and John Ruskin's notion that architecture must express poetry in paint and plastic.

II EUROPEAN RESPONSES

4

EDUCATED EVOLUTION: DARWINISM, DESIGN EDUCATION, AND AMERICAN INFLUENCE IN CENTRAL EUROPE, 1898–1918

Ákos Moravánszky

> I firmly believe that we need to-day trained and skillful hands more than we need fluent tongues.
>
> —*J. Liberty Tadd, 1899*[1]

"It is both a great drawback and a great advantage of the new Viennese architecture that its talented architects work without reflecting. They do not compose, using what history handed down to them, but seem to shape matter as in a dream, guided by a powerful intuition." Thus Ferdinand von Feldegg, editor of the Viennese architectural magazine *Der Architekt,* wrote in 1899. In their theoretical work, explained Feldegg, modern Viennese architects are always wrong, "from the first sentence of their leading master, Otto Wagner, to the last one, written by the most thoughtful of their young ones, Leopold Bauer. In the practice of their art, however, they are very often right."[2]

"To shape matter as in a dream," guided by intuition rather than by conscious historical reflection, was a radical departure from the rational rules of composition of the nineteenth century. "We are no longer living in the time of the unconscious, natural [*naturnothwendig*] creation . . . but in the epoch of thinking, of research, of self-conscious reflection."[3] This was the conviction of progressive architectural critics fifty years earlier. But the general dissatisfaction with the "masquerade of styles" at the turn of the century resulted in attempts to increase the role of the "unconscious, natural creation." Viollet-le-Duc's search to identify common formal patterns in nature and architecture and Antonio Gaudi's well-known experiments with hanging models to determine form while reducing the arbitrariness of individual design decisions were important first steps in that direction. Nietzsche's emotional critique of the "burden of history" and the progress made in experimental psychology gave rise to theories of psychological aesthetics. Since its first significant achievement, Gustav Theodor Fechner's *Vorschule der Aesthetik* (1876), psychological aesthetics established a connection between the processes of artistic perception and creation rather than focusing on questions of representation. "To shape matter as in a dream" required a new culture of the hands, a way of architectural creation not based on the "orders" of the Vitruvian system, requiring imitation and the use of ornamental "grammars" and samples that was widespread in the nineteenth century. It was nature that provided a system which had already been seen by romantics like Novalis and Schlegel as a universal figurative language. Forms of nature and also human creations were seen as parts of the continuous system of reality. Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859) attributed to the elements of this system functions, making the theory particularly interesting to architects because of the obvious analogy of the relation of parts to the whole.

In Ludwig Förster's *Allgemeine Bauzeitung,* the major German-language architectural and engineering magazine of the late nineteenth century, the organic concept of development inspired many articles on the evolution of space[4] and on the importance of technology for culture.[5] Albert Hoffmann's study of the development of the Ionic order[6] was based on his acute analysis of the transformation process of forms specific to wooden construction and its sequential adaptation in different cultures. Even the legitimation of the architectural use of iron I-columns was based on Darwinian principles. Georg Heuser, writing on iron frame structures, criticized, with some irony, Semper's notion that human culture had always been enhanced by "the haze of carnival candles," that, according to Semper, the "denial of reality, of the material, is necessary if form is to emerge as a meaningful symbol, as an autonomous creation of man."[7] Instead of the decorative coverings of the structure, instead of Semper's *Phantasieformen,* inspired by church incense or the perfumed vapor of a lady's boudoir, "works of art obey the general process of evolution that also rules in nature. . . . In art there are general laws in force, similar to the ones set up by Darwin for nature."[8] In 1890 Heuser started a series of articles on Darwinism in art and technology ("Darwinistisches über Kunst und Technik"). Here, acknowledging Semper's obvious interest in classification and natural selection, he developed a theory of trial and error applied to building construction: the elements of style basically follow the development of building technology—systems of vaulting, the structural frame (figure 4.1). The modern iron frame is proof of Darwin's remark that mankind has the innate inclination to drive natural selection to an extreme.[9]

Since today we associate modernism in architecture with a certain image, it is not easy to appreciate Otto Wagner's pioneering achievement—to express the experience of modernity, the growing unification of life, with a new architectural form. This accomplishment was clearly recognized by his contempo-

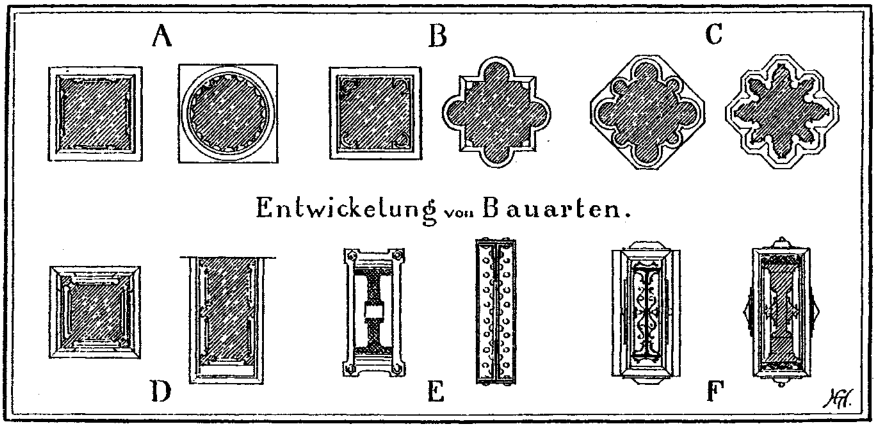


Figure 4.1 The evolution of the species of construction. (From G. Heuser, "Darwinistisches über Kunst und Technik," *Allgemeine Bauzeitung* (1890): 18.)

raries. "In Otto Wagner's art there is nothing unclear, nothing problematic. It assures us again that the essence of architecture is the essence of art generally," wrote Arthur Roessler in 1911.[10] Roessler pointed out that architecture stands closest to the powers of nature that create form; it is almost a continuation of the natural form-creating process in the human mind because it confers "formal order, clear expression, and higher spiritual meaning" to nonorganic matter. Since the inherent structural qualities of the material are not immediately visible, intuition and research—phantasy and science—are required, an "inner observation," a "measuring vision," and "discursive contemplation." Otto Wagner is an architect, wrote Roessler, who builds with the instinct of a bee or a beaver, with a born control of circumstances, with a "divine unconscious skill." This admiring comment evokes Feldegg's more critical remark twelve years earlier about Wagner's "shaping matter as in a dream."

A decade later, to conclude this brief history of architecture, the German architectural historian Karl O. Hartmann was able to make a judgment on the modern architecture of his time.[11] As a Nietzschean guiding principle toward a new century, Hartmann emphasized a reckless, egoistic urge struggling to rid itself of the chains of tradition. Realism and naturalism were based on a direct, sensual perception of reality as opposed to "learned rules." Capitalism, the concentration of people in industrial cities, the requirements of commerce, traffic, education, and recreation, created new tasks for architects. Hartmann stressed that it was Otto Wagner, who first refused to subordinate form and construction to some historically prefigured "image." While the engineer might be satisfied with having fulfilled the requirements of function, construction, and material, architecture also has a cultural function. To achieve this, a "genetic method" is required. The history of architectural development can offer suggestions concerning the formation and refinement of a *Stilgefühl* (feeling for style). Hartmann's analysis was based on a Darwinian concept of natural selection in culture: the survival of the "genetically appropriate" art principle.

Wagner himself applied the principle of selection to architectural education. In his address to the Union of Hungarian Architects, published in 1912 as "Die Qualität des Baukünstlers" (The Quality of the Architect), he emphasized that the first step in supporting art development is in the selection of students admitted to architectural schools: "With diligence and memory one can learn any science. But art cannot be learned; the youth who dedicates himself to art has to have an innate ability for this profession."[12] The masterworks of architecture are always the achievements of highly talented artists who broke away from the mainstream.

In his inaugural address to the Academy of Fine Arts, Wagner turned to his future students:

> Two things must be innate to you: taste and imagination. . . . Contrary to the view of my immediate predecessors, I am of the opinion that only a few talented architects should have the benefit of the training offered at this school. Architectural hermaphrodites simply cannot be expected to nurture much of a burning desire for architecture. As a teacher, I also have the duty to show everyone the right path, and I hope in this way to reduce in our profession, at least somewhat, the number of dreary types who have misspent their lives.[13]

The selection of the talented among the students was a prerequisite to finding the best design solution. Wagner made a clear distinction between the mere rational, practical thinking of the engineer and the ability of the architect to transcreate the purely necessary into art: "The engineer who does not consider the nascent art form but only the structural calculation and the expense speaks a language unsympathetic to man."[14] The German government's inquiry as to whether works of engineering should be protected by artistic copyright similar to works of architecture was "energetically rejected" by architects, because engineering is a merely "constructional utilization" (*bautechnische Verwertung*) of materials that has nothing to do with the act of creation.[15] The "aesthetic joylessness" of works of engineering is the result of lack of "schooling of the eye for the unconscious . . . feeling of form."

In Wagner's view, the task of architectural education was to ensure the evolution of designs through the "selection" of intuitive designers. His first important decision was to admit students to his course on the basis of their drawing skills, which were supposed to reflect "innate ability." His emphasis on the role of talent and imagination should be seen in the framework of educational reform, which received about the time of Wagner's talk its initial impetus from the United States. "It seems that the task that O.W. sets for modern architecture has already been solved in America in a practical sense," commented the German architect Karl Henrici in 1897,[16] but the question why the success of "unconscious, natural creation" was associated with America has hardly been examined.

It is a generally held view that it was only after World War I (with the recognition of the political and financial role of the United States in Europe) that a cultural model based on technical progress and rationalization became part of a Central European concept known as *Amerikanismus*. But, in fact, America as a paradigm of a materialistic, success- and health-oriented civilization had become part of a modern European vision by the end of the nineteenth century.[17] The impact of Darwinism in philosophy, social theory, and art was very strong, and America served as proof that the "natural selection" of unrestricted competition, together with an education stressing "mechanical skills," would produce the new type—the "inventor"—who can successfully compete with his educated European counterpart, the researcher-scientist.

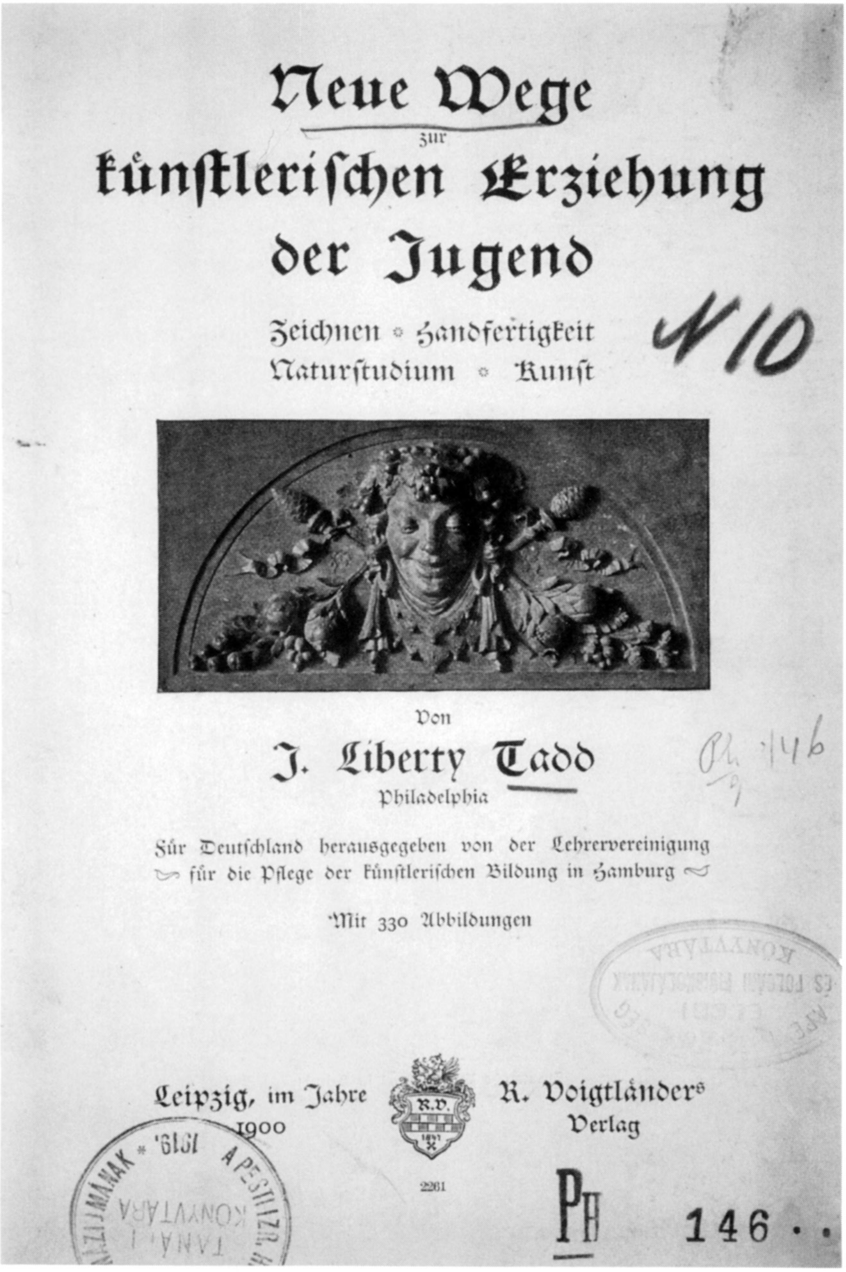
At the turn of the century the cross-disciplinary interactions between psychological theory, philosophy, and reformist educational theory developed within a close German-American exchange of ideas. Psychological aesthetics, the theory of empathy, achieved remarkable results in Germany around 1880. At this time its few followers in the United States who tried to transplant the new discipline still had to fight with conservative moral philosophers.[18] But by 1900 they were already able to achieve independent results through their interactions with theoreticians of industrialization, the work ethic, and education. At the turn of the century, German-trained scholars of psychology were being appointed to teaching positions at the expanding state universities of the Midwest. The success of practical application in the United States had in turn an impact on German education. The person who served as the strongest link between German and American work in psychology was Hugo Münsterberg (1863–1916), student of the Heidelberg experimental psychiatrist Emil Kraepelin and later professor of applied psychology at Harvard. His book *Industry and Industrial Efficiency,* published in 1913 in Boston, was a revised version of his Berlin lectures of 1910 and 1911.[19] This work marked the peak of a development that had an immense impact on art and architecture education by the end of the nineteenth century. W. N. Hailmann was one of the most important early authorities of educational reform based on psychological research. From 1857 to 1865, Hailmann was professor of natural sciences in

Louisville, Kentucky, then, between 1865 and 1873, director of the German-English academy in Milwaukee, which became the German-American Teachers Seminary. From 1870 to 1883 he was the editor of a German educational journal, *Erziehungsblätter,* and between 1877 and 1883, editor of the *New Education and Kindergarten Messenger.* The titles of his books reveal his areas of interest: *A System of Objective Teaching* (1866), *Kindergarten Culture for Home and School* (1872), *Application of Psychology to Teaching* (1885), and *Froebel's Education of Man* (1892).

"At the beginning of the nineties, as the young German reform movement started in the decorative arts and architecture, we called America our godfather," wrote the German art historian Peter Jessen, head librarian at the Berlin Museum of Applied Arts.[20] Jessen, who was among the first to criticize the teaching of ornamental design at a time when Art Nouveau was in full bloom, proposed methods for learning the qualities and technologies specific to different materials.[21] At the Dresden convention of art educators in 1901, anticipating the Werkbund program by six years, he summarized the basic goals of modern art education: a sense for intrinsic truth, an intimate understanding and knowledge of technology, appreciation of functional form, and the appropriate use of color. The interest of architects and architectural historians in technological evolution at the turn of the century aimed at a totality: to create a coherent epistemological system that is able to explain the differences between, and the common origins of, forms. German studies on "technical education" in the United States stressed that in the light of its success the contribution of the scholar to modern civilization appears to be secondary, insofar as it is based on the observations and reflections of the primary knowledge of the manual worker.

The dissolution of the medieval guild system was the decisive step toward the verbalization of communication. The modern school system was based on "listening," as many critics observed. The American James Liberty Tadd wrote his influential book on educational reform as a protest against the then current methods of education. "The old education is dependent too much upon books. . . . Children are told too much; they do not work out truths for themselves."[22] The authority of the speaker and the absolute authority of history as the supreme *magistra vitae* collided with the reality of industrialization. The conflict was first recognized in the decay of the environment. It was not so much the misery of the workers' slums in London, the ugliness of machine-produced objects with their applied coats of historical decor. The general dissatisfaction of critics with the poor aesthetic quality of the industrial objects shown at the Great Exhibition in 1851 in London led Gottfried Semper to propose in his pamphlet *Science Industry, and Art* an educational program to elevate public taste. Semper recommended the establishment of design collections that would offer courses for craftsmen. The first such institution, the South Kensington Museum (today the Victoria and Albert Museum) was established in 1852 on the basis of Semper's recommendations. It incorporated not only a study collection but also a school of design. This institution was the model for design education in many European countries and in the United States. The Austrian art historian Rudolf von Eitelberger (1817–1885) argued that the world exhibition of 1862 in London demonstrated the success of the institution, and proposed following the British example. The Österreichisches Museum für Kunst und Industrie opened in the Ballhaus of the royal palace in Vienna in 1864, moving in 1871 to a new building, designed by Heinrich von Ferstel. In Austria in 1872 a decree of the minister of education permitted the introduction of modeling into the curriculum of the *Realschule,* and in 1873 Erasmus Schwab published in Vienna his program of the workshop school: *Die Arbeitsschule als organischer Bestandteil der Volksschule* (The Workshop School as an Organic Element of the Elementary School). At the World Exposition in Vienna in 1873, Schwab exhibited a model of his school with a workshop and a school garden for boys and girls.[23] Johannes Itten, who later became a key figure in the first phase of the Bauhaus, studied in Schwab's workshop school. The first German student workshops were opened soon thereafter following the Vienna example.

In the United States, municipal art education in "civic aesthetics" started in Boston. The industrial drawing movement in Massachusetts was stimulated in 1870 by the palpable improvement in the quality of British products since the establishment of the art training school. On the recommendation of Henry Cole, a leading member of the high commission for the Great Exhibition, the English drawing master Walter Smith introduced British industrial drawing methods in Boston. In 1871 Smith became art supervisor in Boston. At the turn of the century English and American drawing education had already had a great impact on Germany and Austro-Hungary. Muthesius in his *Kultur und Kunst* (1904) criticized the exaggerated intellectualism of German schools, which, unlike English schools, considered art as a scientific discipline. James Liberty Tadd stressed the importance of children's contact with things instead of symbols of things: "We consider too much the symbols of knowledge instead of the sources of knowledge—the objects, facts, and processes of nature in time and space."[24] Tadd was known in Germany primarily for his method of teaching children to draw with both hands ("ambidexterity") to liberate suppressed sensorimotor abilities. In 1900 an abridged version of his book was published in Germany as *Neue Wege zur künstlerischen Erziehung der Jugend*[25] (figure 4.2). The original had been published in 1899 as *New Methods in Educa-*



Neue Wege
zur
künſtleriſchen Erziehung
der Jugend

Zeichnen ◦ Handfertigkeit
Naturſtudium ◦ Kunſt

N 10

Von
J. Liberty Tadd
Philadelphia

Ph 146
19

Für Deutſchland herausgegeben von der Lehrervereinigung
für die Pflege der künſtleriſchen Bildung in Hamburg

Mit 330 Abbildungen

Leipzig, im Jahre
1900

R. Voigtländers
Verlag

2261

1919.

PH 146 . .

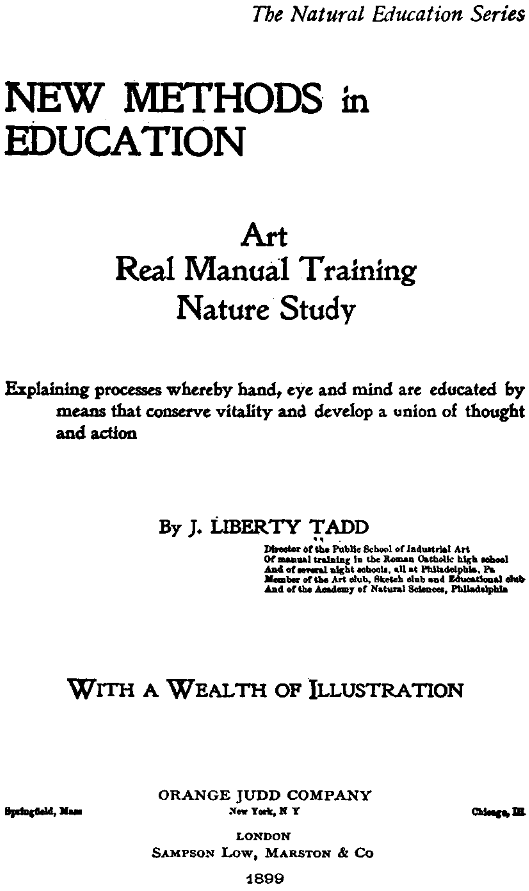
Figure 4.2 Title page of the German edition of Tadd's book, *Neue Wege zur künstlerischen Erziehung der Jugend*.

tion: Art, Real Manual Training, Nature Study. Explaining processes whereby hand, eye and mind are educated by means that conserve vitality and develop a union of thought and action.[26] (figure 4.3).

Tadd's book was the result of two decades of experimenting with manual training classes. He was employed by Thomas S. Kirkbride, physician-in-chief of the Pennsylvania mental hospital, to teach his own children and some of the patients of the hospital. The guiding principle of his method was to allow children the "complete realization of the power of being able to do. No joy is greater or more lasting than that received by doing well with the complete being,—brain, eye, hands, will, and judgement, all tools, God-given tools, to be trained and used." Tadd criticized the fact that "much of the best energy of the country has been devoted to trade activities, to material welfare; but in the process of evolution, of differentiation of institutions, other ideas in education must prevail, and science and art be more fully considered."[27]

The methods Tadd proposed for elementary manual education were parts of a refined system. First, the acquisition of conscious control and coordination of hand, eye, and brain had to be achieved, to be followed by automatic control. "The hand should be made spontaneously obedient to the mind; it should start forward instantly to obey the mind by the appropriate movement, as the tongue usually obeys."[28] To "shape matter as in a dream," to quote Feldegg again, is spelled out here as an educational program. Tadd stressed the importance of "periods of powerful rectifying exercises to reform or correct awkward muscular movements or habits, as well as for the purpose of gaining facility, balance, proportion, accuracy, magnitudes, fitness and grace." The exercises in different media, such as wood and clay, for acquiring dexterity and skill in shaping various ideas, were based on a rotating principle. The transitions from drawing to clay and from clay to wood were very important. Characteristic elements of Tadd's methods were the "memory drawings,"(figure 4.4) exercises for acquiring accurate and permanent organic memories of the environment "as one of the most beneficial exercises for expanding the mind and giving the artistic ability so much to be desired educationally . . . We should be able to think compositions and designs, and mentally to change them from state to state, just as the character of our speech or the current of our ideas change when we are thinking or reasoning"[29](figures 4.5, 4.6, and 4.7).

Schools of industrial art, like Tadd's or those run by museums of applied arts, had their predecessors in the "industrial schools" that were established in Europe and the United States in the early eighteenth century. Their purpose, however, was to furnish industry with skilled workers rather than to educate public taste. "Industry" in the nineteenth century simply meant "work." Crafts were called "the home industries," distinguishing between the kind of work one does for a capitalist from the work done at home. The idea that one can,



The Natural Education Series

NEW METHODS in
EDUCATION

Art
Real Manual Training
Nature Study

Explaining processes whereby hand, eye and mind are educated by means that conserve vitality and develop a union of thought and action

By J. LIBERTY TADD

Director of the Public School of Industrial Art
Of manual training in the Roman Catholic high school
And of several night schools, all at Philadelphia, Pa
Member of the Art club, Sketch club and Educational club
And of the Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia

WITH A WEALTH OF ILLUSTRATION

ORANGE JUDD COMPANY
Springfield, Mass New York, N Y Chicago, Ill
LONDON
SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON & CO
1899

Figure 4.3 Title page of J. Liberty Tadd's *New Methods in Education.*

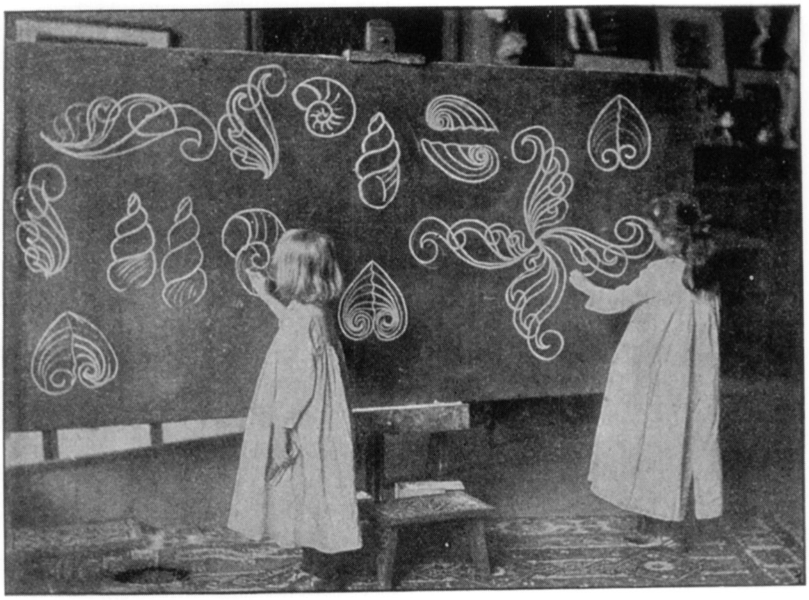


Figure 4.4 Freehand drawing from memory. (From J. Liberty Tadd, *Neue Wege zur künstlerischen Erziehung der Jugend* (Leipzig: 1900).)

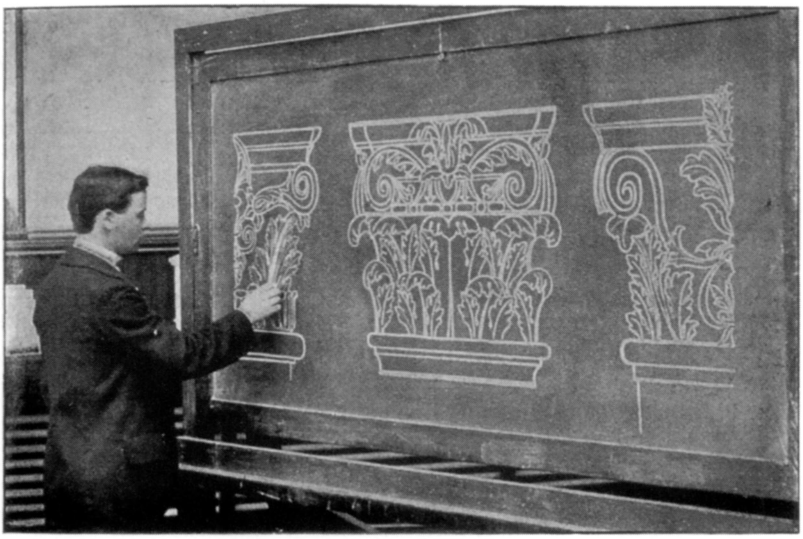


Figure 4.5 Architectural details drawn from memory. (From J. Liberty Tadd, *Neue Wege zur künstlerischen Erziehung der Jugend* (Leipzig: 1900).)

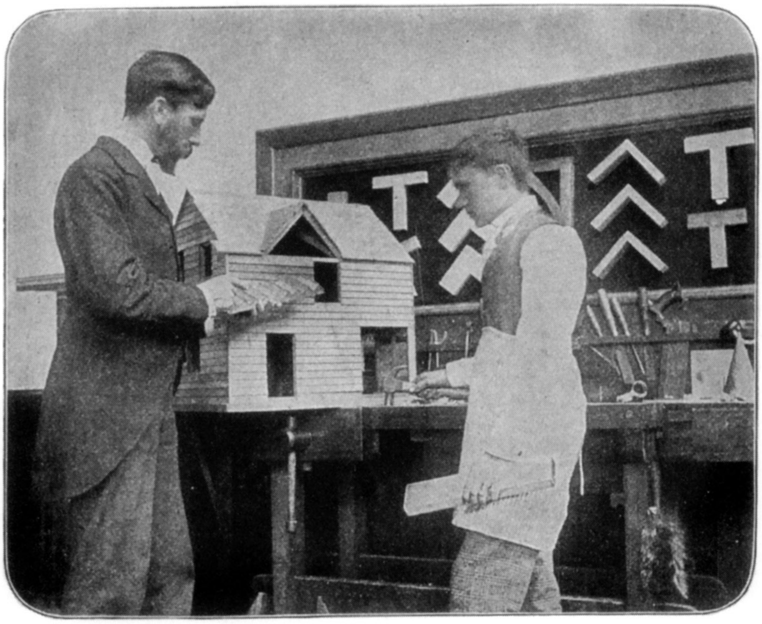


Figure 4.6 House-building class. (From J. Liberty Tadd, *Neue Wege zur künstlerischen Erziehung der Jugend* (Leipzig: 1900).)

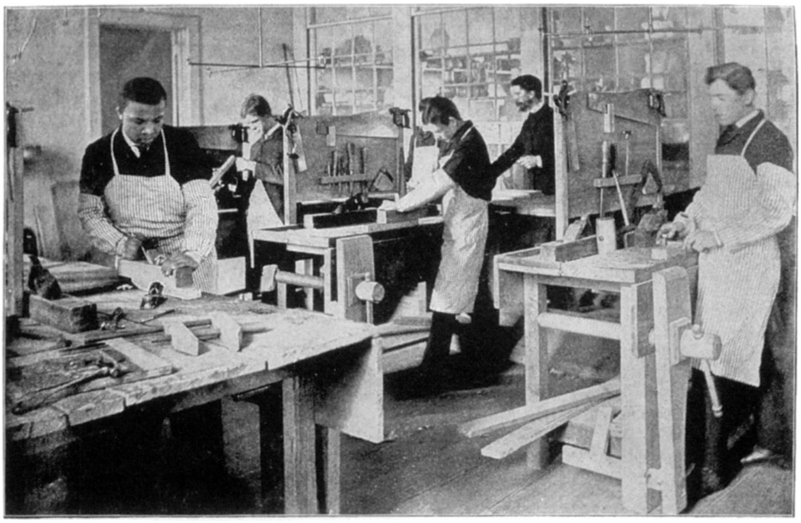


Figure 4.7 Joiner's workshop. (From J. Liberty Tadd, *Neue Wege zur künstlerischen Erziehung der Jugend.* (Leipzig: 1900).)

and in fact must acquire skills in order to perform work was not at all obvious. The work of pedagogues such as Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi and Friedrich Froebel must be seen against the background of attempts to produce a modern workforce for the industrial state. As late as in 1906 W. von Oechelhäuser complained in the journal of the Association of German Engineers that valuable machines had to be put out of service due to lack of skilled workers.[30] But the task was not simply teaching specific skills: the quest for the work ethic and efficient production corresponded with the necessity of guiding youth to jobs suited to their bents and capacities, jobs that would ensure the "joy" and "uplift" of labor. The theories of the outstanding educators of the eighteenth century served as useful guidelines. To Pestalozzi, schooling human perception was based on measurement, on the suppression of what is inessential, on finding similarities, making abstractions—methods based on enlightened reason. Froebel's romantic concept of play with the kindergarten "gift" as a way to educate children's sensory exploration of the world and to allow them to express themselves is known to architectural historians today from Frank Lloyd Wright's childhood memories.

John Dewey established the kindergarten of his famous laboratory school (founded in 1896 as the University Elementary School) in Chicago on the basis of Froebel's educational philosophy. Dewey wrote that there is "change enough and progress enough in the social conditions of the United States of today, as compared with those of the Germany of [Froebel's] day, to justify making kindergarten activities more natural, more direct, and more real representations of current life than Froebel's disciples have done."[31]

The pedagogical principles of Dewey and his pragmatic approach were aimed at integrating schooling into modern industrial reality rather than merely disseminating knowledge and discipline. The Chicago school attempted to unify functionalist philosophy (German-influenced), experimental science, and social science. Educational and social reform had to go hand in hand. Dewey argued for an "organic connection between the school and business life," not in the sense that school would prepare children for a particular business, but "that there should be a natural connection of the everyday life of the child with the business environment about him, and that is the affair of the school to clarify and liberalize this connection, to bring it to consciousness. . . . by keeping alive the ordinary bonds of relation."[32] Dewey's school was conceived as a political institution, where cultural values are created and disseminated, where democracy is inculcated by teaching and discovery. The ideal school should house a complete industrial museum. In his example, textile work, that is, weaving, and its connection to the other arts and architecture played an important role, probably influenced by Semper's activities in London. Dewey, as did many of his contemporaries, saw the analogy between phylogeny and ontogeny, and would recapitulate this analogy in education. As humankind begins its life with food and clothing, so must the child first learn the plants that provide nourishment and fibers. The learning process lays the foundation for history as well as for the natural sciences, for one can "concentrate the history of all mankind into the evolution of the flax, cotton and wool fibers into clothing."[33] Dewey's agenda required more than knowledge of history and the environment: "It is not only that the occupations, the so-called manual or industrial work in the school, give the opportunity for the introduction of science which illuminates them, which makes them material, freighted with meaning, instead of being mere devices of hand and eye; but that the scientific insight thus gained becomes an indispensable instrument of free and active participation in modern social life."[34] As a philosopher and social critic Dewey was in a good position to destroy the romantic myth of America as a land of natural simplicity, a myth still reflected in many concepts of vocational education, and to start a progressive program of education based on a critical analysis of his country's history.

Dewey's writings were published in German translations early in the twentieth century and influenced design education from Georg Kerschensteiner to the Bauhaus teacher Josef Albers.[35] Kerschensteiner (1854–1932), who developed the concept of the *Arbeitsschule,* considered handicraft the basis of real art. He stressed the significance of solidarity for real *Arbeitsfreude* (joy of work) in overcoming the egocentrism of the individual.[36]

The idea of joyful labor goes back to Pugin, Ruskin, Morris, and the Arts and Crafts movement, but in England it was tied to the regressive utopia of the medieval craftsman. It was the task of German social thinkers like Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl and Friedrich Naumann to elaborate the concept of quality work as the result of cooperation between art and modern industrial technology in the interest of the nation. The search for objective, empirical evidence brought interesting results, like Karl Bücher's book *Arbeit und Rhythmus* (Labor and Rhythm), which established direct connections between aesthetics and pleasure, explaining the cause of the modern alienation of labor as the destruction of the natural rhythm of labor. The joyful, instinctive rhythm of manual work that allows individual expression promised liberation from the abstract verbalism of modern education that makes self-expression almost impossible.[37] Tadd stressed that rhythmic movements are less controlled by consciousness, and therefore allow a more direct, nondiscursive expression. Itten's Bauhaus course was based on similar hypotheses.

At the founding conference of the Deutscher Werkbund, on 5–6 October 1907, supported by leading figures of the reform movement such as Fritz Schumacher and Theodor Fischer, Kerschensteiner pointed out that the joy that workers find in labor also means higher quality resulting finally in a German victory in the trade "competition between nations": "All that is supported by the iron cage of tradition carries the burden of a heavy inertia. This false system results in the detachment of scientific, technical, and artistic education from labor!"[38] Kerschensteiner, as the head of the Munich board of education, started a program that he called *Erziehung zur Arbeitsfreudigkeit* (education for joyful labor) for young people between 14 and 18 years of age. They had to work at least 3 to 4 hours per week in a workshop to learn "what is solid labor, to like it, and to shape form (*Gestalten*) in their most simple work according to their abilities. . . . After four years, we will see that out of 11,000 apprentices in the city of Munich, 10,000 are artistically useless, but the remaining 1000 are intellectually and artistically gifted. . . . We will create a . . . system of selection that other schools, such as the design schools, can use."

Kerschensteiner was critical of the burden of factual information put on children. Teaching should help children to find themselves, to mobilize their hidden creative abilities. The period where slumbering creativity can be recovered ends, according to Kerschensteiner, at about age 10.[39] (It was the Munich architect Theodor Fischer and his school on the Elisabethplatz that provided adequate spaces for the new activities—a studio kitchen, workshops, drafting rooms, etc. Its volume was composed of two wings of different height that also allowed articulation of the hierarchy of the two streets.)

The first German report on the results of technical education in American schools was published by Alwin Pabst, director of the school of applied arts in Leipzig, who visited the education exhibition at St. Louis in 1904[40]: "The unlimited freedom that is afforded American schools for experimentation has led to a great multiplicity of forms of instruction in work. . . . In the year 1890 manual training was carried out in the schools of 37 cities. In 1901 the number of cities had risen to 232, and in 1902 to 270, and since then the number has grown apace. In the year 1901 the cost of manual training in 163 schools with an enrollment of 49,369 pupils and a faculty of 1559 teachers was $1,160,346."[41]

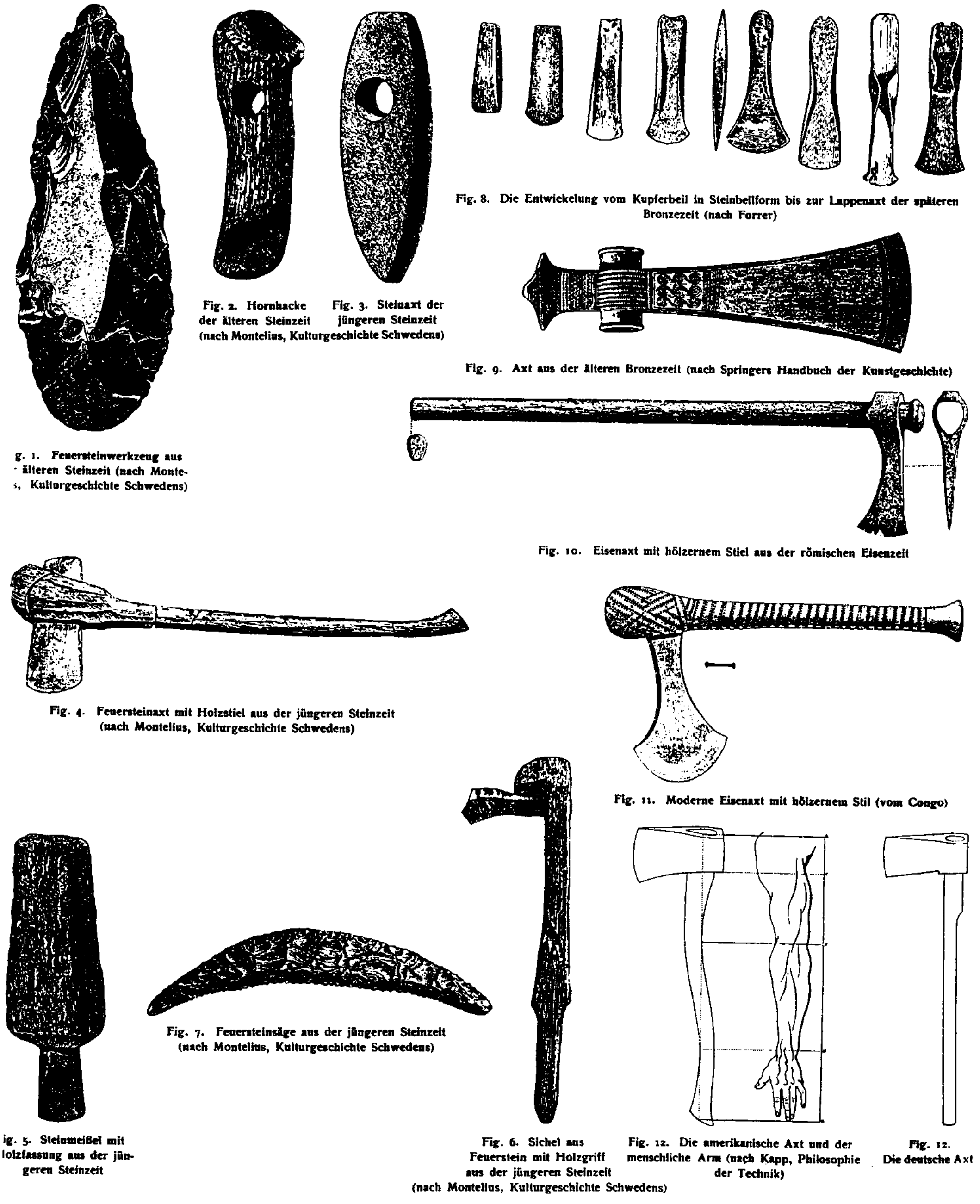
In an article for the *Kunstgewerbeblatt,* Pabst concluded:

> The cultivated nations [*Kulturvölker*] that have an observant eye for the real requirements of life have already introduced an educational system that teaches the younger generation what is important in life. The new American school provides an excellent example of an education that is based on the child's instinct for activity . . . that requires technical labor on each level [of teaching]. . . . The fact that such an education is successful in America has to do with . . . the fundamental American view that appreciates . . . joy in work and willpower.[42]

Pabst showed that the American ax had a two or three times greater efficiency than the German ax because it was perfected to an absolute degree of practicality. The evolution of the ax follows an increasing anthropomorphization (figure 4.8): the handle of the American ax follows the basic proportions of the human arm, in contrast to the simple German ax, with its straight handle. Human history is the history of the improvement of tools, and tools are not only products but also producers of human intelligence. Like language, when tools reach a certain level of craftsmanship, they begin to dominate, demand a more precise hand, a sharper intellect.

In the final analysis, evolution drives a more effective use of energy. Pabst based his argument on the studies of energetics of the controversial and widely read chemist and Nobel laureate Wilhelm Ostwald, who described the development of culture as evolving from muscular energy to the more concentrated, transcending energy of capital. According to Pabst, craftsmanship influences the sensitive intellect "by heightening the transformation of existing energies, stimulating courage and willpower, and ensuring the surmounting of obstacles."[43]

Figure 4.8 The evolution of the ax. (From A. Pabst, "Technische Arbeit als Erziehungsmittel," *Kunstgewerbeblatt N.F.*, 19 (1908): 82.)

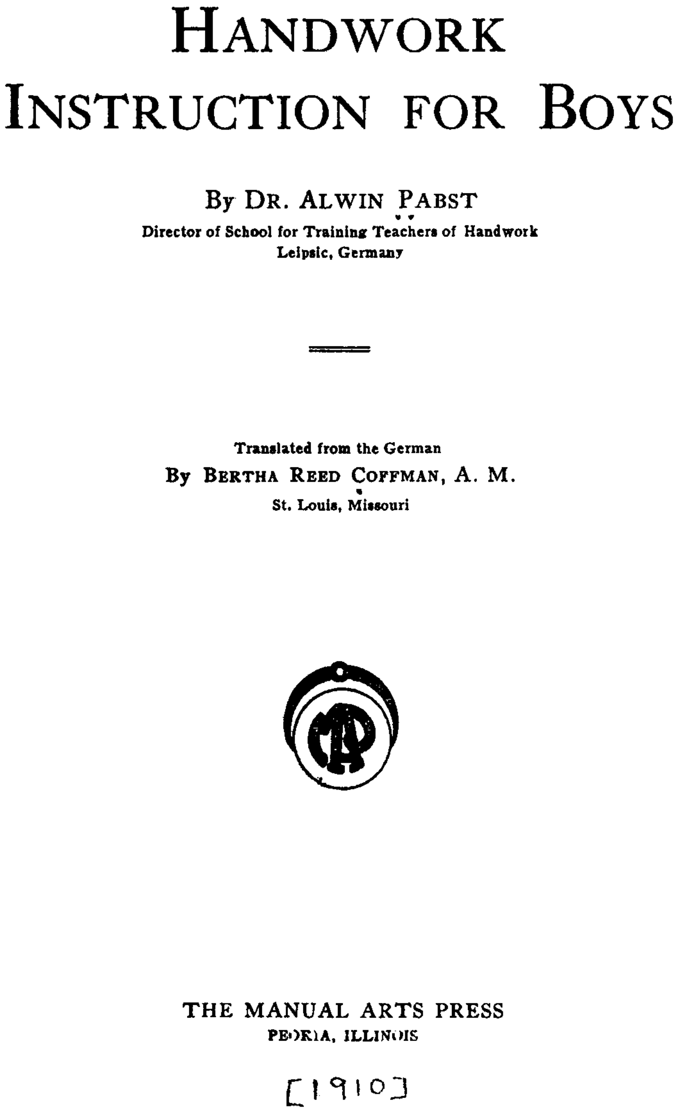

g. 1. Feuersteinwerkzeug aus · älteren Steinzeit (nach Monte- ;, Kulturgeschichte Schwedens)
Fig. 2. Hornhacke der älteren Steinzeit
Fig. 3. Steinaxt der jüngeren Steinzeit
(nach Montelius, Kulturgeschichte Schwedens)
Fig. 8. Die Entwickelung vom Kupferbeil in Steinbeilform bis zur Lappenaxt der späteren Bronzezeit (nach Forrer)
Fig. 9. Axt aus der älteren Bronzezeit (nach Springers Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte)
Fig. 10. Eisenaxt mit hölzernem Stiel aus der römischen Eisenzeit
Fig. 4. Feuersteinaxt mit Holzstiel aus der jüngeren Steinzeit (nach Montelius, Kulturgeschichte Schwedens)
Fig. 11. Moderne Eisenaxt mit hölzernem Stil (vom Congo)
Fig. 7. Feuersteinsäge aus der jüngeren Steinzeit (nach Montelius, Kulturgeschichte Schwedens)
ig. 5. Steinmeißel mit lolzfassung aus der jüngeren Steinzeit
Fig. 6. Sichel aus Feuerstein mit Holzgriff aus der jüngeren Steinzeit (nach Montelius, Kulturgeschichte Schwedens)
Fig. 12. Die amerikanische Axt und der menschliche Arm (nach Kapp, Philosophie der Technik)
Fig. 12. Die deutsche Axt

The way of German economic progress has been outlined: The network of state middle schools selects students with the requisite artistic talent. The talented 10 percent are educated in workshops, where the immediate visual-manual environment will inspire them to the act of creation, the "spiritual transformation of material" to artistic design. Pabst, in his book *Handwork Instruction for Boys* (figure 4.9) explained the success of technical education in the United States by the American character:

> It is worthy of note that the American, who is more than anything else a person of will, and who endeavors through his education to work especially upon the will, places so high a value upon technical work as a means of education. Evidently he has in this respect, with his practical sense and insight, which are characteristic of him, recognized the correct thing to do and fixed his eyes upon its execution from the very beginning. The theoretical establishment of the indispensability of handwork in the system of education, which is encouraged in almost no other country as in America, comes about there in response to an instinctive predilection for handwork, and has not been compelled to overcome the difficulties and prejudices which in Germany, for example, are opposed to deeper pedagogical insight.[44]

In Central Europe, the devaluation of humanistic education and the growing importance of vocational training and technical schools was reflected in the political behavior of the educated middle class which became increasingly conservative. The transformation of the university into a modern "learning factory" resulted in a fragmentation of the philosophical faculty to embrace all natural and human sciences. Advocates of the humanistic concept were concerned that this change would make communication between disciplines impossible, disrupting the unity and direction of traditional scholarship.

The creative, artistic transformation of reality by the architect promised, in contrast to the mechanical-utilitarian nature of organized labor, a different, organic, collaborative nature. The lack of political power of the educated middle class found its compensation in the idealistic activism that soon spelled out the demand for leadership in a cultural revolution—the glorification of the "great architect," from Otto Wagner to Bruno Taut and beyond. The revolt of the cultural elite spread to the high schools and universities where the state, as the supporter of the universities, used its influence to increase the importance of natural science and technology. The concept of the old-fashioned *humanistisches Gymnasium* (classical high school) did not fulfill the needs of an industrial empire; its teachers were accused of losing touch with reality. The justification for the new architect "with his happy combination of idealism and realism"[45] was the task of "aesthetic transfiguration" of factories and battleships, which served as the program of the Werkbund. It is easy to detect impe-



HANDWORK
INSTRUCTION FOR BOYS

By DR. ALWIN PABST
Director of School for Training Teachers of Handwork
Leipsic, Germany

Translated from the German
By BERTHA REED COFFMAN, A. M.
St. Louis, Missouri

THE MANUAL ARTS PRESS
PEORIA, ILLINOIS

[1910]

Figure 4.9 Title page of Alwin Pabst's *Handwork Instruction for Boys*.

rialist ambitions in the cultural ideology of the dominant industrial powers around 1910. The recent critique of "reactionary modernism," however, fails to distinguish between the regressive and the progressive utopian elements in the reform movements, including educational reform.

The German edition of Tadd's book was dedicated to Justus Brinckmann and Alfred Lichtwark, two outstanding figures in modern art education, who were in charge of the Kunsthalle and the Kunstgewerbeschule in Hamburg. The Kunstgewerbeschule became, under Brinckmann's and Lichtwark's influence, one of the world's foremost schools of applied arts; Otto Eckmann und Peter Behrens were among its students. It is remarkable, that in the United States, Tadd's home country, figures like Brinckmann and Lichtwark did not emerge. Peter Jessen, in his travel report of 1916,[46] complained that the "youthful freshness" of American art that impressed German visitors to the 1893 Chicago exhibition had evaporated. He looked in vain in large industrial firms and universities for positions that "the pioneers of that time" were holding in Germany. He visited a giant exhibition of the work of young inventors in San Francisco, but the high level of technical education seemed to have no equivalent in the schools of applied arts. Good design, however, was still present in mass-produced commercial merchandise. In Germany, Jessen noted, the Werkbund had had to fight for such products during the last 20 years.

While Brinckmann, Lichtwark, Pabst, and other pioneers of vocational training and *Arbeitsfreude* in Germany were convinced that they were serving their national community, in America the larger perspective, the higher ideal, did not fit with the pragmatism of the early 1900s. The patriotic fervor of Tadd's late nineteenth-century dithyrambs sounded like a voice from a distant past: "Our American youth will come out of the early educational process sound in brain and body, strong of purpose, positive in application, trained in the use of hand and eye, with originality developed and judgement matured, possessing an ability and a capacity to use it that will so manifest themselves in every art and industry as to maintain throughout the world the supremacy of the American genius, effort and products."[47] At the turn of the century Hailmann, too, had set a much more important agenda than mere service to efficient production, urging the advent of a "truly American art which, on the one hand, will add to our industries a growing regard for grace and beauty, and, on the other hand, will hasten the time when America shall be freed from the bane of mere imitation in matters of art, when she shall rejoice in an art of her own, which in architecture and sculpture, in painting and engraving, shall symbolize and thereby crystallize the ideals and aspirations of the American people."[48] This program was certainly understood by the theoreticians of the

Werkbund, but must have appeared outdated to new American prophets of scientific management like Taylor and Ford. In Frederick W. Taylor's *Principles of Scientific Management,* which became a bible of industrial rationalization after its publication in 1918, the goals of joy in work and humanization were replaced by the mechanistic rules of efficient assembly-line production, a synthetic approach replaced by an analytic one.

Joan Campbell noted the differences between the German and the American elements of Münsterberg's applied psychology, comparing discrepancies in the German and American editions of *Psychology and Industrial Efficiency.* She concluded that the "American Münsterberg might be content to accept material well-being as a legitimate objective, but the German placed himself in the service of a higher ideal: that of securing the good of the individual and the national community through the restoration of joy in work."[49] At the turn of the century Münsterberg and applied psychology were in full glory at Harvard. By 1914 he had become a propagandist, publishing a large number of popular articles. Many other psychologists, too, went in for journalistic money-making, feeling "the debilitating effects of academic indigence."[50] In his *Psychology: General and Applied,* Münsterberg finally gave up the "German" ambition of serving a higher ideal: "The practical psychologist ought never to forget that his psychological understanding can give him insight only into the means needed for a certain end, but cannot select the ends themselves."[51]

This was written in a year when the Cologne exhibition of the Werkbund demonstrated that it is the utopian attempt to "select the ends themselves" that drives architecture and industrial design toward pioneering results. In the United States, despite the impressive numbers cited by Pabst, the movement had abandoned by this time Dewey's early vision to fuse history, science, anthropology, and culture into one overarching social vision in which every worker could participate. This revision can be explained in part by the domination of businessmen in organizations like the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education, where Taylor joined forces with antilabor groups such as the National Association of Manufacturers. Under pressure by a revitalized German industry, the original goals of the movement were scaled down to satisfy the practical needs of job training. The necessity of developing techniques of mass production replaced the quest for quality and a flexible and intelligent workforce, as Dewey envisioned it. The new forms of efficient mass production and consumption became known, admired, imitated, and criticized in Central Europe as *Amerikanismus* in the wake of the Dawes Plan of 1924. The earlier achievements, the legacy of Dewey, Tadd, and Hailmann were forgotten.

Notes

1. J[ames] Liberty Tadd, *New Methods in Education: Art, Real Manual Training, Nature Study. Explaining processes whereby hand, eye and mind are educated by means that conserve vitality and develop a union of thought and action* (Springfield, Mass.; New York: Orange Judd, 1899).

2. v. Feldegg, "J.M. Olbrich," *Der Architekt,* 5 (1899): 37–38.

3. *Deutsches Kunstblatt* [Leipzig], 2 (1851): 108, quoted in Klaus Döhmer, *"In welchem Style sollen wir bauen?": Architekturtheorie zwischen Klassizismus und Jugendstil* (Munich: Prestel, 1976), 7.

4. Hans Auer, "Die Entwicklung des Raumes in der Baukunst," *Allgemeine Bauzeitung,* 48 (1883): 65–68, 73–74.

5. Egon Zöller, "Die Bedeutung der Technik und des technischen Standes in der Kultur," *Allgemeine Bauzeitung,* 48 (1883): 97–102.

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5

THE DUTCH RECEPTION OF FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT: AN OVERVIEW

Maristella Casciato

The influence of Frank Lloyd Wright has had on his Dutch colleagues, particularly between 1910 and the middle of the 1920s, is evident today. This influence was also largely recognized at the time. H.P. Berlage, the grand old man of Dutch architecture of the century, firmly stated the primary position of Wright, defining him as "a master without equal in the whole of Europe."

Wright's compositional methods and ideas spread to the point of creating in the architectural context of the Old World a phenomenon that Pevsner defined as "peaceful penetration."[1] It can be argued that the Netherlands represented a type of laboratory for that "peaceful penetration," both for the many levels of interpretation of Wright's architecture, and for the diversity his example inspired. In this chapter I address the Dutch relationship to Wright, place it in the European context, and trace Wright's influence up to the present.

It is difficult to identify the precise date of the "European discovery" of Wright's architecture. If, on the one hand, the American visits by several European architects between 1890 and 1910 were important, particularly that of Berlage, equally important were the publications in Europe and America dedicated to Wright's work.[2] After publication in 1900 of the first article devoted to Wright, in the *Architectural Review* of Boston, subsequent articles appeared in the March and April 1908 issues of the *Architectural Record*. These texts form the basis of the Wrightian myth.[3] Wright himself explained in the March 1908 issue of the *Architectural Record* the guiding principles of his thought in a long essay entitled "In the Cause of Architecture." The richly illustrated essay—at that time Wright had completed or was completing several of his masterpieces—had a vast circulation and came to the attention of the more cultured European architects.

A few years later, in 1910 and 1911, the first European publications devoted to Wright came out. The prestigious publisher Wasmuth of Berlin issued both a luxurious portfolio entitled *Ausgeführte Bauten und Entwürfe von Frank*

Lloyd Wright (1911), which presented the project drawings of the Oak Park period, and a more affordable photographic album of a selection of his completed projects, the *Sonderheft: Frank Lloyd Wright, ausgeführte Bauten* (1910–1911), edited by the British architect C. R. Ashbee.

The importance of these books has been emphasized by critics and historians, who have considered them the primary vehicle for the discovery of Wright in Europe. In fact their role was modest, owing to their limited circulation. The two volumes were the result of a promotional effort by Wright during a particularly critical moment in his private and professional life, and they were intended primarily for an audience of potential American patrons. Many problems arose during the printing of the texts, which were published both in Europe and America in limited editions.[4] Thus it should be said that, though the two books were an important vehicle for the diffusion of Wright's works, they were only one of the ways in which European architects discovered the American master.

The Netherlands have frequently been considered a leader in the dissemination of Wright's influence in the Old World, despite the curious fact that Wright's extensive travels in Europe never included a visit there. Berlage, who traveled to the United States during the fall and winter of 1911, staying for nearly 2 months, provided the means for the dissemination of Wright's works and ideas. By this time Berlage was known internationally both in America and in Europe for his project for the Amsterdam stock exchange, which was presented to a sizeable American public at the architectural exhibition of the St. Louis World's Fair in 1904. If Berlage was not the first European architect to undertake the modern grand tour across the Atlantic, he was certainly the first to cross the ocean following the favorable reaction to his stock exchange.

What inspired him, no longer young at 56, to undertake the journey? Presumably, it was both curiosity and admiration. Berlage traveled to the United States to evaluate at first hand the novelties of the new world: skyscrapers, commercial buildings, urban planning, and in particular the architecture of H.H. Richardson and Louis Sullivan. If Berlage felt close to the latter, and this not only for reasons of age, he also made no secret of his great admiration for Wright.[5]

It is worth asking how familiar the Dutch architect was with the work of Wright. The American architect William Gray Purcell offers valuable insight. A collaborator of Sullivan and close to the Prairie school, he met Berlage during a visit to Amsterdam in 1906 and in the following years maintained a close relationship through correspondence. Purcell accompanied Berlage during part of his American journey through the East Coast and the Midwest. Together they visited the studio of Wright in Oak Park without, however, meeting the architect. At the time of their encounter in the Netherlands, the young American architect and the mature Dutchman discussed at some length the new American architecture of Sullivan and Wright. Purcell noted that "[Berlage] was familiar with the excellent publications of Wright's work in the *Architectural Review* (Boston) of 1900, and had seen some of Sullivan's writings."[6] In a letter of 1908 we read that Purcell sent Berlage the recently published March issue of the *Architectural Record* with the following note:

> One of our most careful and imaginative architects has been given the entire current number of the *Architectural Record* for a setting forth of his work with word [reference to "In the Cause of Architecture"] and photograph. I am sending you one of these as I doubt if you will see it otherwise and I know you will enjoy it as an indication of the character of the most thoughtful and progressive work that is being done in America today. I trust that the exchange of this very tiny seed will make for a better understanding of what is to grow forth in our respective countries.[7]

Purcell's words did not go unheeded, and a few years later Berlage decided to see for himself.

Berlage's 1911 journey and his observations remain crucial for developments in building and architectural theory in the Netherlands and in Europe. Soon after Berlage's return to his native country, in fact, the entire Dutch architectural community enthusiastically attended a lecture in February 1912, in which Berlage recounted his American adventures and initiated them to the works of Sullivan and Wright.[8] In his subsequent public speeches, Berlage presented the general characteristics of the American urban and architectural cultures, but the focus of his enthusiastic discussion was on the architecture of Wright. Berlage saw in Wright's designs strong analogies to his own architectural beliefs: denial of stylistic historicism, rejection of ornamentation unless as the result of a dialogue between nature and geometry, and "unity in diversity."[9] If it is true that in 1912 Wright was called the "Berlage of America," this identification was enthusiastically shared by the Dutch architectural community.[10]

Berlage's presentation was greeted with the same fervor during a series of lectures in Germany and Switzerland; in Mach 1912 he gave a lecture in Hagen, a small but culturally sophisticated city nurtured by K. E. Osthaus, the wealthy patron of the Deutsches Museum für Kunst in Handel und Gewerbe. There, Berlage met the Dutch architect J.L.M. Lauweriks, director of the Instituut voor Handvaardigheid and member of the professional staff of the Deutsches Museum.[11] A few years earlier Lauweriks had traveled to the United States to study, and it is not surprising that he should have wanted to compare his impressions with those of his famous countryman.[12] At the end of the month, Berlage went to Zurich, the city where he had studied architecture, and delivered a memorable lecture on Sullivan and Wright at the Zürich Ingenieur und Architektenverein.[13] Berlage ended his lectures stating:

> During the trip I looked primarily at the work of Sullivan and Wright . . . the two greatest American architects of our time. And when I left I was convinced that a new architecture is being created there. We Europeans have no reason to regard American architecture as inferior. On the contrary, the best work demonstrates both originality and imagination, and promises much for the future. We should accord it the high estimation that it so richly deserves.[14]

From 1915 on the diffusion of formal or compositional elements that recalled the methods of Wright became widespread; a trip to Amsterdam, Utrecht, and Hilversum would reveal to anyone the depth of this influence. There were many reasons for this fascination. Not only was Wright's architecture visually striking, but it was above all in harmony with the architectural experiments conducted in the Netherlands, and with the ideological and even the political sensibility of the country.

The Dutch recognized in the architecture of Wright at least three points of interest: the ideological appeal of an architecture as the cultural expression of a strongly democratic society; the primitive and exotic appeal of the integration of motifs inspired by the Far East on architectural forms; and most important, the formal appeal of his architectural methods. Wright fascinated the Dutch with his independence from constrictions and historical and social ties. His architecture seemed representative of the style of construction of the new democratic society. Wright himself related his interest in architectural forms to the democratic form of society of which they were an expression.

This is a theme that goes beyond the world of architecture. From the early teens the United States became a constant reference for Dutch democrats. Purcell recalled that to his great surprise, when he met Berlage the first question was not about architecture, but about Theodore Roosevelt. As Purcell wrote:

> The inimitable "Teddy," the greatest American international figure of his day, had captured the imaginations of people everywhere; Europeans naturally wanted to know if he was really as fabulous as the newspaper stories led them to believe. In addition, Berlage, who was a convinced socialist all his life, was interested in Roosevelt's efforts to "bust the trusts."[15]

In 1917 Johan Huizinga, a professor of history at Leiden University who was already famous for his courses on Europe on the late Middle Ages and Renaissance, dramatically changed direction and dedicated his course to the study of American democracy. In this way, he recognized that the historical-geographical tradition had changed and that the United States represented an important reference for the democratic restructuring of Dutch society.[16]

Wright was also admired for the exotic references in his architecture. The Netherlands was particularly sensitive to this issue, as demonstrated by the many references to traditional Indonesian and Japanese architecture in Dutch buildings of the first decades of the century. Architects such as Berlage, K.P.C. de Bazel, and Lauweriks also had a more general interest in oriental philosophy, which was closely related to theosophy. Thus it was no accident that *Wendingen,* a journal that favored aspects of oriental culture, included the first complete Dutch monograph of the work of Wright in issue 11 (1921, published in early 1922). The journal focused on illustrating the much-praised Imperial Hotel in Tokyo, one of Wright's more "Japanese" works.

The Younger Generation of Architects

The dissemination of a Wrightian style becomes manifest between 1915 and 1919. The Dutch were seduced by the formal appeal of Wright's architecture: by its geometric and almost abstract character, combined with the use of expressionistic elements; by the union of modern construction materials such as reinforced concrete with traditional materials such as wood and brick; by the exceptional quality of detail; and by the successful balance between the monumental and the domestic.

The formal influence of Wright can be seen in the works of H. Th. Wijdeveld, P. Vorkink, and Jac. Ph. Wormser, J.M. van de Mey, and M. de Klerk—all architects of the Amsterdam School, who appreciated Wright's poetic empiricism.[17] Helen Searing has demonstrated convincingly that the plan of a clubhouse designed in 1907 by the young De Klerk—the member of the school most interested in fantastic formal elements—presents an extraordinary similarity to the almost contemporary building plans of Wright.[18] If the assumption is correct, De Klerk's interest in Wright was extremely precocious. And later buildings by De Klerk, such as the Eigen Haard housing projects or the De Hoop rowing club, certainly recall the examples of Wright in the horizontal dynamism, the layering of space, and the use of materials.

Similarly, other architects independent of a particular school of thought were influenced by Wright. This was true of the young J. Duiker and B. Bivoet, who in their project for the Academy of Fine Arts in Amsterdam (1919) derived many ideas from Wright's formal structure and the uninterrupted interior space.

A more interesting example of the diffusion of Wright's influence in the Netherlands can be seen in the works of R. van't Hoff, J.J.P. Oud, J. Wils, and G. Th. Rietveld, a group of young architects who participated in the early phase of de Stijl. Even before the birth of de Stijl and of the eponymous journal, they adopted Wright's vocabulary, beginning a process of restructuring traditional architecture analogous to the formal reduction observable in the figurative arts of the period. In the journal they were invited to comment extensively on the masterpieces of Wright.

Wright provided these architects with a constructional vocabulary of suspended and intersecting planes, sliding volumes, and subtle divisions of masses and voids, which had a decisive role in determining the tectonic essence of neoplastic architecture. The proto-de Stijl architects were impressed by the use of geometric grids to orchestrate plans in a sophisticated abstract pattern, not unlike a Mondrian or Van Doesburg painting. Though Wright's influence had little effect on the theorizing of the movement, his role was seminal in the fine-tuning of its formal vocabulary. In the words of Frampton:

> It is one of the characteristics of the early years of de Stijl that those architects who were closely associated with the movement remained for the most part neo-Wrightian, rather than neoplastic.[19]

The similarities of the architects Van't Hoff, Wils, Oud, and Rietveld to Wright were many, but indeed so were the differences. Only Oud had the intellectual capacity to take elements from the Wrightian vocabulary and transform them into the new idiom of modern European architecture, while the others did not go beyond the level of sophisticated formal plays.

Robert van't Hoff was the first Dutch architect to know Wright personally, whom he met in Oak Park in the summer of 1914. That same summer he made a pilgrimage to Wright's landmarks, with Wright's small book of photographs and plans edited by Ashbee for Wasmuth as his Baedecker.[20] In the years immediately following that meeting he often cited the themes of Wright's architecture in his articles in *De Stijl,* and he also produced architectural designs in which Wright's influence is noticeable. The *zomerhuis* for J. N. Verloop, designed in 1914, reveals the influence of the Prairie school in its "orthogonal plan and the prevailing horizontal development accentuated by a low and projecting roof . . . the large parallel flowerpots near the entrance, under the windows and along the terrace."[21] However, these remain fragmentary quotations within a rather traditional construction. In the project of the following year for the Villa Henny, a house built for the businessman A. B. Henny at Huis ter Heide, near Utrecht, the use of the Wrightian vocabulary is much more coherent and more innovative. The architecture is characterized by right angles made sharper by the clear contrast between the white surfaces and the green natural surroundings, and joins with brilliant stylistic equilibrium several of Wright's compositional elements (clear volumes, the juxtaposition of solids and voids, floors transformed into projecting planes) with the geometry and simplified colors that recall the Dutch paintings of the period. The building is an example of the new Dutch-Wrightian vocabulary and the first example of proto-neopolasticism.

Jan Wils discovered Wright's "nieuwe bouwkunst" in 1914 when he began working in the office of Berlage at The Hague.[22] Berlage moved from Amsterdam to The Hague in order to be closer to an important patron, the magnate and industrial merchant A.G. Müller and his wife Helene Kröller, who in the years immediately following gave him some important commissions. These include one of the first works to demonstrate the influence of Berlage's trip to the United States, the project for the main offices of Wm. H. Müller & Co. in the City in London, known as the Holland house (1914–16). While in Berlage's office, Wils was deeply impressed by Wright's essay "In the Cause of Architecture" and cited that text as a reference for his projects.[23] As noted in a long series of essays he published in the early 1920s, he was most interested in the compositional harmony of Wright's plans and the emphasis on the construction materials used.[24]

His project for the villa of J. De Lange in Alkmaar of 1916 reveals obvious quotations of Wright's architecture, even in the drawing style of the plan, but in 1918, probably as a result of his collaboration with Theo van Doesburg, his projects show in a paradigmatic way how the de Stijl architects deconstructed the Wrightian vocabulary. In the main room of the De Dubbele Sleutel café-restaurant in Woerden (1916–19) and in the furniture designs of these same years—all created in conformity with the study of the colors used by Van Doesburg—the geometric grids adapted from Wright's compositional techniques support a deconstruction of architectural structure, enhanced by a distortion of the colors assigned to the single elements.

The relationship of J.J.P. Oud to Wright is much more complex. Oud stated that he knew the architecture of Wright through Berlage and always admired its quality. Before 1920, for Oud, the compositional methods of Wright offered a key to ideological and morphological rethinking of the architectural organism, consistent with the revolution in painting. But gradually his critical judgment changed and he came to refute the influence of Wright on the young European architects. In an essay of 1918 entitled "Achitectonische beschouwing bij bijlage VIII, woonhius van Fred. C. Robie door F. L. Wright," Oud analyzed the compositional methods of the Robie House, discovering ideal analogies with the contemporary figurative arts in Europe. Oud recognized in Wright the existence of a direct relationship between "the detachment of the masses from the whole" and the way "the Futurists have overcome rigidity in painting—which is by achieving movement of the planes." He continued, "In this way Wright has created a new 'plastic' architecture. His masses slide back and forth and left and right; there are plastic effects in all directions. This movement, which one finds in his work, opens up entirely new aesthetic possibilities for architecture."[25]

Oud recognized in Wright's architecture another characteristic consistent with the evolution of European architectural thought: the possibility of repeating and creating works using mechanical methods. The compositional process developed by Wright in the Robie House was perceived by Oud as an example of the spirit of a period that aspired to a new architecture "manufactured by machine" (referring to a point already expressed in his essay "Kunst en Machine," 1918). But in the possibility of technically duplicating architecture, Oud saw above all a creative method that distilled the formal project to the essential element of drawing, and brought the architectural idea to pictorial creation. The modern architect, maintained Oud, selects only the forms and the proportions of an architectural project that will be realized by others by machine. As Oud said, "Thus modern architecture is becoming more and more a question of proportions and in this it corresponds to modern painting."[26] In 1919, Oud designed a factory in Purmerend that made this evident.[27] He wrote:

> I attempted to obtain in three dimensions what Mondrian realized two-dimensionally in his painting. I translated the contrast between lines and surfaces of color into architecture, contrasting solids and voids, glass and wall. I attempted to transform this opposition into a modern autonomous constructive process and to define the tension of Mondrian between horizontal and vertical elements into horizontal and vertical construction elements, extending it into three dimensions. These elements projected themselves in all directions and in this way formed an abstract architectural model.[28]

Yet the Purmerend factory design was a pure Wrightian project.

It is more difficult to decipher the influence of Wright on Rietveld, the last of the three main architects of the de Stijl movement. Elements inspired by Wright can be seen in several of his furniture designs, especially for the *zomerhuis* in Zeist designed by Van't Hoff for J. N. Verloop in 1915–16.[29] Rietveld stated that he was inspired by photographs of Wright's interiors, and some of his designs may be considered true copies of Wright's furniture such as the chairs for the Coonley House (1908). Other chairs and dressers realized in

1918–19 also owe a debt to Wright; yet, while the Wrightian quotations in Rietveld are self-evident, the results are less creative. The similarity of his working method to that of most painters of the de Stijl group, for example, Bart van der Leck, can be noted, although this affinity needs further study. Indeed, in his modest artisan workshop, Rietveld succeeded in mastering the pictorial-spatial transposition so interesting to his architect colleagues.

As the preceding examples show, although there was a great diversity of results, the fundamental influence of Wright's architecture in the Netherlands in the period between 1917 and 1919 is unmistakable. Wright's example offered the opportunity of experimenting in architecture with three-dimensional processes of formal purification and dynamism, and related architecture to painting through the contrast of line and colored surface. Ironically, the monumental physicality of Wright's architecture, known primarily through published images, offered a method for a purely intellectual process of dematerialization and abstraction of constructed objects.

Willem Marinus Dudok: A True Wrightian

In the study of Wright's reception the literature has mostly focused on the decade following Berlage's trip to the United States. But, by the mid-twenties the early advocates of Wright's architecture had already shown signs of disaffection. It is perhaps in the following period that the understanding of Wright really developed into greater depth.

This period witnessed the emergence of Willem Marinus Dudok, the architect who seems most intimately, sincerely, and faithfully connected to Wright. Dudok, who worked for the municipality of Hilversum for almost forty years, has been relegated to a secondary position, although not completely disregarded. He was a unique character. He was trained in a military academy rather than at an architectural school, and was a 30-year-old military engineer when he decided to abandon military life. In 1915 he obtained a position as director of the department of public works in Hilversum.

Because of this, Dudok developed his work outside the linguistic currents of any particular school, and was able to search for his own personal style. For a few years, from about 1915, he borrowed the expressive emphasis of the Amsterdam school, but quickly abandoned it when he discovered Wright's architecture at the end of the decade. This architecture offered him the justification for the use of an extremely personal creative language, which in the name of architecture moved eclectically between different tendencies of history and tradition. He was able to recover elements and fragments which he reassembled in buildings of great spatial and figurative effectiveness.

Dudok was a reserved and aloof Dutchman, in character the opposite of Wright. He was stimulated by the lesson of creative freedom learned from Wright, and in 1926 he paid his debt to him, writing:

> I do not know what attracts me more, the clear ground-scheme of his harmonious construction or the characteristic way he treats his facades, and the very fact that I don't know proves that Wright, the true creator of spaces, makes no special distinction between ground-scheme and construction . . . This great artist does not allow himself to be bound by a theory and he rises far above theory when he, the building poet, creates his form. He most certainly has had great influence on all those interested in architecture and certainly also on me![30]

Dudok, the great romantic, revealed himself to be, like Wright, an atypical "modern," free from molds. The expression of modernity was not exhausted in imposing the superficial signs of the "modern style"—the banning of traditional forms and languages—but rather in the freedom to reinvent the configuration of the buildings, combining traditional and modern forms. Like Wright, Dudok was absolutely indifferent to the traps of ideology, and could, for example, freely mix flat and sloped roofs without concern for the ideological significance of this choice. Like Wright, he developed a synthetic vocabulary able to convince a vast public to grasp the sense of self-representation of the democratic bourgeoisie of northern Europe. Dudok, raised in the wake of the American master, became in turn responsible for what could be called an influence of Wright in the second degree. Inspired by Dudok, a moderate form of modernism was born, with a compositional pattern of mass, "brick fin, semicircular staircase bay, glazed tile," which the English labeled "Dudokey."[31]

Dudok's experience allows us to make further observations on Wright's influence in the Netherlands. In the first phase of his work for the city of Hilversum, a connection with Wright's planning methods of the period can be seen in the formal language of the urban structure and in the individual, primarily residential, buildings. In Dudok, this influence evolved into an ideology of environmental construction. Like Wright, Dudok articulated with a freedom of style the suspension between tradition and modernism, the individualism of creativity, and the fundamentals of urban construction. The eclectic architecture of Dudok, based on Wright's idea of individuality and freedom, achieved results that even Wright never attained.

Wright wrote, "Our ideal of democracy, the highest possible expression of the individual as a unit not inconsistent with a harmonious whole."[32] But Wright supported this declaration with the expressive character of an architecture composed primarily for single individuals. Dudok gave form instead to a sense of collectiveness. Indeed, Dudok in his professional practice at Hilversum brought the influence of Wright to a higher level, forming a city of residences, facilities, and open public spaces. Even if Dudok fled from the visionary tones of Wright, he was able to arrange the entire living environment into a civic community with that peculiarity that is obtained, in Wright's words, "when Democracy builds."

By the end of the 1930s, when the entire armature of Dudok's new constructions at Hilversum was completed, the little city could be considered one of the areas of Usonian communities contemplated by Wright.

The city hall of Hilversum, Dudok's most famous building and the one that most reveals the influence of Wright, came to represent the prototype of a city hall for a democratic society, and many Dutch as well as English cities repeated the forms of that archetype. And not only European cities. The government center built in Orland Park, a Chicago suburb, reproposes the vocabulary of a moderate Wright, rewritten by Dudok, raised to a level of civic collectiveness.[33]

The Changing Dutch Perception

I have thus far analyzed the extent and duration of Wright's influence in the Netherlands. It is just as interesting to consider the Dutch self-awareness of this phenomenon and how it changed over time.

The history of this critical acclaim began with Berlage, who was the author of the introductory essay in the 1921 issue of *Wendingen* in which Wright's Imperial Hotel was published. The same text was republished without variation in the monumental series of seven issues that *Wendingen* dedicated to Wright in 1925.[34]

Berlage stated that Wright was a genius, but maintained some reservations regarding Wright's success in the Netherlands. He wrote that Wright did not express that sense of universality which should derive from an art whose style stems from an awareness of mechanical production applied to architecture. Berlage warned his compatriots not to consider Wright an "industrial architect," a definition promoted by Wright himself. He was fundamentally a romantic and his architecture displayed "a personal and charming and lovable art, at the root of which the mechanical lies only apparently."[35]

The attempt to limit the widespread enthusiasm for Wright continued with Oud, who, in the sixth issue of the special series of *Wendingen* dedicated to Wright, published an ambivalent and even bitter text in which he examined the influence of the master on European architecture, concluding that it was "great, but not always successful," and "pernicious for the future."[36]

The European architects, maintained Oud, allowed themselves to be excessively distracted by Wright's extraordinary talent. "The shifting of planes, the strongly projecting roofs and cornices, the continually interrupted volumes, the primarily horizontal development, synonymous with all the art of Wright, are presented . . . as characteristic traits of a large part of the products of modern architecture in Europe." But, Oud continued, in the meantime

> An error is being diffused, systemically repeated by the critics and on which too much attention is placed (because for just this error we must place less importance on Wright's influence on European architecture), the error of attributing only to Wright the interest and use of these elements. Indeed, at the same time that the adoration of the work of Wright by his European colleagues reaches its height, European architecture has also entered into a fertile period, and Cubism has been born![36]

Oud went on to say "what in Wright is plastic exuberance, sensual abundance, in the case of Cubism is puritanical asceticism, mental abstinence"; and he denounced the lyrical fascination of this magic piper of architecture, who weakened "the purity of the sound that is beginning to be heard in European architecture."

Oud condemned more the foolishness of his European colleagues, incapable of understanding the radical changes in the field of contemporary architecture, than the gift of Wright, whose genius was never put into question. However, Oud accused Wright of polluting the process of purification of European architecture, reducing to a formal question all that Oud defended as a psychological process.

The tone was decisive, if not definitive. The intensity with which Oud strove to liberate the new European "cubistic" architecture from the influence of Wright followed Oud's relationship with Van Doesburg and avant-garde painting, and his new interest in Germany.

Wright repaid his European critics with a similar sharpness of judgment. Following the publication in 1927 of the English edition of Le Corbusier's *Vers une architecture,* Wright entered the polemical discussion of the principles of European functionalist architecture, principles which he consistently rejected. He further claimed in 1930 that houses realized by European architects of the "pseudo-modern" movement seemed "cut from cardboard with scissors," made of "sheets of cardboard folded or bent in rectangles with an occasional curved cardboard surface added to get relief. The cardboard forms thus made are glued together in boxlike forms in a childish attempt to make buildings resemble steamships, flying machines, or locomotives."[37]

While this polemical passage refers directly to Le Corbusier's *machine à* *habiter,* it seems equally relevant to Oud's houses built in Hoek van Holland a few years earlier.

Yet despite the polemical tone, Wright did not break off relations with his Dutch colleagues. After a visit to Wright in 1928, the Dutch engineer Siebers sent Oud a letter urging him to organize an exhibition of Wright's architecture in the Netherlands. There ensued a brief exchange of opinions with Oud and Berlage regarding the search for funds to finance the project.

The exhibition ultimately opened at the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam in the spring of 1931. The curator was H. Th. Wijdeveld, another great admirer of Wright, whose success in Europe he promoted in a series of issues of the journal he directed. Two rooms elegantly displayed the many photographs and models, and documented the most significant moments of Wright's style. (figures 5.1 and 5.2) In his opening speech Wijdeveld expressed in moving words his unbounded admiration for Wright:

> Wright is a new mixture of architect, poet, musician and constructor in one. The endearing greeting which his creations convey to us owes its origin to the fact

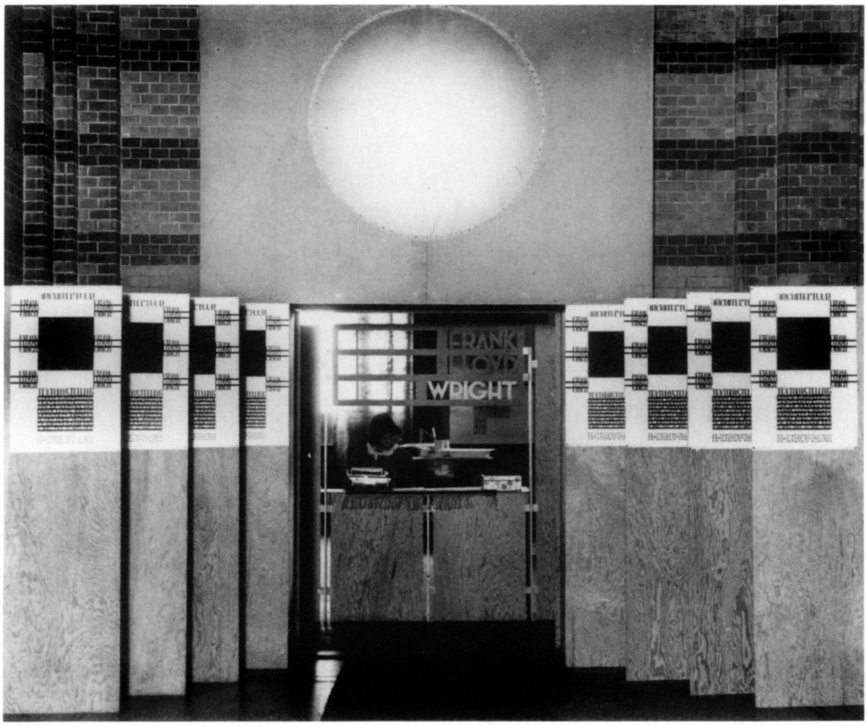


Figure 5.1 Entrance to the exhibition of Frank Lloyd Wright organized at the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam in May 1931.

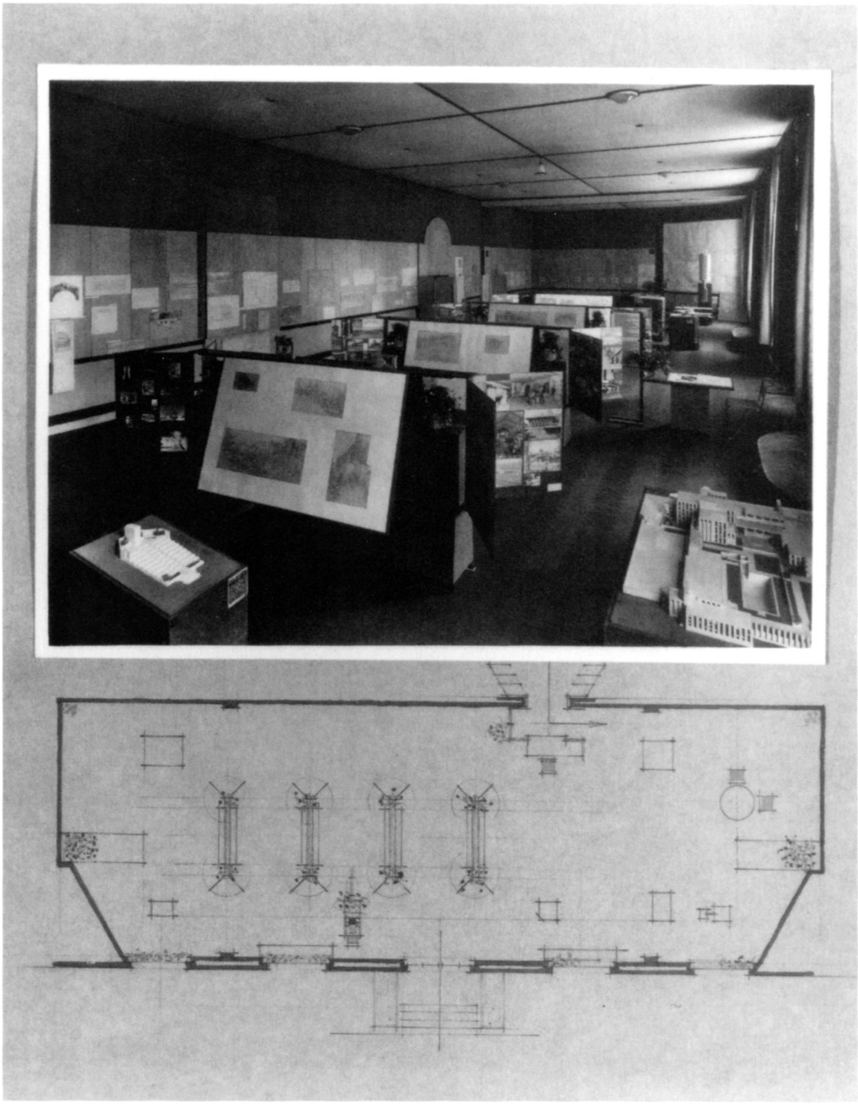


Figure 5.2 View and plan of the exhibition. (Netherlands Architectuur instituut, Archive Wijdeveld, Inventory C30.)

> that, deep down, all arts and technique are so harmoniously concealed in his work. This is Wright's secret, Wright's good fortune, his lucky star. By this means he became King in the land of imagination, winning new dominions by his riches and his donations. Thus he gained Holland, and through our country the whole of Europe.[38]

The Dutch press received the exhibition with enthusiasm. The exhibition, which traveled from Amsterdam to many European cities, acquired importance as the first European exhibition dedicated to Wright, and revealed another phase of the continuous diffusion of Wright's architecture by his Dutch colleagues.

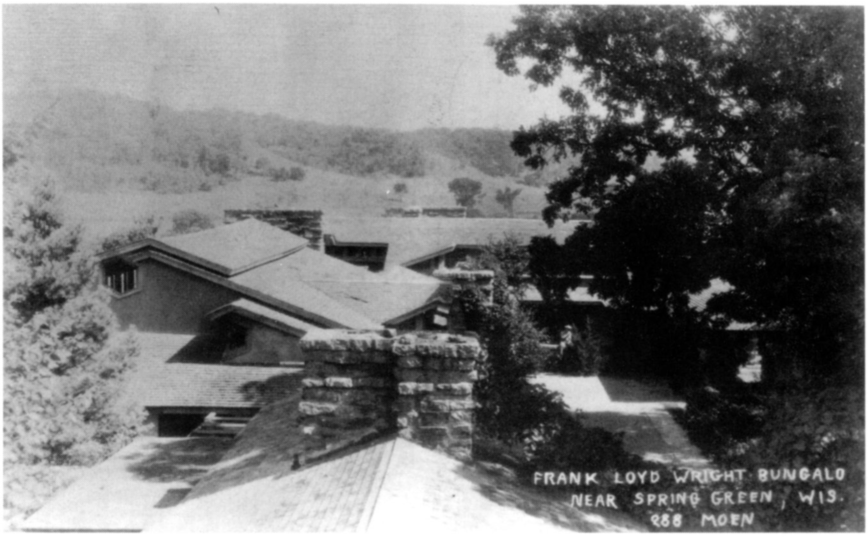
A few months after the closing of Wright's successful exhibition at the Stedelijk Museum Wijdeveld made his first trip to the United States and visited Wright's studio at Taliesin West (Spring Green, Wisconsin). On that occasion he met Wright, with whom he discussed the possibility of a collaboration at the Taliesin Fellowship[39](figure 5.3).

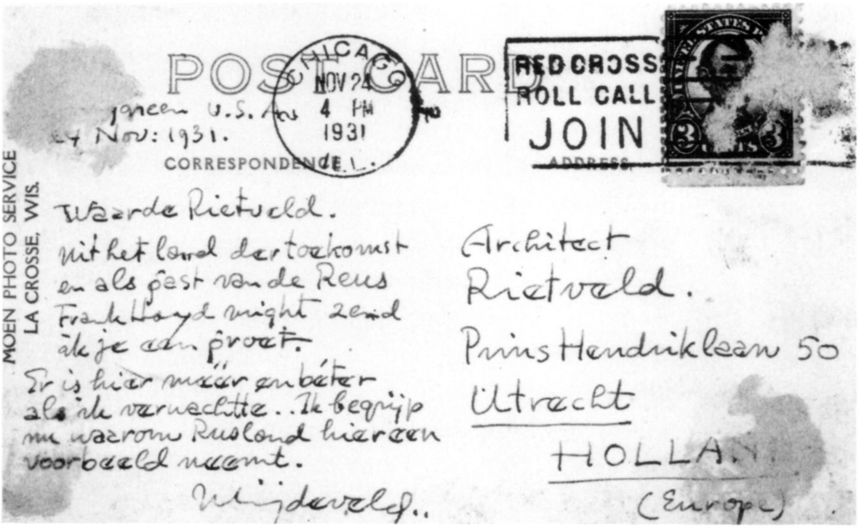
Perhaps out of gratitude for Oud's early support of the project, or perhaps because Wright finally recognized Oud as one of the "two dozen greatest European architects of our time," it is certain that in 1934, together with one of the few letters the two architects exchanged, Wright sent Oud a brochure of the Taliesin Fellowship, where he included Oud among the "friends" because both looked toward the future with a faith that was born from the moral quality of their work. Oud responded with deferential respect. He referred to Wright as "my dear master" and showed pride in the particular recognition offered to his work.[40]

In the following years, those affirmations of reciprocal cultural autonomy were forgotten. There were challenges to what Oud had written as he jealously tried to safeguard the purity of the origins of the new European architecture, which he saw as connected to the artistic avant-garde. The more official histories stressed the connection between Wright and the Dutch architectural avant-garde. This history gave emphasis to the importance of the spatial character of Wright's architecture, and the importance of its vocabulary on the founding architects of de Stijl. In his well-known article of 1939 regarding the relationship between Wright and European culture, Nikolaus Pevsner launched the famous Villa Henny by Van't Hoff as a demonstration of Wright's influence in Europe, and as a clear confirmation of Wright's seminal role in neoplastic architecture.[41] Henry-Russell Hitchcock wrote in 1940 that Wright's projects were imitated by many Dutch architects who firmly rejected "the wild romanticism of the more fantastic Dutch school of Kramer and De Klerk."[42]

This Darwinian interpretation of an evolution without interruptions, which saw Wright as a catalyst in the process of simplification of the forms of

Figure 5.3 Front and reverse side of the postcard sent from H. Th. Wijdeveld to Gerrit Rietveld, postmarked 24 November 1931, Spring Green, Wisconsin. (Centraal Museum Utrecht, Archive Rietveld, RS 996 and RS 997.)




POST CARD

CHICAGO
NOV 24
4 PM
1931
ILL.

RED CROSS
ROLL CALL
JOIN

green U.S. Am
24 Nov: 1931.

CORRESPONDENCE

ADDRESS

MOEN PHOTO SERVICE
LA CROSSE, WIS.

Waarde Rietveld.
uit het land der toekomst
en als gast van de Reus
Frank Lloyd Wright zend
ik je een groet.
Er is hier meer en beter
als ik verwachtte.. Ik begrijp
nu waarom Rusland hier een
voorbeeld neemt.
Wijdeveld..

Architect
Rietveld.
Prins Hendriklaan 50
Utrecht
HOLLA[illegible]
(Europe)

European architecture, privileged the precise stylistic position encountered in the projects of the architects of neoplasticism, while ignoring Wright's personal and professional qualities.

In this way, the richness and the duration of Wright's influence in the Netherlands was forgotten, at least in part. The situation was mitigated by a 1975 exhibition at the Museum Kröller-Müller, entitled *Americana,* which illustrated the connection between American and Dutch architecture.[43] On that occasion the relationship between Wright and Dutch architecture was stressed, thus revealing again the influence of Wright on the most diverse expressive tendencies in the Netherlands. The exhibition *Americana* changed the perception of Wright prevalent during the postwar decades. The exhibition also focused on the enduring European twentieth-century myth of America as the modern country of the future.

The Story Continues

One should not be surprised to see the more recent influence of Wright on Rem Koolhaas, a Dutch architect who in the late 1970s contributed as did few others to renewing the image of the American city as mythical laboratory for the invention of modern life as the terminal stage of Western civilization.

It has been noted that for Dudok, the influence of Wright evolved into an ideology of environmental construction. Koolhaas reinterpreted the lessons of Wright on an even larger scale, which could be defined as territorial.

Beginning with the Broadacre City project, Wright imagined a city-territory, without a center and without a context, in which the city itself had lost its main attribute of density. In contrast to the intentional artificiality with which the European planners confronted the theme of the city, Wright imagined the city of a highly developed democracy, in which activities were distributed throughout the entire environment. Democracy was richness of expression and fragmentation raised to the level of a language; it broke the context of rigid and unequivocal hierarchy that had created the historical city and its relationship to the territory, but which no longer applied in current times. This was not only a suggestion for the expanses of the American Wild West; in 1939, during a series of lectures in London, Wright launched the hypothesis of decentralization of the metropolis:

> Large cities, or the areas of large cities that are historically more important, should be lived in only in this sense . . . the less interesting areas . . . can be destroyed to make room for trees and green, in order to leave a large area for a public park . . . where the residents of the "new London" have the possibility of walking and

> even, in some cases, of having their home . . . In order to further clarify the question let us say that it is not man who "returns" to the country but the country that comes to man. I do not understand the dispersion of any urban reality . . . decentralization is not dispersion but instead of reintegration, and . . . the great prerogatives offered to man by science to give life to this city which will be everywhere and in no one place.[44]

In an interview some years ago, the urban historian Bruno Fortier asked Koolhaas what he considered the main steps in the last 50 years that marked the evolution of the concept of composing and manipulating urban and territorial space. Koolhaas responded, "the most visionary, he who better felt the ineluctable disorder in which we must live, was Wright with Broadacre City."[45] Koolhaas underlined the vitality of Wright's lessons on urbanism, the area that traditionally has been viewed as less important.

Taking Wright's theories as his point of departure, and with a similar approach, Koolhaas presented his criticism of the ordered and planned city:

> The image of the modern city, at least in the way it was foreseen, hasn't become a reality anywhere. The city we have to make do with today is more or less made of fragments of modernity. Almost as if abstract formal or stylistic characteristics sometimes survived in the pure state, while the program's plan had been a flop.[46]

And with reference to the "area of colonization" of Broadacre City, Koolhaas, in order to revitalize existing cities, has imagined them transformed into city-archipelagos, whose compact form is disarticulated by parks and areas of green. These city-archipelagos are characterized by their unkempt nature, and scattered with objects that become the elements that destructure the inhabited spaces. In Berlin, a city destroyed by the World War II and by the neglect of the 1950s, Koolhaas saw:

> The chance of making of that city a type of territorial archipelago; a system of architectural islands surrounded by forests and lakes in which the infrastructures can play a role, without a damage, in an almost pictorial way, allowing the suburbs the freedom to infiltrate the large areas of green.[47]

Koolhaas synthesized his approach in the recent project for the urbanization of the central areas of Melun-Sénart:

> The essence of this scheme is a system of empty space, of strips that lie over the land. . . . Our proposal is that the major part of energies indispensable to developing Melun-Sénart be focused on the quality of these empty spaces, which are partial conservation of fragments of the existing landscape charged with beauty or

> historical context. Other empty strips flank the expressway to keep them in check as urban elements, and others again serve to distribute the brief's major components of the site. . . . The strips define an archipelago of residual islands, that differ in size, shape, position and relation to other strips.[48]

Empty space is vital: Wright's Democracy of the Prairie, like the radical ideology of Koolhaas applied to the urban fabric, led to a similar "non-constrictive" project of recolonization of the living environment through the proposal of a modern and fragmented landscape.

This final reference to several neo-modern aspects of the organization of territorial space underlines the importance of the urban component, which is essential but often ignored in the study of Wright's influence on the modern architectural vocabulary of the Netherlands. Regarding the design of the components of architecture in relation to the city, we are confronted by a renewal of Wright's model in the period prior to World War II. This too is proof that Wright's architecture has a fundamental significance in the Netherlands, not only as an influence or because of formal affinities but also as a stimulus for the more lively personalities.

When perusing the *Wendingen* edition sent to him by Wijdeveld, Wright commented, "I believe that Holland will go far along the line of architecture; it is there that the architects seem to have taken root in my work. Of course it will as usual never be on a large scale. And God forbid that—because then I should feel that I had become commonplace!" In recent years the complex vitality of Wright's vocabulary seems to have found the diffused recurrence that the master feared.

Notes

The theme addressed in this essay was presented at the conference "Frank Lloyd Wright: Europe and Beyond," held at the Museum of Modern Art (MOMA) in New York on 27 April 1994, on the occasion of the retrospective exhibition on Wright, and the Annual Meeting of the Society of Architectural Historians. I thank Anthony Alofsin, who chaired the session, for having offered me the opportunity to work on this subject. Furthermore, several of the ideas developed in this essay were suggested to me by Alofsin's book *Frank Lloyd Wright: The Lost Years, 1910–1922. A Study of Influences* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), and by the excellent papers presented by my European and American colleagues during the session at MOMA.

I thank Alice Friedman, Réjan Legault, Franco Panzini, and Ed Taverne for their comments on this paper. The translation from the Italian is by Shara Wasserman. I also acknowledge the assistance of Michael Tobriner.

1. This opinion is often found in the literature; see N. Pevsner, "Frank Lloyd Wright's Peaceful Penetration of Europe," *The Architect's Journal,* (May 1939), reprinted in *The Rationalists: Theory and Design in the Modern Movement* (London: Architectural Press, 1978), 35–41; H.-R. Hitchcock, Jr., "Wright's Influence Abroad," *Parnassus,* 8 (1940): 11–15.

2. It has already been noted that the first book on Wright to appear in United States was published in 1942, more than 30 years after the publication in Europe of the first monograph, and that American historians waited until after the end of World War II to begin considering the role of their famous countryman on the national and international architectural culture. The first important contribution in the United States was the book by H.-R. Hitchcock, Jr., *In the Nature of Materials: The Buildings of Frank Lloyd Wright, 1887–1941* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1942; reprint New York: Da Capo Press, 1975). Hitchcock had already demonstrated his interest in the architecture of Wright with the publication of a small book for the Editions Cahiers d'Art published in Paris in 1928.

3. The articles were signed in the following order: by Robert C. Spencer, Jr., by Wright himself, and by Russell Sturgis. Spencer's "The Work of Frank Lloyd Wright," *Architectural Review,* 7 (June 1900): 61–72, was generous in its praise and in its illustrations, (about 80) and revealed a strong dose of foresight into what would become Wright's extraordinary architectural career. In contrast, Sturgis's article, "The Larkin Building in Buffalo," *Architectural Record,* 23 (April 1908): 311–21, was boldly critical and even sarcastic.

4. Anthony Alofsin, *Frank Lloyd Wright: The Lost Years, 1910–1922. A Study of Influences* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993). See chapter 1, "Points of Departure: Wright Before 1909."

5. With regard to the analysis of the image of the American city by Berlage, see chapter 11 by Nancy Stieber in this book.

6. The meeting is remembered in L.K. Eaton, *American Architecture Comes of Age: European Reaction to H.H. Richardson and Louis Sullivan* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1972), 208–32.

7. See E. Godoli, *Jan Wils. Frank Lloyd Wright e De Stijl* (Florence: Modulo Editrice, 1980), 7. The correspondence between Berlage and Purcell is preserved in the Berlage Archives by the Nederlands Architectuurinstituut (NAi) in Rotterdam. See also P. Hefting, "Correspondentie met Amerika," in A.L.L.M. Asselbergs, ed., *Americana* exhibition catalogue (Otterlo: Rijksmuseum Kröller-Müller, 1975), 91–97. See also A.W. Reinink, "American Influences on Late Nineteenth-Century Architecture in the Netherlands", in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* (1970): 163–74.

8. The text of the lecture, entitled "Amerikaansche Reisherinneringen," appeared in *De Beweging,* 2, 3, and 4 (1912): 295–304, 49–56, 105–21, 278–87, 46–61. The text was in part rewritten and published in the small book *Amerikaansche Reisherinneringen* (Rotterdam: W. L. & J. Brusse, 1913). The preceding year the publishing house had already printed a

volume entitled *Een drietal lezingen in Amerika gehouden,* with the texts of the three lectures delivered by Berlage in the United States; two of these lectures, "Modern Architecture" and "Art and Community," appeared in English in *Western Architecture,* 7 (1912): 29–36 and 8 (1912): 85–89.

9. See Alofsin, *Frank Lloyd Wright,* 117–20, and G. Fanelli, "Unity Within Diversity: The Architecture of Berlage," in *Hendrik Petrus Berlage: Complete Works,* ed. S. Polano (New York: Rizzoli International, 1988), 19–20 ff. Concerning Wright, Berlage wrote: "His designs retain nothing that reminds us of historical styles . . . His forms are so original that in the final analysis no contemporary European tendencies are visible in his work." See H. A. Brooks, ed., *Writings on Wright: Selected Comment on Frank Lloyd Wright* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1981), 132.

10. "Frank Lloyd Wright een moderne Bouwmeester in Amerika," *De Bouwwereld,* 3 (1912): 21.

11. It was perhaps following Berlage's opinion of Wright that Osthaus introduced his close friend, the young Ch.E. Jeanneret, to the American architect.

12. J.L.M. Lauweriks, recently appointed director of the new Instituut voor Handvaardigheid in Hagen, was sent to the United States in October 1909 by the Prussian ministry of culture to examine the educational methods of applied arts used in American schools. In January of the following year he taught an evening class in Hagen where he discussed the positive aspect of that experience. Regarding the similarities between the geometric systems adopted by Lauweriks in his projects and the grids used by Wright in several of his decorative details, see Alofsin, *Frank Lloyd Wright,* 117–120.

13. The text of Berlage's lecture, entitled "Neuere amerikanische Architektur," was published subsequently in three parts in *Schweizerische Bauzeitung,* 55 September 14, 21, 28, 1912): 148–150, 165–7, 178. The abridged version, which I refer to in this chapter, is published in Brooks, *Writings on Wright,* 132–3. See also R. Banham, *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age* (London: The Architectural Press, 1960), 145.

14. See Brooks, *Writings on Wright,* 133.

15. See Eaton, *American Architecture Comes of Age,* 208.

16. W. E. Krul, "Moderne beschavingsgeschiedenis. Johan Huizinga over de Verenigde Staten," in *Amerika in Europese ogen. Facetten van de Europese beeldvorming van het moderne Amerika,* ed. K. van Berkel ('s-Gravenhage: SDU Uitgeverij, 1990), 86–108.

17. A. van der Woud, "Varaties op een thema. 20 jaar belangstelling voor Frank Lloyd Wright," in *Americana,* 28–40.

18. H. Searing, "The Formative Years of Michel de Klerk: Inspiration and Invention," in W. de Wlt, ed., *The Amsterdam School: Dutch Expressionist Architecture, 1915–1930* (Cam-

bridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1983), 91. Vincent Scully wrote of the impact of Wright's earlier work on European Social-Democratic public housing. More specifically about De Klerk's housing he claimed that "the strong horizontal continuities that bring the heavy brick work into motion would have been unthinkable without the influence of Wright", in "Frank Lloyd Wright and the Stuff of Dreams", *Perspecta* 16 (1980): 9–28.

19. K. Frampton, "Neoplasticism and Architecture: Formation and Transformation," in M. Friedman, ed., *De Stijl 1917–1931: Visions of Utopia* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1982), 100.

20. His father sent him as a gift a copy of the *Sonderheft* when he was still a student in London; see E. Vermeulen, "Robert van't Hoff," in *De Beginjaren van De Stijl 1917–1922*, ed. C. Blotkamp (Utrecht: Reflex, 1982), 207–31.

21. Ibid., 215–6.

22. J. Wils, "De nieuwe bouwkunst -bij het werk van Frank Lloyd Wright-," *Levende Kunst,* (1918): 209–19.

23. A copy with original notes by Wils is preserved in the Wils Archive by the NAi in Rotterdam; see V. Freijser, ed., *De stijl van Jan Wils. Restauratie van de Papaverhof* (Gemeente 's-Gravenhage: VOM reeks, 1989), 57 n.

24. See 22 n. and "Symmetrie en Kultuur," *De Stijl,* 12 (1918): 137–40; "De Nieuwe Tijd. Eenige gedachten bij het werk van Frank Lloyd Wright," *Wendingen,* 6 (1919): 14–16; "Frank Lloyd Wright," *Elseviers Geïllustreerd Maandschrift,* 4 (1921): 217–27. An abridged translation in English of this article is published in Brooks, *Writings on Wright,* 141–2. On the relationship between Wils and Wright, see Godoli, *Jan Wils;* S. Ex and E. Hoek, "Jan Wils," in *De Beginjaren van De Stijl,* 187–205; Freijser, *De stijl van Jan Wils,* 16–32.

25. See *De Stijl,* 4 (1918): 39–41; a partial translation in English is published in Brooks, *Writings on Wright,* 135–7; however, the title does not correspond to the original. The title of the essay in English should be "Architectural Observation on the Attachment VIII, the Fred. C. Robie House by F. L. Wright."

26. See *De Stijl,* 3 (1918): 25–27; in the text Wright's work was used as an example of an architecture that "achieves expression by means of the machine."

27. See also the project for the working-class house in reinforced concrete (1917–18) and the project for a warehouse in Purmerend (1918).

28. J.J.P. Oud, *Mein Weg in De Stijl* (Den Haag-Rotterdam: Nijgh en Van Ditmar, 1960); the quotation is from the Italian "La mia strada in De Stijl," *Casabella-continuità,* 256 (1961): 25.

29. Perhaps the furniture designed for the Verloop House inspired Van't Hoff to introduce Rietveld to Van Doesburg and to the other members of de Stijl. This information is found

in F. Bless, *Rietveld 1888–1964: Een biographie* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Bert Bakker, 1982). No examples of the furniture designed for the Verloop House exist.

30. See *Willem M. Dudok* (Amsterdam: G. van Saane, 1954), 40.

31. R. Furneaux Jordon, "Dudok and the Repercussions of His European Influence," *The Architectural Review,* 688 (1954): 41.

32. See the third evening of the London lecture series, largely devoted to the project for Broadacre City, in F.L. Wright, *The Future of Architecture* (New York: Horizon Press, 1953; reprint New York: New American Library, 1970).

33. See "The Place of Government," *Progressive Architecture,* 10 (1990): 66–76.

34. These issues are numbered 3–9, with almost 200 illustrations and contributions in English by Wijdeveld, Mumford, Berlage, Oud, Mallet-Stevens, Mendelsohn, Sullivan, and the reprint of Wright's famous essay, "In the Cause of Architecture." The series was later grouped in an elegant volume edited by Wijdeveld, *The Life of the American Architect Frank Lloyd Wright* (Santpoort: C. A. Mees, 1925; reprint New York: Bramhall House, 1965).

35. It is interesting to note that when Wright read Berlage's text he hurried to reply, recognizing in fact a certain romantic vein during the most recent years, but repeating his position expressed in 1908 in the program formulated in his essay "In the Cause of Architecture." "Yes, you are right, I tended towards Romanticism, taken as I was with the great Oriental symphony [the Imperial Hotel], at a moment when they should have held onto me until I could address their industrial problems. . . . But, dear Berlage, I am taken for an architect-artist and for this reason I am suspected by my compatriots. . . . I assure you however that my soul continues to be true to the position expressed in 1908"; see letter of 30 November 1922, published in *Americana,* 96.

36. J.J.P. Oud, "The influence of Frank Lloyd Wright on the Architecture of Europe," *Wendingen,* 6 (1925): 85–89. The text appeared in Dutch in *Architectura,* 7 (1926): 78–82; furthermore, a version in German was included in the volume by Oud, *Holländische Architektur* (Bauhausbücher, 1926; reprint Mainz and Berlin: Florian Kupferberg, 1976). The following quotations are taken from the essay by Oud in *Wendingen.*

37. See the lecture by Wright at Princeton in 1930, in F. L. Wright, *Modern Architecture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1931):66. See also Wright's review of the English translation of *Vers une Architecture, World Architecture,* 2 (1928): 393–5; and the essay by A. Alofsin, "Frank Lloyd Wright and Modernism," in *Frank Lloyd Wright Architect* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1994), 32–57.

38. Excerpt from Wijdeveld's opening statement at the exhibition. Unpublished document, inventory C30, Wijdeveld Archive, NAi, Rotterdam.

39. In the early months of 1931 Wijdeveld also made a trip to the Soviet Union, where he gave a series of lectures. He made reference to that trip in the postcard he sent to Gerrit Rietveld from Spring Green. Wijdeveld wrote to his friend in Utrecht: "Dear Rietveld, I send you this postcard from the world of the future and as a guest of the Giant Frank Lloyd Wright. This is greater and better than I had expected. . . . Now you understand why Russia gets here its model."

40. The correspondence between Wright and Oud is in *Americana,* 105–106. Wright's letter is dated Taliesin 7 February 1934; Oud's answer is dated 6 March.

41. Pevsner, "Frank Lloyd Wright's Peaceful Penetration of Europe," 37.

42. Hitchcock, "Wright's Influence Abroad," 14.

43. The very well-documented catalogue of the exhibition has been cited often in this chapter; see note 10 above.

44. See the London lecture devoted to the project for Broadacre City, in F.L. Wright, *The Future of Architecture.*

45. B. Fortier, "La Grande Ville," interview with Rem Koolhaas, *L'Architecture d'aujourdhui,* 262 (1989): 90–103. The following quotations are taken from this text.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid.

6

AGAINST STYLE:

BRUNO TAUT'S PEDAGOGICAL PROGRAM IN TURKEY, 1936–1938

Sibel Bozdogan

The appointment of Bruno Taut as head of the architectural section of the Academy of Fine Arts in Istanbul, Turkey in 1936 was celebrated in the academy brochure as follows: "Under the direction of the prominent and experienced German architect Professor Taut, the students of architecture are preparing to combat the nondescript style, totally devoid of identity, that is invading Istanbul, Ankara, and other cities of the nation under the rubric of "modern" . . . there is no doubt that the new Turkish architecture will be born out of this combat."[1]

Given the fact that the "new architecture" (*Yeni Mimari*) as the modern movement was then called in Turkey,[2] was enthusiastically embraced as the symbol of the progressive ideals of the Turkish Republic, this seemingly puzzling statement is in fact symptomatic of the complex historical interplay in many countries outside Europe in the 1930s between the canonic precepts of International Style modernism, which many progressive architects of the time espoused, and the simultaneous quest for local, regional, or cultural identity, which accompanied the prevailing nationalist politics everywhere. Bruno Taut was a meaningful choice for Turkey in the 1930s precisely because he was thoroughly ambiguous with respect to this profound dilemma. His legacy in Turkish architectural culture still alternates between equally powerful images of "Taut the modernist" who taught rational, functional design to Turkish students, and "Taut the regionalist" who had a deep reverence for Ottoman architecture and vernacular traditions.

For someone instrumental in shaping the initial ethos of the modern movement, first through his expressionistic glass utopias of the 1910s, and subsequently, through the distinctly modern building production, social program, and aesthetic discourse of his cooperative housing schemes in Berlin in the 1920s, Taut was conspicuously absent in the famous Museum of Modern Art (MOMA) International Style exhibition of 1932 and in the official historiography of the modern movement which dominated architectural culture for a long time thereafter. It is only with the relatively recent critical and revisionist trends in scholarship that Taut's full significance has begun to emerge as one of the earliest critics of an official and doctrinaire modernism.

Although the literature on Taut's life and career has considerably expanded since the centenary of the architect's birth in 1980,[3] few scholars have focused on his final years when his increasingly explicit uneasiness with modernist orthodoxy coincided historically with his experiences in the unfamiliar terrain of Japan and Turkey.[4] In this chapter, I shall limit my discussion to Bruno Taut's career as an educator in Turkey, where he preached, before anything else, the urgency and necessity of rejecting a formalist-stylistic understanding of architecture, instead of endlessly debating whether the forms should be "modern" or "historical." At the same time, situating his teaching and writing in the political context of Turkish nationalism in the 1930s, I shall emphasize the inherent ambiguity of his position which, as much as it lent itself to "combating the nondescript style invading Turkish cities under the rubric of *modern*," also insightfully steered away from the essentialist and overtly nationalistic connotations of taking culture and history on board.

Exile and Critical Consciousness

The turmoil of Taut's life in the aftermath of the Nazi rise to power in Germany bears testimony to the relationship between a basic condition of homelessness and the critical consciousness characteristic of the modern subject. In that crucial year of 1933, when Nazi control of the arts and architecture was firmly established in Germany, the Bauhaus closed down for good, and many architects were forced out of their positions in the academies and other institutions as a result of racist policies, Taut fled the country via Switzerland with an invitation from the Japanese Federation of Architects. Traveling through Marseilles, Naples, Athens, Istanbul, Odessa, Moscow, and Vladivostok, and spending the next 3 years first in Kyoto, then in Tokyo, and then the village of Takasaki outside Tokyo, he finally arrived in Istanbul in November 1936 where he lived until his sudden death in December 1938.[5] It should be added that this was not the first time he was in Turkey: he had visited Istanbul in 1916 to participate in the competition for the Turkish-German House of Friendship[6] (figure 6.1).

It is possible to characterize Taut's years in Japan and Turkey as an intense period of contemplating what architecture is all about vs. what is specific to culture and history—of rethinking the modern movement in the light of his new experiences. Distanced from even the most basic certainties of his own

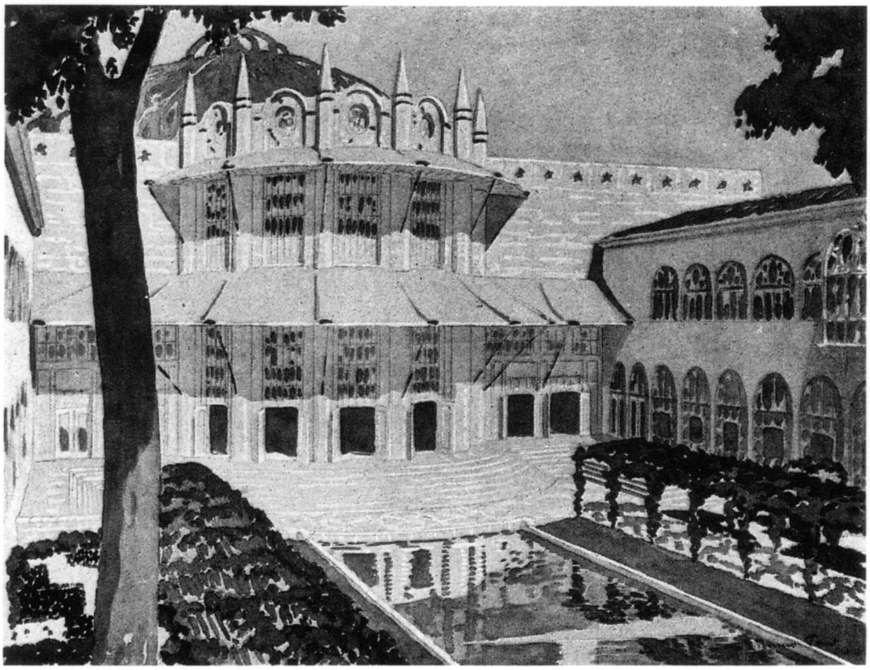


Figure 6.1 Bruno Taut, project for the Constantinople German-Turkish House of Friendship Competition, 1916. (From *Deutscher Werkbund und der Deutsch-Türkisch Vereinigung: Haus der Freundschaft in Konstantinopel* (Munich: Verlag von F. Bruckman A. G., 1918.)

environment, established career, and native language, this comes across as a profoundly critical period of soul-searching for Taut, not unlike Herman Hesse's hypothetical *Journey to the East* where "the East was not only a country or something geographical, but was the home and youth of the soul, it was everywhere and nowhere, it was the union of all times."[7] The published products of the period, *Fundamentals of Japanese Architecture* (1936), *Houses and People of Japan* (1938), and *Lectures on Architecture* (first published in Turkish in 1938) bear testimony to the critical impetus of Taut's encounter with non-Western contexts. His rediscovery of the spiritual and creative moment in "the art of construction" and the lessons to be derived from history, cultural continuity, and vernacular building come across forcefully in these writings, in a way connecting him full circle back to a critical and antistylistic early modernism, prior to its codification as a formal canon and scientific doctrine. What is significant to note is that this was not a nostalgic appreciation of tradition, nor an exotic one, which, for Taut, was a concept in need of demystification. According to Taut, the labeling of the unfamiliar as "exotic" was often the mark of an inaptitude to perceive the underlying rational and creative human spirit which *is* universal, although its manifestations vary from place to place and from culture to culture.[8] Yet, in historical perspective it is no surprise that his interest in Japanese traditional buildings was rather disappointing to some of his Japanese colleagues infatuated by the progressive discourse of International Style—more or less in the same way that Eric Mendelsohn's interest in the stone vernacular of Palestine was incomprehensible to the Tel-Aviv circle of architects in about the same years.[9] What was, for the European exiles of the 1930s, the distilled wisdom of time in built form, capable of offering a profound critique of the alienation of the modern subject, was a mark of "backwardness" that the architects and modernizing elites of new nations wanted to leave behind everywhere in the non-Western world.

In Turkey, Taut was one among more than 200 foreign experts, including about 40 German, Austrian, and Swiss architects, whom the new Turkish Republic invited after 1933, most of them playing key roles in the establishment of Turkish higher education.[10] Although the majority of them, especially at Istanbul University, were refugees (mostly, though not exclusively, Jewish) opposing the regime in Germany, the Turkish government also contacted the Reich officially for the appointment of German professors to Turkish institutions as in the case of the Higher Agricultural Institute in Ankara, itself housed in a new modern campus symbolic of the ethos of early republican Ankara. In architecture and planning, among the most prominent veterans of Weimar Germany who came to Turkey were Martin Wagner, Bruno Taut, Martin Elsaesser, Franz Hillinger, Wilhelm Lihotsky, and Grete Schutte-Lihotsky. Wagner, the partner and colleague of Taut from their Gemeinnutzige Heimstatten Spar- und Bau-Aktiengesellschaft (GEHAG) housing program in Berlin, had arrived in 1935 as a consultant to the Istanbul municipality, and also played an important role in getting Taut invited the next year. Along with the Swiss Ernst Egli and the Austrian Clemenz Holzmeister, these are the most famous names associated with the introduction of the "new architecture" to the country, especially in the construction of Ankara as a modern capital throughout the 1930s (figure 6.2).

Turkey and Architectural Education in the 1930s

In what must be applicable to Taut as well, one of the refugee professors, Fritz Neumark, remarks in his memoirs: "None of us knew the country we came to. The only thing we knew was that the sultanate and the caliphate was abol-

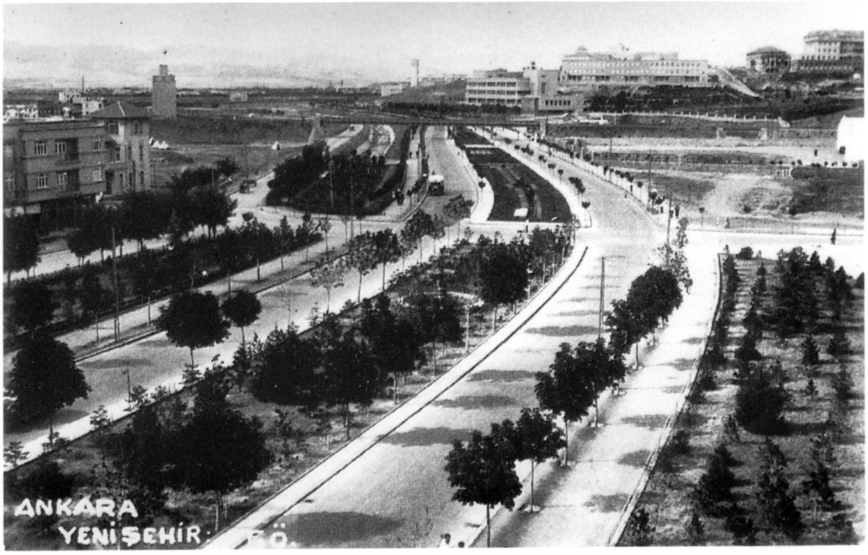


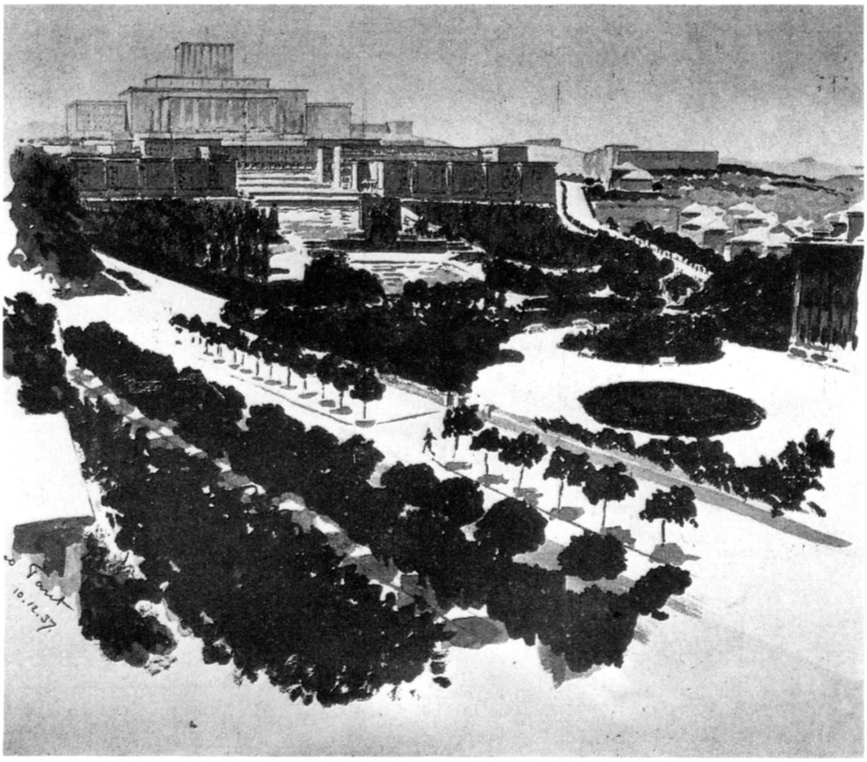
Figure 6.2 1930s postcard of Ankara. View along the newly constructed Atatürk Boulevard, showing the Ismet Pasa Girls' Institute of Ernest Egli (1930) in the distance, facing the boulevard, and the future site of Bruno Taut's Faculty of Languages and History Building (1938) to the immediate right of the bridge. (From the Archives of the Municipality of Greater Ankara.)

ished and that after the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in numerous wars, a war of independence under the leadership of Kemal Pasha [Atatürk] had created a new republic out of the old empire."[11] Indeed, the dramatic historical changes in the country since the final years of the Ottoman Empire had taken a new turn in the 1930s with the consolidation of the single-party regime under Atatürk's unquestioned authority and leadership. The "six pillars" of his Republican Peoples Party summed up the Kemalist doctrine: namely, republicanism, secularism, nationalism, populism, statism, and revolutionism. References to the past glories of an Ottoman-Islamic state (which had been amply exploited through the 1920s in order to mobilize the masses and legitimate the nationalist war of independence) were radically abandoned in the 1930s. It was to the modern nations of Europe, Germany and Italy in particular, that Turkey turned for models of cultural renewal, rather than to her own past, which was, after all, not only responsible for decline and defeat but also, given the ethnic, cultural, and religious heterogeneity of the Ottoman Empire, did not fit the myth of a unified national entity. While "religion" was replaced by "nation" as the basis of identification, all the sacred and ritualistic content of the former were recast in the secular terms of the latter, most visibly in cultural and artistic production, in the aesthetics of national holidays and official ceremonies, and in the cult of the leader as an inspiration for mass mobilization.

It should be mentioned here that Taut also seems to have catered to the prevailing national sentiments to a certain extent, most literally with his entry for the Grand National Assembly competition in 1938 (figure 6.3). Crowning the top of a hill in Ankara with conspicuous allusions to his expressionistic *Stadtkrone* of 1914, Taut's proposal and his accompanying words capitalize on the religious and spiritual connotations of Turkish nation-building:

> The National Assembly complex will rise on a hill dominating the city like some kind of Acropolis. But this is not an Acropolis for the temples of gods as in Athens, but a complex for governing the country and making its laws. This will be a

Figure 6.3 Bruno Taut, project for the Grand National Assembly Competition, Ankara, 1937. (From *Arkitekt,* 8, no. 4 (1938): 130.)



> unique location, symbolizing for future generations the heights of civilization attained by the young Kemalist Turkey.[12]

In architectural education, the radical modernizing reforms undertaken at the Academy of Fine Arts back in 1926 were well underway when Taut was invited. The only school of architecture in the country until 1944, the academy was initially established in 1883 as the Royal School of Fine Arts, (*Sanayi-i Nefise Mektebi Alisi*), modeled after the French beaux-arts system (figure 6.4). From the constitutional revolution of 1908 by the Young Turks until the curricular reforms of 1926, the two influential studio teachers of the school, Vedat Bey and Guilio Mongeri, had promoted a Turkish national style based on elements of Ottoman-Islamic high tradition such as domes, pointed arches, tile decoration, ornate marble carvings, and Turkish orders (figure 6.5). This style, and the academic curriculum on which it was based, came under increasingly harsh criticism in the early 1930s, reflecting the new antiacademic and antihistoricist self-image (as well as biases) of a modernist profession in the making. "For some 40 or 50 years, students have wasted time drawing Greek temples, the column capitals of Parthenon, and the acanthus leaves of the Corinthian order," lamented Celal Esat Arseven, himself a professor of architectural history at the academy, "graduating as draftspeople and decorators rather than architects."[13] One prominent architect of the republican period recalled years later that, in the Mongeri studio architecture was understood as "the art of facade design," while the site plan was altogether unnecessary for Vedat Bey who preached that "if you make a good design, it will fit any site."[14]

In 1926 under the new director Namık Ismail Bey, not only was the school renamed in modern Turkish as the Academy of Fine Arts and relocated in one of the old shore palaces along the Bosporous but, more significantly, its architectural curriculum was radically redesigned, replacing the beaux-arts model with a German–central European modernism introduced by foreign professors.[15] In 1931, in the first year that *Mimar,* the professional journal of Turkish architects, started publication, student work at the academy was reviewed as follows: "In the architectural school, you can no longer see the old classical methods. The student prepares his project in response to economic, local, scientific, and constructional criteria, *as in real life* [my emphasis]. He is a real architect. He sees and studies Roman, Classical Greek, and Turkish architectures in history of architecture classes, but is not required to imitate their proportions, styles, and constructional norms. He is an explorer of science and technique in search of the Turkish architecture of the future."[16] It should be mentioned that, although not an independent school of architecture, the Civil Service School of Engineering (*Hendese-i Mülkiye Mektebi*), established in 1844,

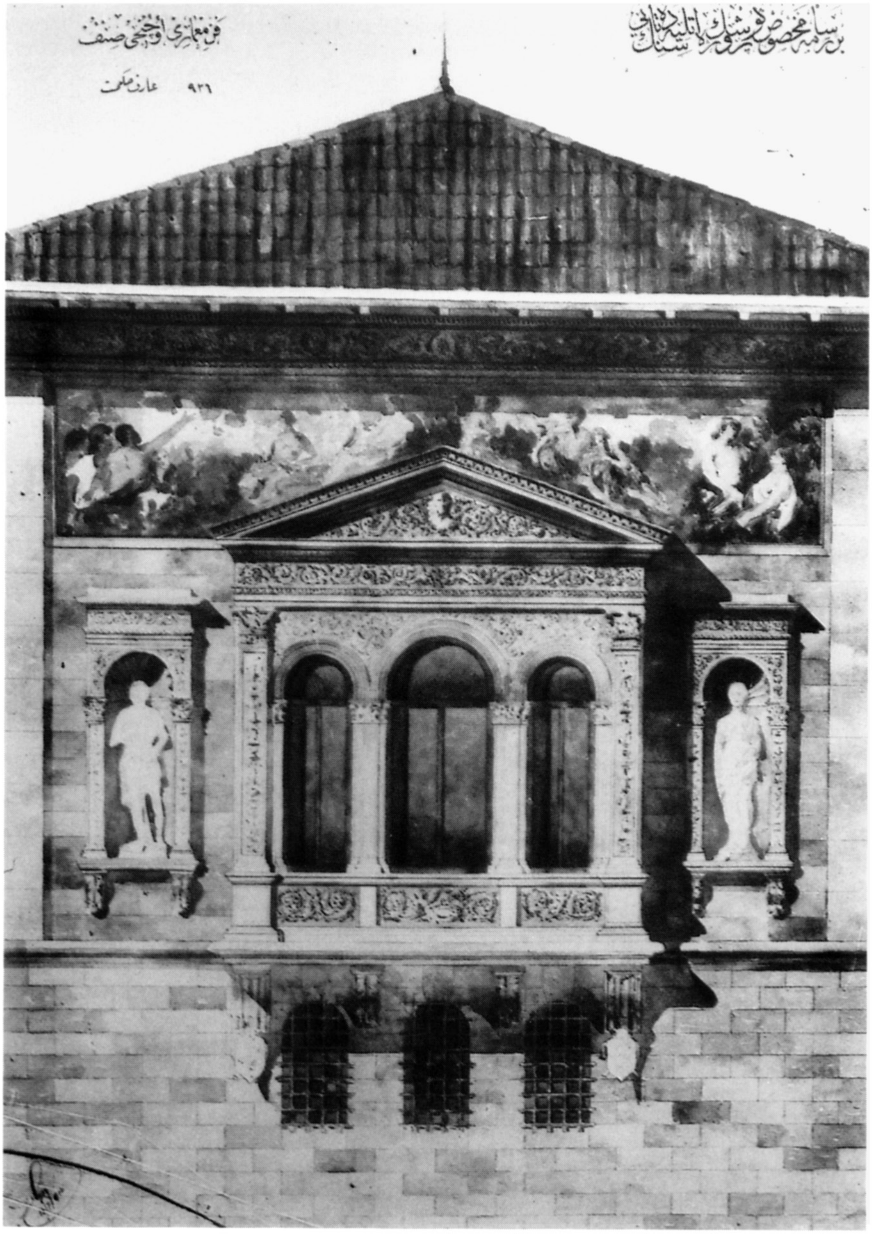

فن معماری اوچنجی صنف
٩٣٦ عارف حكمت

Figure 6.4 Drawing from Turkish architect Arif Hikmet Koyunoglu's student years in Guilio Mongeri's studio at the Academy of Fine Arts, 1908–12. (From *Arkitekt,* 4 (1991): 37.)

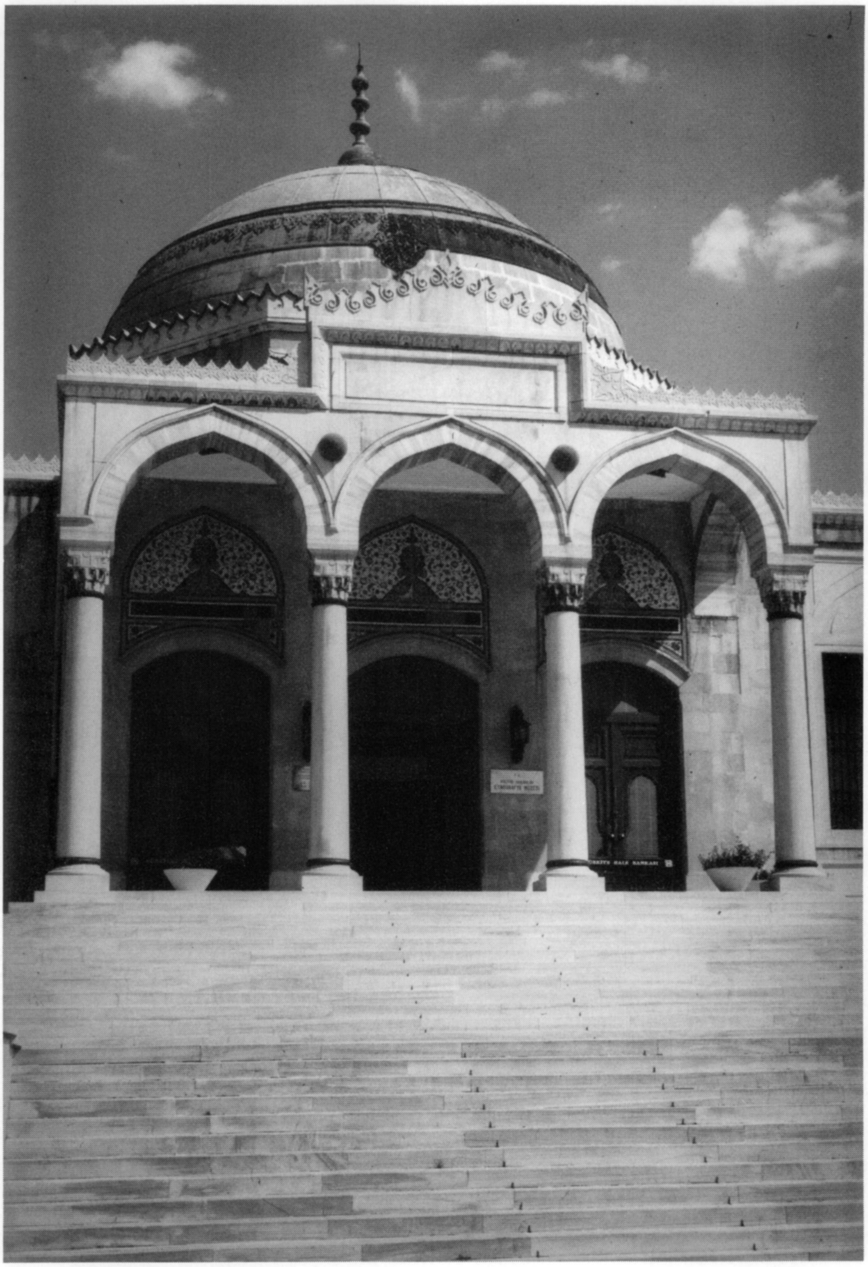
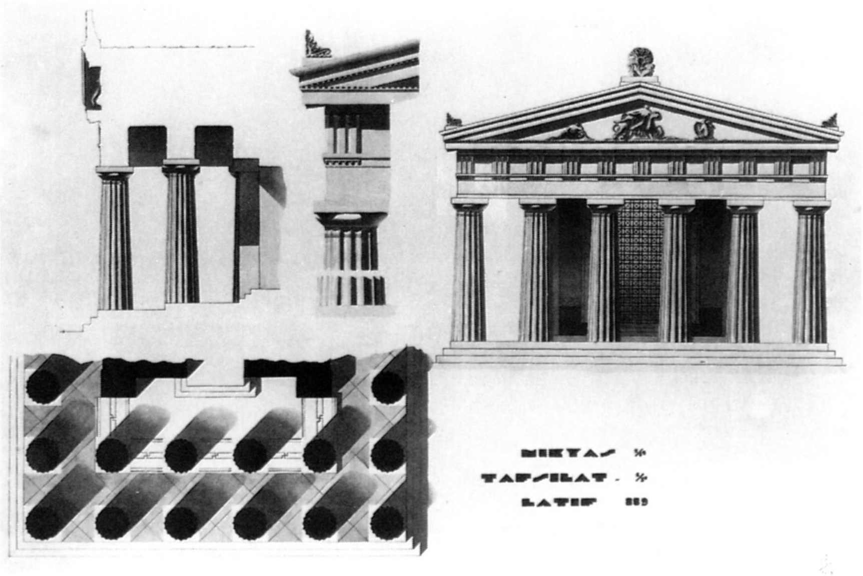


Figure 6.5 Museum of Ethnography, Ankara (1926–28) by Arif Hikmet Koyunoglu representative of the "national style" using Ottoman motifs and decorative elements juxtaposed with Ecole des Beaux Arts design principles and academic methods. (Photograph by author.)

also offered courses in architecture which followed a French neo-classic program to the end of the 1930s (figure 6.6), until similar modernizing reforms were undertaken there in 1938 by Emin Onat, a student of Otto Salvisberg in Zurich.

The transformation of the academy along modernist lines was initially entrusted to the Swiss architect Ernst Egli who introduced the principles of rational design, functional plan, and modern construction to the studio, without, however, negating the importance of regionalist sensibilities. It was, in fact, with Egli's encouragement that the national architecture seminar was established in 1934, led by his Turkish colleague Sedad Hakki Eldem.[17] Devoted to the survey and documentation of Turkish residential vernacular, the seminar quickly became a major requirement of the curriculum. By the time Taut arrived in 1936, following the untimely death of Hans Poelzig, who was the designated successor to Egli, the so-called cubic architecture (*kübik mimari*), which is typically attributed to Egli's influence (figure 6.7), was in serious disrepute. In an increasingly nationalistic climate, the cubic forms, flat roofs, and glazed surfaces of International Style were frequently portrayed as expressions of coldness, sterility, and alienation characteristic of cosmopolitan modernism.[18]

Figure 6.6 Student drawings in the Beaux-Arts tradition from the architectural course of the Civil Service School of Engineering, 1931.



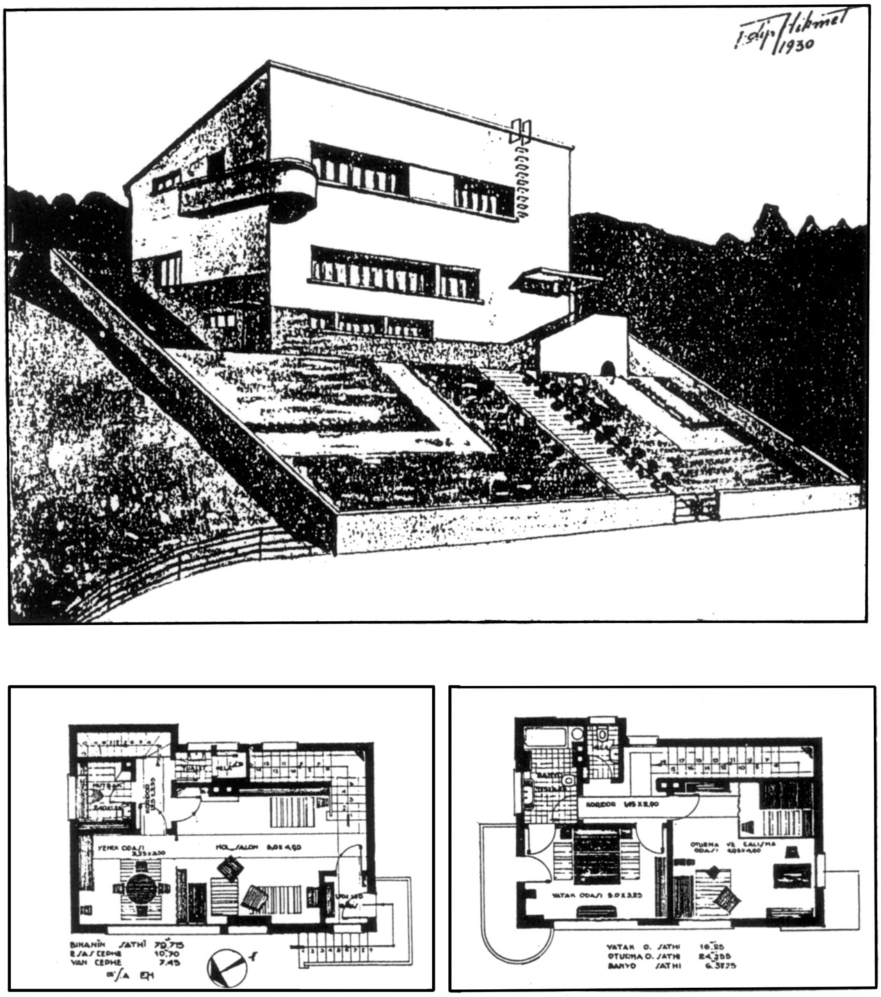

Edip Hikmet 1930
YEMEK ODASI 3,35 x 3,50
HOL_SALON 8,0 x 4,90
BINANIN SATHI 70.715
ESAS CEPHE 10.70
YAN CEPHE 7.45
KORIDOR 1,15 x 2,90
BANYO
OTURMA VE ÇALIŞMA ODASI 4,85 x 4,90
YATAK ODASI 5.0 x 3.25
YATAK O. SATHI 16.25
OTURMA O. SATHI 24.255
BANYO SATHI 6.3875

Figure 6.7 Student project for a house by Edip Hikmet in Ernest Egli's studio at the Academy of Fine Arts, 1930. (From *Mimar,* 1, no. 1 (1931): 25–26.)

In spite of the nationalistic suspicion of the modernist avant-garde, however, the academy was still the symbol of progressive and modern spirit in art education, modeled after and irreversibly influenced by the early Bauhaus (figure 6.8). It was a pioneering institution, for example, in educating the first women architects in Turkey[19] and in such matters as life-drawing or sculpting from naked human models, otherwise inconceivable in a traditional society (figure 6.9). Parallel to the reforms in the architectural section, similar develop-

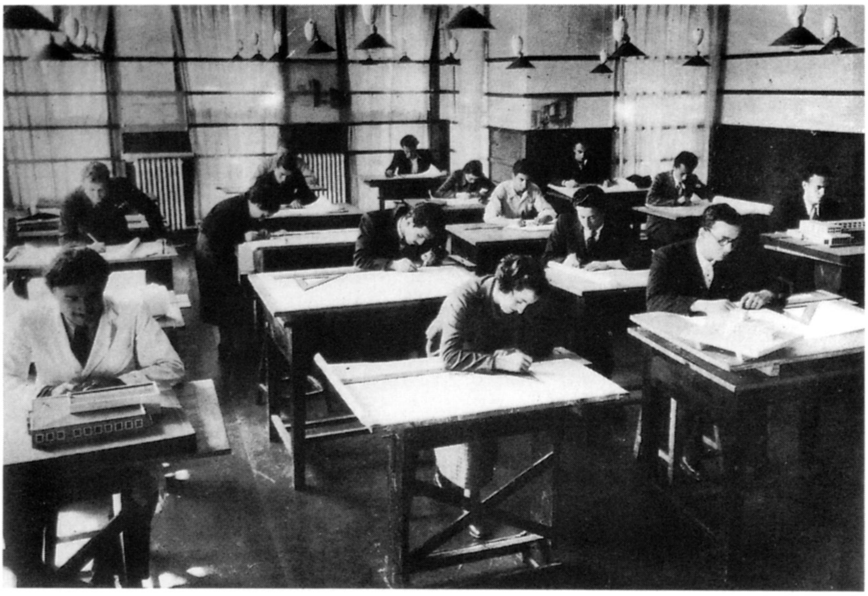
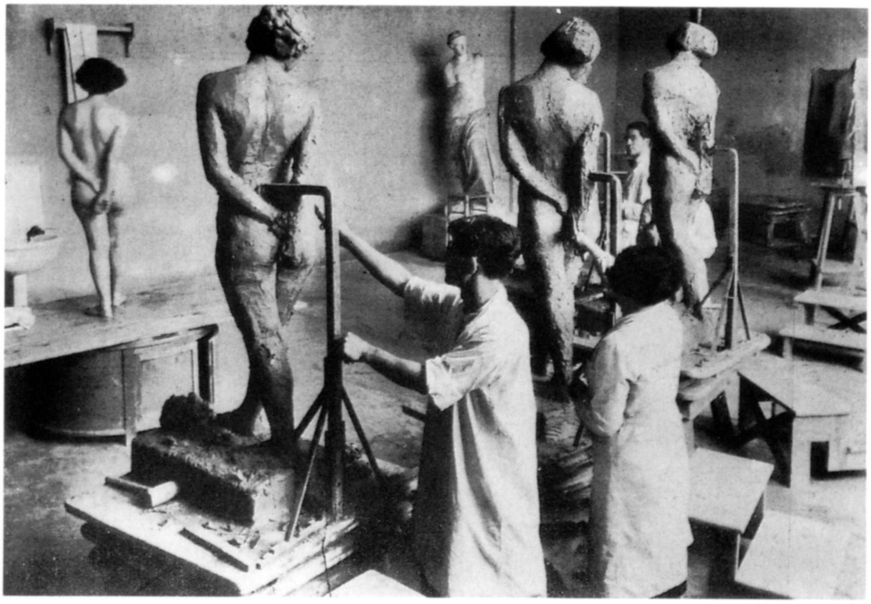


Figure 6.8 View of the architectural studio of Bruno Taut at the Academy of Fine Arts, 1937. (From *Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi,* Istanbul, 1937.)

Figure 6.9 View of the sculpture studio of Rudolph Belling at the Academy of Fine Arts, 1937. (From *Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi,* Istanbul, 1937.)



ments were taking place in art education: a younger generation of modernist artists educated in Europe (with Andre Lhote and Fernand Léger among others) were gradually replacing the older school of academic impressionism with the recent avant-garde currents.[20] At the same time that Taut was put in charge of the architectural section, the painting section was entrusted to the French painter Leopold Levy, and the sculpture section to Rudolph Belling who, like Taut, had been a member of *Novembergruppe* and *Arbeitsrat für Kunst* back in Germany.

"Taut the Modernist": Legacy of the Weimar Years

The students and faculty of the academy remember the excitement caused by the arrival of an architect of Taut's reputation and stature, and his first act was adding wooden columns, painted red, black, and yellow, to the main hall of the academy, "reflecting the influence of Japanese taste."[21] The appointment of Taut had put him in charge of both the architectural program of the school, and the architectural office of the Ministry of Education located within the academy. The latter had been instrumental in experimenting with the most progressive ideals of the modern movement in the construction of educational buildings for the new regime, especially those of higher education and vocational schools.[22] It was also a major center of practical training for students and young graduates of the academy. Before Taut, Ernst Egli had run the office, producing such distinctly modern buildings of republican Ankara as Ismet Paşa Girls' Institute (1929–30), the National Conservatory (1927–28), the Faculty of Political Sciences (1935–36), and the Boys' Commercial Lycee (1928–30). In about the same years that Taut was in charge of the Ministry of Education office, another famous Weimar figure, Grete Schutte-Lihotsky, is known to have also worked there, proposing between 1938 and 1940 designs for a girls' school in Ankara and village schools in Anatolia.[23] The political importance of school-building for the dissemination of republican ideology made this the most paradigmatic building type of the period, as well as the testing ground for the ideals of rational, functional, and economic design. The bulk of Taut's built work in Turkey are educational buildings, namely Cebeci High School, Atatürk High School, and the Faculty of Languages and History (figure 6.10), in Ankara, Cumhuriyet Girls' High School in Izmir, and Boys' High School in Trabzon (figure 6.11), all designed and constructed in a very short time in 1937–38. These are unpretentious modern designs informed by rational considerations of site, program, and construction, rather than any a priori preoccupation with form, an attitude that Taut, as a studio instructor, sought to convey to his students.

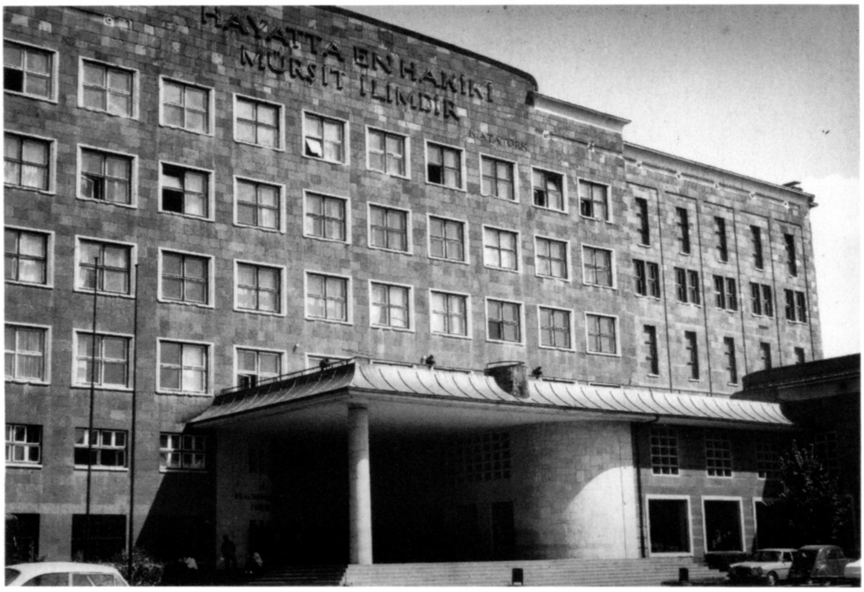
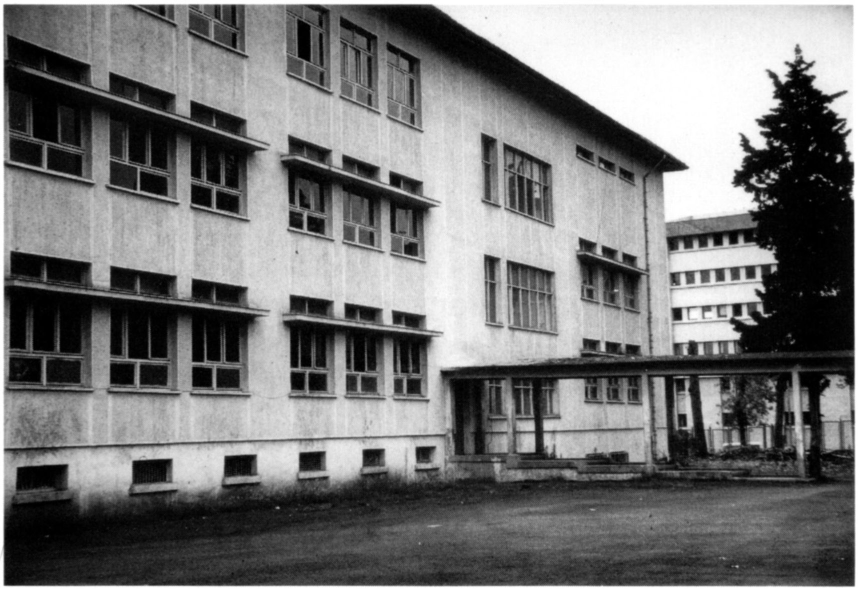

HAYATTA EN HAKİKİ
MÜRŞİT İLİMDİR
K. ATATÜRK

Figure 6.10 Bruno Taut, Faculty of Languages and History, Ankara, 1937–38. (Photograph by author.)

Figure 6.11 Bruno Taut, Boys' High School, Trabzon, 1937–38. (Photograph by author.)



The centrality of antiformalist and rational design in Taut's teaching comes across most conspicuously in one particular studio work—a housing project for the employees of the Ministry of State Monopolies in Ankara, which he assigned to the graduating class in 1937 as a 6-week exercise. The significance of this studio rests first on the very idea of introducing housing as a legitimate and urgent problem for architects, traditionally perceived as artists designing public buildings and monuments. Although Turkish architects and students were already familiar with the 1920s socialist Siedlung programs in Weimar Germany through articles in their professional journal *Mimar/Arkitekt* featuring such experiments,[24] it was the writings of Martin Wagner (who taught a course at the academy on "Economic and Technical Aspects of Urbanism"), and later of Wilhelm Schutte which drew the attention of architects to the *politics* of housing and urbanism.[25] Unlike many hypothetical studio assignments, Taut's assignment was a real research program requested by the ministry, and the students were expected to produce a ¹⁄₁₀₀₀ site plan, ¹⁄₅₀ plans of different house types, detailed specifications for all materials and calculations of cost per square foot of construction, workmanship, and infrastructure (roads; retaining and garden walls; connection to water, electricity, and gas lines; plumbing and sewage disposal). In the manner of Taut's own experience working for GEHAG in Berlin,[26] students were also asked to calculate and tabulate the annual rent and the conditions of financing for each type, thus exploring the feasibility of their proposals. It should be added that this studio project has remained a rather isolated exercise, without much following in the academy, or opportunities for implementation. Very few low-cost or workers' housing projects were actually built in early republican Turkey,[27] and "modern houses" were largely limited to the individual villas and urban apartments of the bureaucratic, military, and professional elite.

In the final student drawings, the 400-unit proposal is arranged as a combination of row houses and three-story parallel blocks, "shaped in response to the climate of Ankara," as it was explained, "all in the east-west direction, with their living spaces facing south, services in the north, and appropriate sun-angles between them calculated" (figure 6.12). Particularly notable is the students' introduction to and experimentation with the three-story *Zeilenbau* types, with a common exterior stairwell serving two units on each side (figure 6.13). This type has obvious affinities with Taut's work in Germany, such as the Zehlendorf Waldsiedlung, among others (figure 6.14). The objective for the design of individual houses, both of the *Zeilenbau* and the row house types (figure 6.15) was stated as "the elimination of unnecessary furniture in the dimensioning of the rooms,"[28] and the plans of different house types, with units varying from 1½ to 2 to 3 rooms, were worked out with minimum

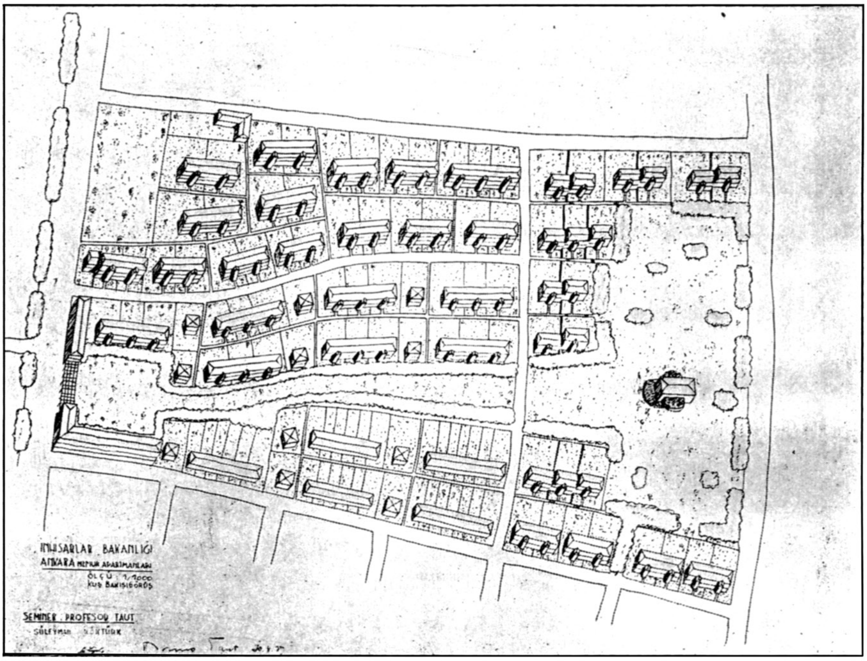
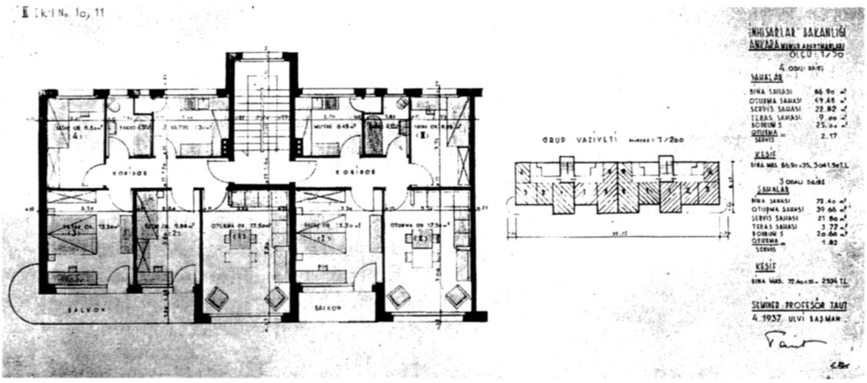

İNHİSARLAR BAKANLIĞI
ANKARA MEMUR APARTMANLARI
ÖLÇÜ 1/1000
KUŞ BAKIŞI GÖRÜŞ
SEMİNER PROFESÖR TAUT
SÜLEYMAN KÖKTÜRK

Figure 6.12 Taut studio: housing for the Ministry of State Monopolies project, 1937. Axonometric projection by S. Köktürk. (From *Arkitekt,* (1937): 213.) v.7n.8

Figure 6.13 Taut studio: housing for the Ministry of State Monopolies project, 1937. Plans for the three-story *Zeilenbau* type: two- and three-bedroom variants by U. Başman. (From *Arkitekt,* (1937): 216.) v.7n.8


KORİDOR
KORİDOR
BALKON
BALKON
GRUP VAZİYETİ
İNHİSARLAR BAKANLIĞI
ANKARA MEMUR APARTMANLARI
ÖLÇÜ 1/50
4 ODALI DAİRE
SAHALAR
BİNA SAHASI 86.90 m²
OTURMA SAHASI 49.48 m²
SERVİS SAHASI 22.82 m²
TERAS SAHASI 9.00 m²
BORUM 5 25.00 m²
OTURMA / SERVİS = 2.17
KEŞİF
BİNA MAS. 86.90×35 3041.50 T.L.
3 ODALI DAİRE
SAHALAR
BİNA SAHASI 72.40 m²
OTURMA SAHASI 39.66 m²
SERVİS SAHASI 21.80 m²
TERAS SAHASI 3.72 m²
BORUM 5 20.60 m²
OTURMA / SERVİS = 1.82
KEŞİF
BİNA MAS. 72.40×35 = 2534 T.L.
SEMİNER PROFESÖR TAUT
4.1937 ULVİ BAŞMAN
Taut

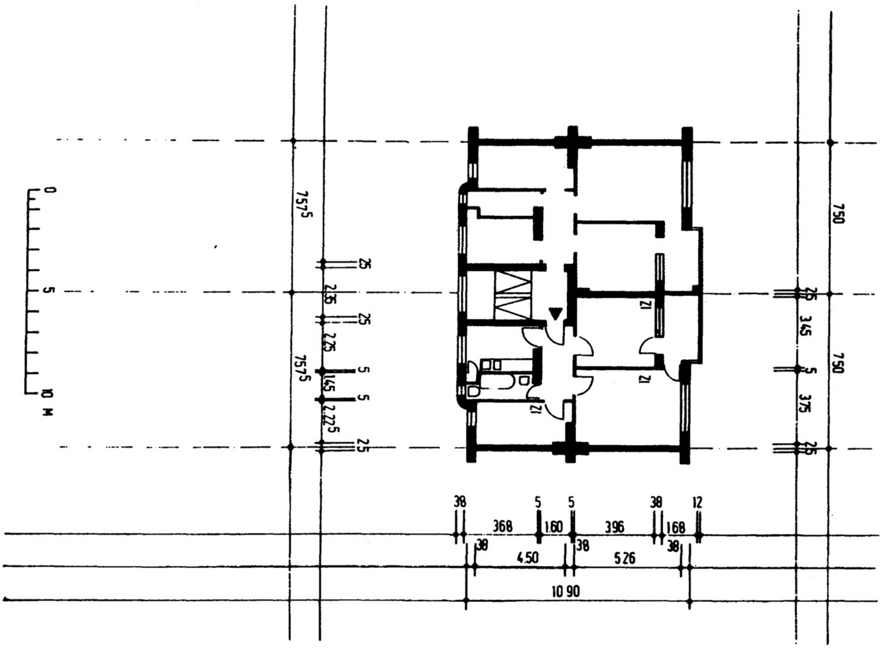
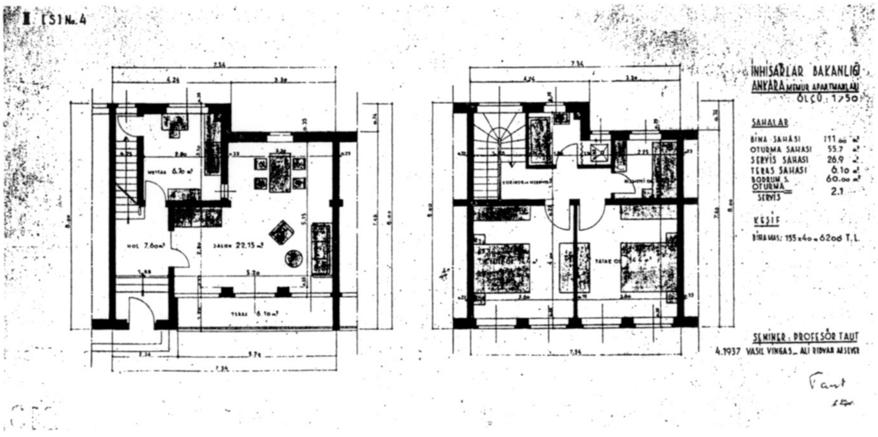

0
5
10 M
757⁵
750
10 90
4.50
5 26
368
1.60
396
168

Figure 6.14 Schematic plan of Bruno Taut's Waldsiedlung Zehlendorf, Berlin, 1930–31. (From *Vier Berliner Siedlungen der Weimarer Republik* (Berlin: Bauhaus Archiv, 1985), 153.)

Figure 6.15 Taut studio: housing for the Ministry of State Monopolies project, 1937. Plans for the row-house type: two-story 2 1/2 bedroom variant by V. Vingas and A. R. Arsever. (From *Arkitekt,* (1937): 213.) v.7n.8


İNHİSARLAR BAKANLIĞI
ANKARA MEMUR APARTMANLARI
ÖLÇÜ: 1/50
SAHALAR
BİNA SAHASI 111.00 m²
OTURMA SAHASI 55.7 m²
SERVİS SAHASI 26.9 m²
TERAS SAHASI 6.10 m²
BODRUM S. 60.00 m²
OTURMA / SERVİS = 2.1
KEŞİF
BİNA MAS: 155×40=6200 T.L.
SEMİNER: PROFESÖR TAUT
4.1937 VASİL VİNGAS – ALİ RIDVAN ARSEVER
Taut
SALON 22.15 m²
HOL 7.60 m²
TERAS 6.10 m²

dimensions and furnishing, detailed specifications of materials and finishes, down to the cost of all pipes, switches, and fittings. What is most conspicuous is the primacy of the plan as the basis of exploring economy, efficiency, and minimum standards, in a manner remarkably reminiscent of the *Existenzminimum* exhibition of the 1929 CIAM (Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne) in Frankfurt. No elevations were required in this assignment and only a few sections occasionally accompany the plans. There are no perspective drawings and the only sense of three-dimensionality is the site axonometric projection which does not give any more information than the site plans. The proposals are clearly far from being "aesthetic objects" in their design qualities or representation techniques, especially in stark contrast to the Beaux-Arts legacy of the school. In fact, Taut openly criticized the deceptiveness of elaborate renderings with light and shadow, proposing instead that students should observe and sketch the particular detail of a building through the eyes of an *architect,* seeing not only the shape, but the *making* of it. For him, "the flowing lines of architects' travel sketches," for example, were "nothing but imitations of impressionist paintings and consequently, a hindrance to true architectural education."[29]

There is no question that Taut's image as studio instructor and practicing architect in Turkey is primarily that of a modernist with strong links to his earlier work in Germany under the socialist programs of the Weimar Republic. Stripped of its ideology, the latter responded favorably to the positivistic biases of the Kemalist regime and its urgent expectations from the education of "experts" and "professionals." However, a closer reading of Taut's theoretical lectures and writings reveal the actual ambiguity of his teaching, irreducible to the sterile *Neue Sachlichkeit* ("new objectivity") which he was always critical of. In talking about his own methods of working in Berlin, his lesson was that, "[Although] first, you come up with a logical diagram in response to site, orientation, landscape, and other such factors, this is truly a *diagram*—a scientific document which has nothing to do, yet, with architecture. . . . It is important to wait until this diagram acquires life and thinking gives way to feeling. Only then is the hand set free to draw."[30] Although the student projects illustrated above remain as exercises in the diagram stage not yet injected with life, Taut was clear and insistent in telling his students that rational design does not necessarily or automatically produce "architecture" as such, nor determine a particular form or style. Even a cursory content analysis of his theoretical lectures and writings reveals his frustrations with both the anti-aesthetic posture of *Neue Sachlichkeit,* and the precepts of modernist orthodoxy after the advent of International Style.

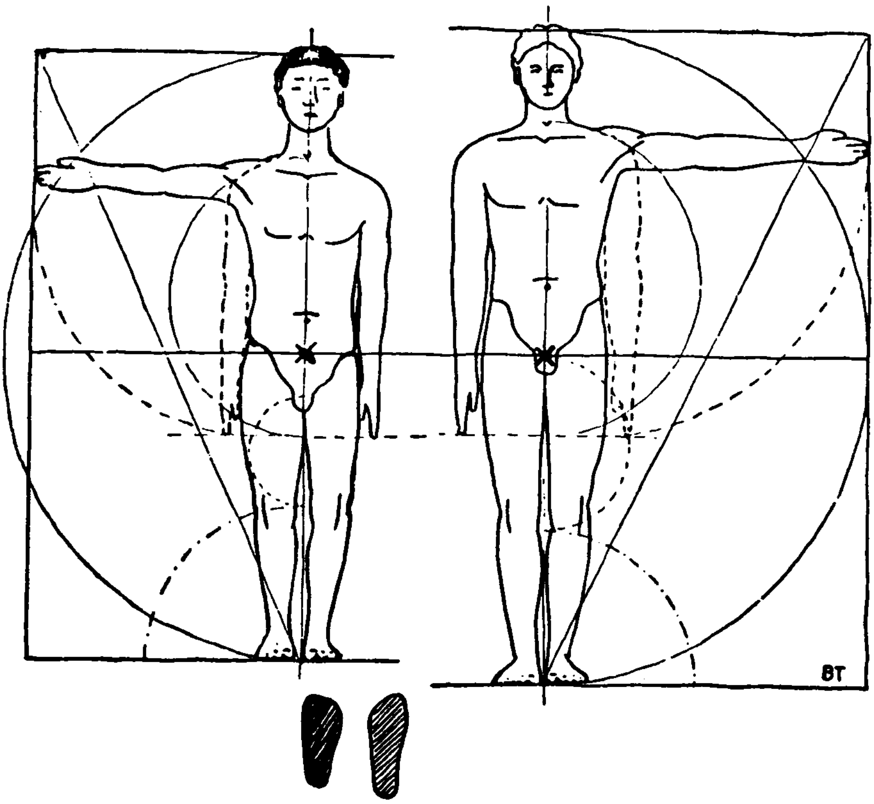
Revising Modernist Orthodoxy: *Lectures on Architecture,* 1938

As early as 1929, in the foreword to his *Modern Architecture* (published in London to introduce the modern movement to English audiences),[31] Taut had posited cultural difference as a problem in the proliferation of the modern movement: "Another difficulty lies in the national dissimilarity between the writer and his readers" he wrote, "a difficulty not only to be ascribed to the language with its manifold and subtle shades of meaning, in themselves the explanation of a divergent trend of thought, but to the very atmosphere of the country itself, engendering as it does, at any rate to a certain extent, other sentiments and points of view, no matter how international the viewpoint of an author may be" (p.1). In fact, throughout the book, he had commented on the diversity and richness resulting from the rational French, romantic central European, and utilitarian Anglo-Saxon attitudes to modern architecture, not to mention subtler distinctions between, say, the expressionistic "Amsterdam point of view" and the purism of the "Rotterdam point of view" (p. 90). Furthermore, he had insightfully avoided the term International Style, instead talking about the "international art of construction"(p.54), in the manner of Herman Muthesius's well-known distinction between "style-architecture" and "building art."[32] The term "art of construction" (*yapı sanatı* as it is called in Turkish, still bearing the mark of Taut's teaching in Turkey)[33] not only allows for the possibility of *local* or *national* adaptations of what is essentially a transnational creative spirit of construction but also restores the artistic component to architecture obscured by the excesses of *Neue Sachlichkeit.*

Lectures on Architecture, (published in Turkish as *Mimari Bilgisi* in 1938 by the Academy of Fine Arts) is a collection of Taut's lectures, and served as a textbook for Turkish students for many years thereafter.[34] Each chapter is devoted to a constitutent aspect of architecture, namely proportion, technique, construction, function, and quality, with an introductory discussion on "What is Architecture?" and a concluding section on the relationship of architecture to society and other arts. Proportion is singled out as the fundamental principle internal to the discipline of architecture and the mediator through which all others "become Architecture." Architecture defined most succinctly as "the art of proportion" is a metaphor for the universal ordering principle applicable to everything from the plan of a house to the constitution of states "as manifest in the terms we use like the *structure, foundations,* or *pillars* of state" (p. 10). The essential uniqueness of each nation manifests itself not only in the proportions of their houses and artifacts but even in the human body, defying any construct of "universal man." To illustrate this, his famous diagram from his earlier *Houses* *and Peoples of Japan,* is reproduced in the *Lectures,* juxtaposing the Vitruvian (or Western) man with the anthropomorphic proportions of the Japanese man[35] (figure 6.16).

Although the book is less about "modern architecture" than about architecture in general, with many references to classical Greek, Japanese, and Ottoman-Turkish architecture, particular homage is paid to the pioneers of modern architecture (Sullivan, Otto Wagner, Berlage, Perret, Behrens, Macintosh, and Garnier in particular) while later developments by which modern rational design became "a stylistic Zeitgeist" (p. 334), "a fashion . . . worse than the nineteenth century styles" (p. 37) are lamented throughout the book. Similarly, the fetishizing of stripped-off technique, construction, and function, or for that matter the aesthetic of ocean liners, cars, or aeroplanes, is resented as a reduction of architecture to "objects of use or means of traffic" (pp. 16–

Figure 6.16 Proportions of Japanese and Western man. (From Bruno Taut, *Mimari Bilgisi* (Istanbul: 1938), 65.)



17). Speaking of prevailing *Neue Sachlichkeit* clichés like "economic construction" or "machine-produced housing" Taut wrote:

> These otherwise correct ideas were emptied of their content when virtually anybody could utter them as slogans. Isn't it the same for any good idea? Instead of trying them out selectively in the manner of a laboratory work, they got constructed in the hundreds. Furthermore, these completely rational and functional matters were mixed up with political and social ideals.[34,p.162]

The phrase "laboratory work" has interesting theoretical implications, suggesting a Popperian piecemeal approach to architectural innovation and a concomitant distaste for totalizing revolutionary discourse. The last sentence of the quotation is of particular significance, illustrating Taut's deep awareness of the irreducibility of architecture to its politics or ideology, and his critique of the doctrinaire self-righteousness of orthodox modernism, not only in the architectural culture at large but implicitly in Turkey where it was tempting, at least for a brief period, to present modern forms as the appropriate and "correct" expressions of the Kemalist revolution.

One of the most inspiring themes in the *Lectures* is his antiformalistic and antistylistic idea of "type" in architecture which, unlike the definition of type in engineering design, is inseparable from the particularities of *locality.* In a much-cited passage, he talks about the inevitability and necessity for the architectural type to "change its form, and even color like a chameleon" depending on the places it is "traveling to," in stark contrast to the grotesqueness and inconceivability of the idea of an engineering type such as a zeppelin, "changing its shape like an amorphous molluscum as it encircles the earth" (pp. 58–59). It comes across clearly that when he talks about *locality,* he primarily has *climate* in his mind, *culture* being a rational and natural outcome of it. It should also be noted that his appreciation of locality in architecture is intimately intertwined with his particular sensitivity to texture, light, color, and qualities of air which had already distinguished him as a painter of landscapes and nature.[36] For example, the beauty of the Japanese temple, born out of the humidity of the summers and coldness of the winters, would have been "dead like a fish out of water in the bright sun and transparent air of Greece," and conversely, the classical columns of the Greek temple, which can only survive in this bright sun, "would be condemned to death, when taken to distant lands as if they were cars or trains, suffocating them in the fog and humidity of the north" (p. 56). In other words, for Taut, culture *is* nature (*Tabiat* in Turkish) in both meanings of the term—as the elements (rain, fog, sun, wind, etc.) *and* as the character of different peoples:

> Nations have adopted to climate and many different characters have resulted from it. . . . Architecture is a mirror reflecting the character and nature of nations. It is this mirroring aspect which largely determines whether it is light or heavy, lively or serene, diffused or concentrated, elegant or systematic, etc.[34,p.66]

In the passionately nationalistic climate of the late 1930s in Turkey, these ideas of "national character" and "locality" must have resonated very favorably with his students and colleagues, although, as I discuss later, in the same text there are very explicit statements that "national character" should not be a self-conscious issue in design. His expression of reverence on every occasion for the Ottoman high tradition epitomized in the work of the sixteenth-century architect Sinan (to the extent of proposing a strategically located "Terrace for Admiring the Suleymaniye Mosque" in one of his urban studies of the area around Istanbul University) was always accompanied by an emphasis on "the wisdom of studying not what old masters did, but rather, what they were after."[37]

In the *Lectures,* in the chapter on construction, a whole section is devoted to the "Turkish mosque" (along with the Gothic cathedral) as a masterpiece of "the art of construction." In Taut's view, Sinan and his students were "architects" par excellence, who perfected the domed system of Roman and Byzantine builders and engineers into an art form (p. 147). He also made a point of emphasizing that "the tranquility that the mosque gives to our soul is not the effect of religious spirituality, but of the artistic spirit appealing to our sense of proportion" (p. 153). Architect Rebii Gorbon recalls Taut's preoccupation with discovering the underlying golden section in the proportional principles of Ottoman architecture so as to apply them in the facade of his Faculty of Languages and History in Ankara.[38] Otherwise, any overt references to Ottoman architecture are conspicuously absent in Taut's work, except in very subtle details like the traditional composite walling system of alternating brick and stone courses which he adopted in the Faculty of Languages and History (figure 6.17).

It is, however, Taut's particular appreciation of the vernacular traditions which lend a "critical regionalist" flavor to his teaching, elaborated mostly during his years in Japan. Epitomized in the Shrine of Ise or the Katsura, vernacular traditions expressed, for Taut, a purified spirit and cultural authenticity through their simplicity, utility, and structural honesty—the very qualities that he would admire also in Turkish vernacular houses. His house in Ortaköy (1937) (figure 6.18), constructed on stilts on a wooded hill overlooking the Bosporous, stands out from the rest of his built work in Turkey as the symbol

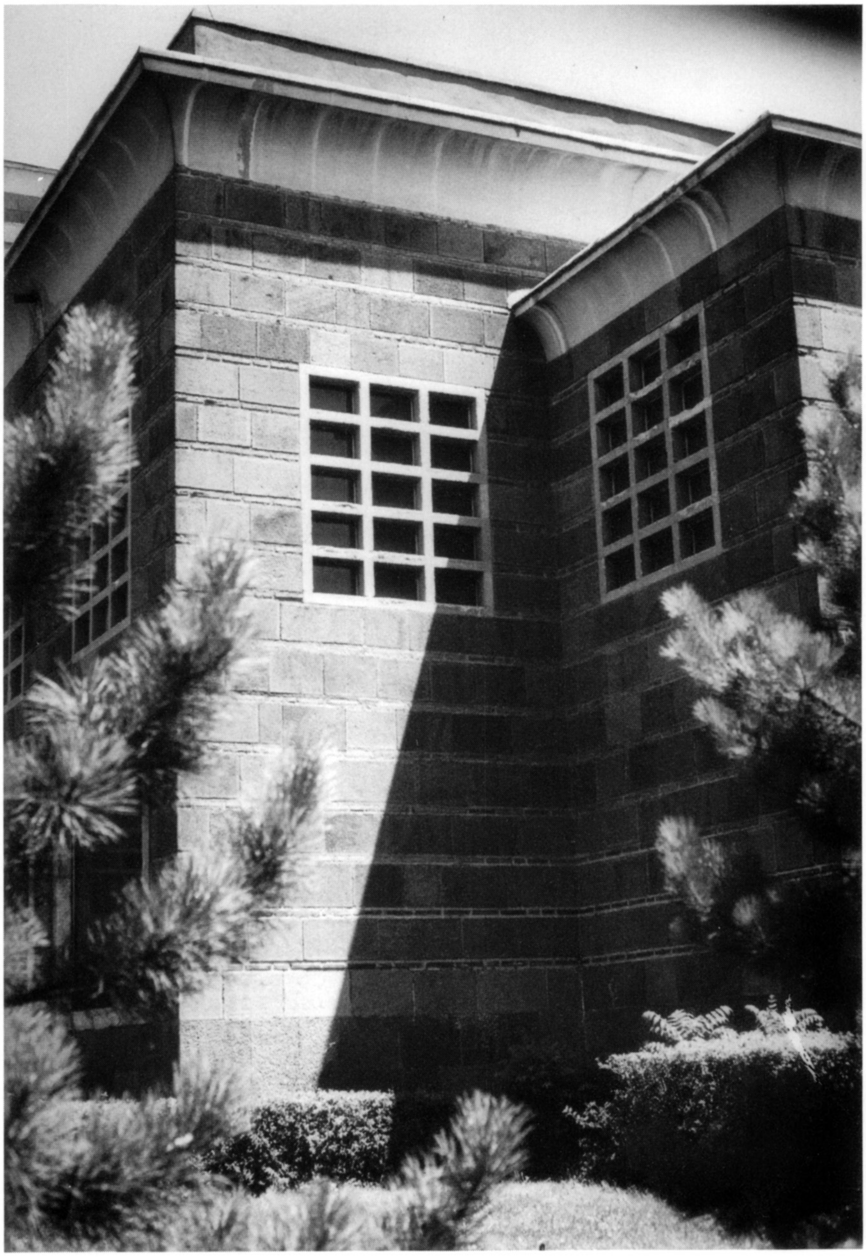


Figure 6.17 Detail of Bruno Taut's Faculty of Languages and History, Ankara, 1937–38, showing the alternating courses of stone and brick after Ottoman precedents. (Photograph by author.)

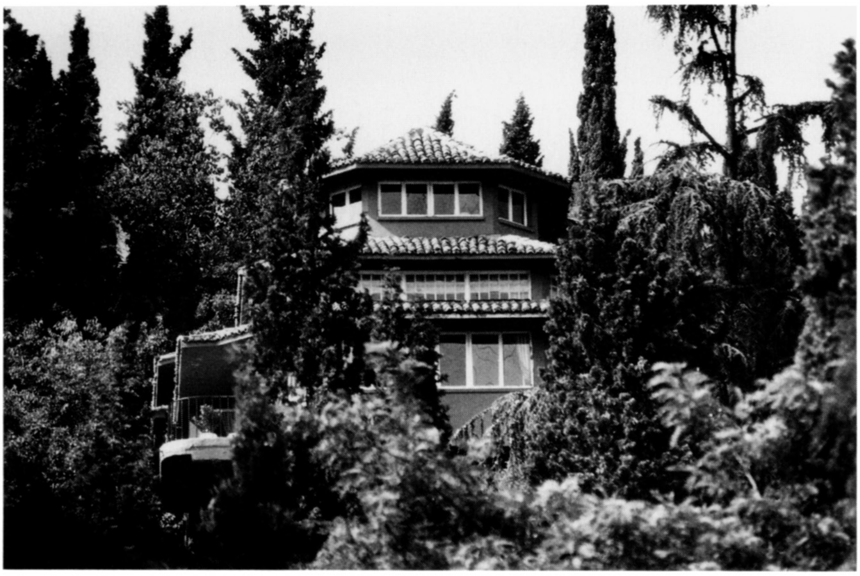


Figure 6.18 Bruno Taut, house in Ortaköy, Istanbul, 1937. (Photograph by Ömer Kanıpak.)

of his preoccupation with the lessons of vernacular in Japan and Turkey.[39] This was, however, a politically and ideologically charged topic in the nationalist context of the 1930s and it is important to qualify Taut's regionalism as a "critical" discourse or "negative heuristics," rather than a search for some form of local identity. In an interview in 1938 for a popular monthly magazine in Istanbul, Taut had made his famous remark that "the new Turkish house will be born only when architects abandon the cubic style, which has turned into a mainstream stylistic fashion."[40] This was, however, not a quest for some form of "national style," as some people wanted to read it, but rather a primarily and profoundly antistylistic comment expressive of his frustrations with the aesthetic doctrine of International Style.

"Taut the Regionalist": Uneasy Alliance with Turkish Nationalism

The modernist reading of the Turkish house, which identifies "culture" or "national character" simply with "response to nature" constitutes a major trend in the Turkish architectural culture of the 1930s.[41] As early as 1930, Ernst Egli had praised the introverted charcater of the Anatolian house with its cool and shady courtyards open to starry skies above and closed to the dust of the street, concluding that "if designed with modern means for modern lifestyles, this could be a model house for Anatolian towns."[42] Like Egli before him, Taut specified the lessons to be derived from the Turkish house in conspicuously antiformalist and antihistoricist terms. He was not in search of a national style, as some Turkish architects were by the end of the 1930s, but rather emphasized what one can learn from traditional elements "that will always remain modern" in their rationality: namely, wide overhanging eaves for shading, high ceilings with a lower row of windows for view and upper ones for diffused light, introverted halls protected from exposure to sun and wind, and most significantly, an overall urbanistic quality of streets, the silhouette from the sea, etc."[43]

It is no surprise that during his career at the academy, Taut and his Turkish colleague Sedad Hakkı Eldem did not get along well. Although Eldem had also started out in the late 1920s with a thoroughly modernist reading of the vernacular house in explicitly Corbusian and Wrightian terms,[44] by the late 1930s he had become the single most important and influential figure in the codification of an official second national style in Turkish architecture (to differentiate it from the earlier Ottoman revival) based on the forms and plan types of the traditional Turkish house. The political climate was increasingly in favor of the latter, and by the time of Taut's death, (about a month after the death of Atatürk, whose catafalque was designed by Taut), architecture in Turkey had acquired overtly nationalistic tones. This climate is epitomized by Sedad Hakkı Eldem's writings which posited the issue of a national style as "a matter of strong regime and state sponsorship."[45] Throughout the 1940s, the dominant paradigm in architectural education came to be represented by Sedad Hakkı Eldem, in collaboration with the next influential German architect and teacher in Turkey after Taut, Paul Bonatz.

Taut's aversion to the employment of architecture for nationalist politics comes across very clearly in the *Lectures,* for example, in the connections he drew between axial symmetric design and absolute rule, "whether of monarchy or a modern state" (pp. 256–257), and again in his compelling critique of sports and monumental stadiums as instruments of mass mobilization: "In a stadium for 100,000, people look like rows of ants. Individual subjects who possess their own feelings and ideas get lost in this crowd. Whereas, wherever there is no individual, there is no architecture" (p. 276). Well aware of the approaching political turmoil in the world at large, he repeated on every occasion the thin and precarious line separating the appreciation of tradition from its instrumentalization for political and ideological purposes. "It is important to avoid a superficial imitation [of historical precedents]" he wrote, "Otherwise this tendency can lead to a sentimental romanticism and a misunderstood nationalism resulting in kitsch. The more fervor with which a misunderstood nationalism is pursued, the worse will be the result," concluding his words with his famous dictum: "All nationalist architecture is bad, but all good architecture is national."[46]

To conclude, I would point out that Taut had employed the same term "sentimental romanticism" a decade ago in conjunction with the "transport-cum-machinery romanticism" of the modernist avant-garde.[47] Herein lies the significance of Taut's teaching, which, in the synoptic final section of the *Lectures,* he puts in his own, rather self-celebratory words as follows:

> Those looking for a particular "party line" in architecture have never been able to go beyond formal issues. Even those who set out to abandon historical styles have ended up selecting a few rational aspects of architecture and declaring them "the style of the age" and labeling them with various isms. . . . Only very rarely have architects said that the exterior form of architecture is not an important matter: the real, important issue is proportion [and the art of construction].[34,p.334]

It is this antistylistic understanding of modernism which has allowed Taut to appreciate, with equal passion, both the rational, functional, and economic aspects of modern design, and the lessons of tradition. The seemingly simple fact that "modern architecture is not *cubic,* but rather *rational* architecture," as one of Taut's students put it in 1935,[48] is more widely acknowledged and appreciated in the Turkish architectural culture today. In the historical context of the 1930s, however, when many architects did indeed look for a "party line," Taut was often criticized both by the few who still perceived International Style as the most appropriate expression of the Kemalist revolution, and at the same time by the advocates of a national style who were becoming increasingly dominant in architectural education (not to mention the hardening campaign against foreign architects who were accused of blocking Turkish architects from access to major state commissions). Today, when the modernist legacy of early republican culture is increasingly criticized on all fronts, often from drastically reduced definitions of what modern architecture is all about, the irresoluably ambiguous legacy of Taut lends him a renewed significance for restoring modern architecture as an antistylistic and formally indeterminate critical discourse irreducible to any official style.

Notes

1. *Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi* (Academy of Fine Arts), Istanbul, 1937.

2. Especially after the publication of Celal Esat Arseven, *Yeni Mimari* (Istanbul: Agah Sabri Kütüphanesi, 1931) which was based on Andre Lurcat, *L'Architecture* (Paris: 1929). Arseven was professor of architectural history and urbanism at the academy when Taut arrived.

3. There is the exhibition catalog *Bruno Taut 1880–1938* (Berlin: Akademie der Künste, 1980); and the classic Kurt Junghanns, *Bruno Taut 1880–1938,* 2d ed. (Berlin: Henschelverl., 1970). More specific are Ian Boyd White, *Bruno Taut: The Architecture of Activism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982) on the radical expressionist years of Taut; Bettina Zoller-Stock, *Bruno Taut: The Innenraumentwurfe des Berliner Arkitekten* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1993) on his interior designs and Manfred Speidel, *Bruno Taut: Natur und Fantasie* (Berlin: Ernst & Sohn, 1995) on the artistic dimension of Taut. Also, a survey of the recent contents of journals like *DB, Neue Heimat, Architektur der DDR,* and *Der Architekt* suggest a renewed interest in the life and career of Taut.

4. With the exception, most notably, of Heinrich Taut, "Bruno Taut in und über Japan", 129–42 and Inci Aslanoglu, "Bruno Taut's Wirken als Lehrer und Architekt in der Türkei in den Jahren 1936–38," 143–150 both in the Akademie der Künste catalog, op.cit.; and Manfred Speidel, "Color and Light: On Bruno Taut's Oeuvre as a Painter", *Daidalos,* 45(September 1992): 117–135.

5. Taut is buried in Edirnekapı cemetery in Istanbul.

6. Taut's proposal incorporates many allusions to Ottoman and Byzantine forms, predominated by a vast and expressionistic central dome reminiscent of his alpine Architektur. See Suha Özkan, "Türk-Alman Dostluk Yurdu Öneri Yarışması, 1916," *METU Journal of the Faculty of Architecture,* 1, no. 2 (fall 1975): 177–210. The main reference is *Deutscher Werkbund und der Deutsch-Türkischen Vereinigung: Haus der Freundschaft in Konstantinopel* (Munich: Verlag von F.Bruckman A.G., 1918).

7. Herman Hesse, *The Journey to the East,* (New York: Noonday Press, 1968), 27.

8. He said: "If one would work upon the bridge of culture, this is only possible by awakening understanding for foreign singularities and by showing how the human spirit works logically and reasonably, although its conceptions may vary completely from place to place." *Houses and People of Japan* (London: John Gifford, 1936) 37.

9. On this point, I am indebted to the papers of two Ph.D. candidates: Yehchin Hsu, "Bruno Taut in Japan: The Paradox of an Authentic Interpretation of Culture" and Alona Nitzan-Shiftan, "Eric Mendelsohn and the Tel-Aviv Chouge: Conflicting Architectural Positions in Pre-State Palestine," presented in my course "Architecture and Modernization in the Post-Colonial World," MIT, spring 1993.

10. See Fritz Neumark, *Zuflucht am Bosporous: Deutsche Gelehrte, Politiker und Künstler in der Emigration* (Frankfurt: Knecht, 1980; also published in Turkish in 1982; Ernest E. Hirsch, *Aus des Kaisers Zeiten durch Weimarer Republik in das Land Atatürks: Eine unzeitgemässe Autobiographie* (Munich: 1982; also published in Turkish in 1985); and Regine Erichsen, "Sığınmacı Alman Bilim Adamlarının Etkisi" (Influence of German Refugee Professors), in *Ankara 1923–50: The Making of A Capital, Proceedings of a Symposium* (Ankara: Turkish Chamber of Architects, 1994), 26–36, with a German summary.

11. Neumark, op.cit., 42

12. Bruno Taut, "Türk Evi, Sinan, Ankara" (Turkish House, Sinan, Ankara), *Her Ay,* Istanbul (February 1938): 97

13. Celal Esat Arseven, *Yeni Mimari* (Istanbul, Agah Sabri Kütüphanesi, 1931) 11–13.

14. Behçet Ünsal, in the special issue "Mimarlıgımız 1923–50" of *Mimarlık* (Journal of Turkish Chamber of Architects) (February 1973): 35. It should be remembered, however, that such negative assessment of the pre-reform years at the academy are largely informed by the modernist biases of republican architectural culture, rather than by any thorough historical research on the pedagogical programs of Vedat Bey and Mongeri.

15. See Gülsüm Baydar Nalbantoğlu, *The Professionalization of the Ottoman-Turkish Architect,* unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1989.

16. "Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi Mimari Şubesinde Talebe Nasıl Çalışıyor" (How Architectural Students at the Academy of Fine Arts Work), *Mimar,* 1, no. 1 (1931): 25–26.

17. Behçet Ünsal goes so far as to attribute the establishment of this seminar to Egli, although it is typically Sedad Hakkı Eldem who gets all the credit. See Behçet Ünsal, op.-cit., 38.

18. I have discussed the cultural and political context of the modern movement in Turkey in more detail in "Architecture, Modernism and Nation-Building in Kemalist Turkey," *New Perspectives on Turkey,* (spring 1994): 37–55.

19. These were Leman Tomsu, graduate of 1934; Münevver Belen, 1934, and Şeküre Niltuna, 1936 (the roster of the Turkish Architects' Association, 1940).

20. The most radically modernist of which was the avant-garde Group D established in 1933 by five young Turkish painters and a sculptor. See G. Renda, "Modern Trends in Turkish Painting," *The Transformation of Turkish Culture: The Atatürk Legacy,* eds. G. Renda and C. M. Kortepeter (Princeton, N.J.: Kingston Press, 1986), 229–47.

21. From the memoirs of architect Asım Mutlu, "Architecture in My Memories," *Yapı,* 135 (February 1983): 51.

22. A key figure in the architectural progressivism of the Ministry of Education was the director of higher education, Cevat Dursunoğlu, who had served as a cultural attaché in Berlin between 1933 and 1935, playing a key role in the invitations extended to Martin Wagner and Hans Poelzig. See Regine Erichsen, op.cit., 31.

23. Mentioned in *Die Frankfurter Küche von Margarete Schutte-Lihotzky* (Berlin: Ernst & Sohn, 1994), 56.

24. For example, Burhan Arif, "Yeni Şehirlerin Inkişafi ve Siedlunglar" (The Development

of New Cities and Siedlung Design), *Mimar,* (1932): v. 2 n.6. 213–16. The original name of the journal *Mimar* was changed to *Arkitekt* in 1935, under the westernizing impetus of the republic, and the nationalist campaign to rid the language of Arabic and Persian words.

25. Among Martin Wagner's numerous writings were discussions of the role of capitalism and economics in urbanism; urban, population, and transportation problems of Istanbul and planning guidelines (*Arkitekt,* 6, nos. 5–9, 11–12 and 7, nos. 2–6, 10–11. [1936, 1937]); design of streets and roads (*Arkitekt,* 8, nos. 1–2 [1938]); and standardized housing for earthquake prone regions (*Arkitekt,* 10, nos. 1–2 [1940]).

26. See *Vier Berliner Siedlungen der Weimarer Republik* (Berlin: Bauhaus Archiv, 1985).

27. The most notable exception being two workers' housing developments in Zonguldak, a coal-mining town in northern Turkey, designed by the Turkish architect Seyfettin Arkan along the model of Weimar Siedlungen.

28. Studio work published as "Tip ve Sıra Evler", *Arkitekt,* 7, no. 8 (1937): 211.

29. Bruno Taut, *Mimari Bilgisi* (Lectures on Architecture) (Istanbul: Academy of Fine Arts, 1938), 313.

30. Ibid., 26–27.

31. Bruno Taut, *Modern Architecture* (London: The Studio Limited, 1929). Taut's refusal to cast modern architecture in a unified, totalizing, stylistic discourse makes the 1929 text still one of the best accounts of what the modern movement was all about, despite being somewhat unfairly overshadowed by the official histories and polemics of Giedion, Pevsner, Hitchcock-Johnson, etc.

32. Herman Muthesius, *Stilarchitektur und Baukunst* (Mulheim-Ruhr: K. Schimmelffeng, 1902); English edition translated and introduced by Stanford Anderson as *Style Architecture and Building Art* (Santa Monica, Calif.: The Getty Center, 1994)

33. As used, for example, by Behçet Ünsal, a republican architect, in the special issue "Mimarligimiz 1923–50," *Mimarlik* (Journal of the Turkish Chamber of Architects) (February 1973): 42.

34. Bruno Taut, *Mimari Bilgisi* (Istanbul: Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi Neşriyatı, 1938). It was published in Japanese in 1948 and in German as *Architekturlehre* (Hamburg: Verlag für der Studium der Arbeiterbewegung GmbH, 1977). These lectures were delivered in German and translated spontaneously into Turkish by Taut's assistants and colleagues. The final text, *Mimari Bilgisi* was translated by Adnan Kolatan.

35. Bruno Taut, ibid., 65. It is ironic that Asım Mutlu, who was an assistant to Taut in the architectural office of the Ministry of Education located within the academy, recalls: "One day Professor Taut came to my table. He had the sketch of a section and perspective for

Istanbul University, sensitively drawn in pencil. There was a note on it: draw it 1/100 without changing anything. On the lintels above the doors and windows, there was a continuous band of hangers with their hooks drawn. The next day, when he angrily asked me why I did not draw it as it was, I told him that our people cannot use hangers 2.20 meters high. He didn't say anything and took his sketch back." (A. Mutlu, "Anılarda Mimarlık", *Yapı,* 135 (February 1983), 51.)

36. Speidel, op.cit., 117–35.

37. Taut, "Türk Evi, Sinan, Ankara," op.cit., 94–96

38. Rebii Gorbon in the special issue "Mimarlığımız 1923–50" of *Mimarlık* (Journal of the Turkish Chamber of Architects) (February 1973): 47.

39. See Bülent Özer's article and drawings in *Yapı,* 13(July/August 1975); also as "Casa dell'Anima/A Home of the Soul, *Domus,* 611(1980): 28.

40. Bruno Taut, "Türk Evi, Sinan, Ankara," op.cit., 93.

41. See Gülsum Baydar Nalbantoğlu, "Between Civilization and Culture: Appropriation of Traditional Dwelling Forms in Early Republican Turkey," *Journal of Architectural Education* (November 1993): 66–74. v.47 n. 2

42. Ernst Egli, "Mimari Muhit" (Architectural Context), *Türk Yurdu,* (June 1930): 32–33.

43. Taut, "Türk Evi, Sinan, Ankara," op.cit., 94.

44. For Eldem's monumental enterprise in search of a Turkish modernism derived from the residential vernacular, see Sibel Bozdogan, Suha Ozken, and Engin Yenal, *Sedad Hakkı Eldem: Architect in Turkey* (Singapore: Concept Media, 1987).

45. Especially in Sedad Hakkı Eldem, "Milli Mimari Meselesi" (The Question of National Architecture), *Arkitekt,* 9, nos. 9–10 (1939) 220–3 and "Yerli Mimariye Doğru" (Toward a Native Architecture), *Arkitekt,* 10, nos. 3–4 (1940): 69–74.

46. Taut, "Türk Evi, Sinan, Ankara", op.cit., 95; and *Mimari Bilgisi,* op.cit., 333.

47. Taut, *Modern Architecture,* op.cit., 6.

48. Behçet Ünsal, "Mimarlıkta Gerçeklik" (Reality in Architecture), *Arkitekt,* 5, no. 4 (1935): 116.

III HISTORIOGRAPHIC CONSTRUCTS

7

MEDITATIONS ON THE IMPOSSIBILITY OF A HISTORY OF MODERNITY: SEEING BEYOND ART'S HISTORY

Mark Jarzombek

Radical Hegelians of the mid-nineteenth century championed the notion that history was not merely a static body of data learned from books, but instead something dynamic and, one might say, "in the making." "History" was inextricably interlocked with the present and thus constituted a force that could be used to divide the world into those who participated in its "making" and those who did not. This was, of course, one of the basic tenets of the revolutionary struggle against the bourgeoisie as defined by Ferdinand Lasalle, Arnold Ruge, and Karl Marx. But if "history in the making" began as a tool to undermine the hegemony of an oppressor class, then it was quickly appropriated by less radical theorists to become an essential aspect of their own attempts to reform the bourgeoisie. And it was combined, almost from the start, with artistic and aesthetic matters. The artist was not a distant producer of expensive goods, but an instrument of upper-middle-class cultural self-reflection.[1] Paul Schultze-Naumburg, for example, a leading conservative reformer of German culture, had high hopes for a dream in which everyone in some sense was, or at least could be, an artist or critic. His *Häuslische Kunstpflege* (The Enhancement of Domestic Art, 1898), immensely popular, with seven reprintings before World War I, had chapters on the proper aesthetic role of wall coverings, paintings, clocks, flowers, clothing, bodily hygiene, and even pets. The book targeted a new German bourgeoisie eager to develop its own aesthetic instincts and not merely copy the tastes of the aristocracy. It presented the case that *Kunst* has to emerge from within the context of a national psyche as articulated through even the most minute aspects of domesticity. Most people, Schultze-Naumburg argued, were unaware that their home environment had *more* to do with art than any artworks they might actually own, and that no true artistic and cultural transformation of Germany would be possible until this realization had sunk in. "For the everyday man, the house is the only object on which he can be artistically active. It becomes, therefore, a [quasimilitary] exercise field where artistic cultural consciousness can develop."[2] Utopia could be an imminent reality if all members of society joined in a process of eradicating the unaesthetic. It was to become central to the crisis of twentieth-century modernity, finding its most terrifying manifestations in the fascism of Adolf Hitler, which Schultze-Naumburg embraced at the end of his career.

In this chapter, I do not address the long, drawn-out question of the interrelationship of art and politics in modernist discourses,[3] but rather muse on the problematic of writing a history that has to deal with a radically expanded definition of who participates in aesthetic matters. In essence, the rise of the notion of a participatory art in which artists and bourgeois critics[4] reflect on and compulsively negotiate with one another's identity—I think of Senator Jesse Helms discussing his views on the art of Robert Mapplethorpe on the floor of the U.S. Senate—coincided with the emergence of cultural critiques at the end of the nineteenth century that aimed to define how aesthetics inhabits a space of sociopolitical practice that permits experimentation while critiquing the excesses of subjective behavior without putting too much stress on the boundaries of bourgeois protocol. The theory that a balance between conservative morality and laissez-faire freedoms could be achieved through art—an art that has been interrogated, covertly or overtly, for its political implications—was championed by liberals as much as by conservatives, with the result that architects and artists became increasingly embroiled in a discourse that targeted them as either the enemy of society or as the agents of its salvation. Max Nordau's *Entartung* of 1893 was certainly a seminal piece in this respect. It argued that artistic production was more meaningful to the person on the street than to aesthetes if only because it provides one with important evidence in the analysis and diagnosis of society's health. Upper-middle-class society profited from this reflection by calling into being a type of activism that demanded, on supposedly purely moral grounds, the separation of "degenerate" art from "healthy art."[5] Nordau's argument, a commonplace by 1900, shifted the definition of the "history" of art from a scholarly, literary enterprise dominated by a few erudite and academically trained individuals to an enterprise permitting, indeed requiring, the broad participation of society in matters of visual culture and visual criticism. "The more society participates in aesthetic matters, the stronger it will be," wrote Karl Ernst Osthaus, a leading German reformer of the turn of the century.[6] This attitude, I would argue, is concomitant with the birth of modernity. But what does this "participation" mean, and how is it to be organized? It was the leading question of the day.

Socialists, like George Luckás, were for the most part skeptical of the new call for a bourgeois aesthetic. After all, change was expected to take place in the streets and factories and it was to be spearheaded by hungry steelworkers, not middle-class consumers of designer tableware. But, like the rabbit outwitting the lion, the German bourgeoisie laid a trap in the playing field. "Participation" in the historicity of the present, from the perspective of the upper middle class, meant that "reform" had to take place in *its* own privileged domain, and that meant with buildings, paintings, household furnishings, clothing, and even postage stamps. These became the weapons in the battle for the new utopia. Convincing members of the bourgeoisie to recognize their responsibility in this struggle was no easy matter, but that was the mission that not only Schultze-Naumburg and Osthaus took on, but a host of other now forgotten turn-of-the-century reformers. Journals, books, organizations, and museums all played their part. The *Deutsches Museum für Handel und Gewerbe,* directed by Osthaus, for example, exhibited exemplary artifacts from the various domains of domestic life. As the architect Henry van de Velde wrote in 1910:

> Industrial products much as living things have to be racially pure, from the side of both the father and the mother; their family tree has to be as clear as any human race! The *Deutsches Museum für Handel und Gewerbe,* if it is to have a meaning, must determine the aristocrats among the products![7]

This was not written by a right-wing extremist but rather by someone often praised for his sensitivity to form, architecture, and life itself. Van de Velde was eager to celebrate not only "creativity" but the ability of society to define and *control* that creativity, claiming that the process would keep all of society—the working class included—from drifting along in a sea of meaninglessness. The clincher was, of course, that if it could be proved that there was "meaning" in art, then there would be no need for revolution. The argument was—and remains—the mechanism by which the upper middle class claimed that it could eventually solve the crisis of signification brought on by the forces of industry and fashion that it had itself created.

The various hopes that were circumscribed in this process required an increasingly tougher stand against the socialists. It is no accident that the rise in Germany of an autonomous, critical bourgeois aesthetic around the turn of the century coincided with the political divorce of liberal and socialist positions. Whereas, in the previous decade, socialists were important players in the German move into modernity and even garnered the support of Bismarck, they were soon perceived as a threat, once the bourgeoisie had its own ticket to success. As a commentator clarified in the art journal *Der Kunstwart,* "the Social Democratic workers are separated from the other citizens by a clearly perceivable gap. . . . They threaten the spiritual totality. . . . One would hardly think that we belong to the same age or even to the same race."[8]

German reform aesthetics with its newfound ideals of salvation through *visual* self-critique, centered on the principle that in order to live life to its fullest, one had to engage one's own times, one's modernity, and above all, one's contemporaneity. This type of *Lebensphilosophie* claimed that through the enhancement of the aesthetic capacities inherent in each of us, society could unify the disparate poles of industrialism and culture, and of modernity and tradition. In the broad context of the history of twentieth-century aesthetics this goal had just as many adherents in the United States as in Germany. John Dewey, for example, held great stock in the relationship between aesthetics and social reform. The process requires that "artist and perceiver alike begin with what may be called a total seizure, an inclusive qualitative whole not yet articulated, not distinguished into members."[9]

> In the aesthetic the attained vision with which the artist presents us releases energies which remain diffuse and inchoate, which raise the whole level of our existence, but do not find issue in any single or specific form. In the artistic the existing consummation is utilized to bring into existence further analogous perceptions.[10]

The moral-political purpose of this return to aesthetic wholesomeness finds its fruition, Dewey argued, in a democracy that needs to be "rounded out" through aesthetic experiences "into completeness and unity"; art enables us to understand "the object in its own qualities and relations," and serves "to remove prejudice, do away with the scales that keep the eye from seeing, tear away the veils due to wont and custom, perfect the power to perceive."[11] Dewey went on to warn against "theory" and false intellectualizations that would interfere with the process by which an I-Thou relationship of perceiver to art object leads to an ennobled I-society relationship.

Where does this process take place? And who controls the art works that make it happen?[12] As with all aspects of bourgeois culture, the production of meaning requires the obfuscation of the means to that end. The making of commercial advertisements, for example, is just as mysterious (to all except a privileged few) as the making of a successful artwork or a successful political campaign. But "participation" in this dynamic does not necessarily require a full "knowing," nor does it even need a "desire to know." It requires from its members only an urge to actualize themselves within the context of its promise of socialization. And "self-actualizing people," as defined, for example, by Abraham Maslow in *Motivation and Personality* (1954), "have a wonderful capacity to appreciate again and again freshly and naïvely, the basic goods of life, with awe, pleasure, wonder, and even ecstasy, however stale these experiences may have become to others."[13] These people thus preserve the flow of society's core aestheticness, the implication being, of course, that they will not become revolutionaries, street thugs, or communists. Art *as a participatory ethos* has the benevolent effect of breeding "understanding" and "awareness."

> Mature thinking is holistic and experiential. Mature thinking is sapiential, i.e., a thinking *which is not abstractive,* but a thinking which is characterized by wisdom, and wisdom is lived insight or *personal participation in the truth of revelation.*[14]

In England and the United States, the idea of societal salvation through art, combined with an active, personal *Lebensphilosophie* found perhaps its strongest champion in the figure of the eminent poet Herbert Read, author of such works as *Art and Society* (1937) and *Education Through Art* (1943). "The gifted child," he wrote, "should be liberated from the dark shadow of nineteenth-century authoritarian discipline; instead he should be guided toward awareness of his or her 'instincts,' as they are the source of the 'will-to-art.'"[15] Whereas in the old days, he argued, aesthetics revolved around accuracy and realism, it now must focus on a dynamic relationship to life.[16] The impact of Read's writings, which have received only slim scholarly interest, should not be underestimated. His works were read by thousands of undergraduate students over the past five decades; he even formed the *International Society for Education through Art* under the auspices of UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization), an agency charged with fighting for the cause of aesthetic awareness the world over. Hundreds of books appeared, such as Louise Dunn Yochim's *Building Human Relationships Through Art* (1954), which aimed to indoctrinate high school students with the principles of critical understanding toward modernism and expressionism (figure 7.1).

In America, there are limits to how far the socialization of aesthetic culture can go, especially since its inherent moral conservatism is matched by a permissive, skeptical sensualism. Those limits did not exist in Germany, where attempts to create the practice of a critical, populist aesthetic allied itself with fascist political ideology. In 1942, the Austrian philosopher Walter Del-Negro claimed that the conflicted relationship between the artist and the bourgeoisie was now finally resolved in the figure of Adolf Hitler, who, he argued was no "government bureaucrat," but a designed life (*Lebensgestalt*) emulating the creative energy of the universe. Like an artist, Hitler does not "plan action with premeditation." He is the "being-ness" of the German spirit, his life, actions, and thoughts constituting the unified whole of which we all are part.[17]

To investigate the complex history of this participatory aesthetic, one must harken back to a forgotten patriarch of the German enlightenment, Friedrich Schiller.[18] Schiller's works were not read widely in Germany until the turn of the century, when, in the context of the crisis of industrial modernity, they

Figure 7.1 "Art exhibits were usually arranged in conjunction with ballet and drama performances." (From Louise Dunn Yochim, *Building Human Relationships Through Art* (Chicago: L. M. Stein, 1954).)

were rediscovered by proponents of a reformed visual culture, and in particular by those interested in developing an aesthetic theory suitable to Germany's new identity in the world marketplace.[19]

Schiller's *Über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen* (On the Aesthetic Education of Man, 1957), defined an underlying faith in aesthetics as a humanizing agent. Rooted in lived experience, aesthetics was essential to the unity of moral and social happiness.[20] Aesthetics, it was argued, works to unite the sensual and intellectual realms, but it can do so only through a "culture of practice" as opposed to a "culture of theory."[21] Schiller's intention was to restore the hope for an ethical community in the overly rational, overly subjective individualism of modern society. What Schiller had in mind were the horrors of the French Revolution, which he claimed went sour because it was based on *theoretical* instead of practical concepts, and on political subjectivism rather than a common aesthetic-cultural activism. The French Revolution could therefore only produce "brutal force and animal behavior."[22] Schiller hoped that with the benefit of this hindsight, the Enlightenment would come to Germany in the form of a bloodless revolution. Aesthetics offered itself as a means of self-understanding through works of art, and thus became a weapon with which society could protect itself from the inhumanity that lurks within human beings.

Aesthetics, in the Schillerian sense, demanded participation by the whole population, not just from its most creative members. It was an ideal that, once programmed in bourgeois consciousness, can never be eradicated, as it helped, especially in the early years of the twentieth century, to articulate the upper-middle class's first cogent response to the threat of anarchy and socialist revolution. It served two purposes, for though it created the space in which some of the earliest modernists' works in architecture could be placed—and I think in particular of the designs of Peter Behrens and Walter Gropius—it was also a masking strategy by which the bourgeoisie could conceal its repressive and latent hegemonic tendencies behind the screen of 'successful' art. It can champion subjectivity as a reflection of its vital essence knowing full well that the true autonomous subject has been destroyed.

The problem is that this arrangement posits a concept of its own history that replicates the process by which political production defines itself as immune from its own deceptive practices. History is thus overdetermined and underdetermined, both finished and unfinished.[23] Western philosophy has always struggled with this paradox, usually, however, in an effort to rid itself of the unsettling ambiguity. René Descartes, David Hume, Immanuel Kant, and Rudolf Carnap all in one way or another thought that the epistemological problems history posed could be surmounted by reason, progress, or science. The secular world, according to them, could thus be liberated from the interpretative ambiguities of the metaphysical speculations associated with participatory history.

It was precisely this presumption, namely that history could be deproblematized by the rational description of the world, that was undermined by a bourgeois aesthetic that saw "history" as something that could be resolved *only* through the dynamics of aesthetic-political action, where, however, most of the real action, like most of the "real history," is left out of the equation.[24] Thus isolated, the history of aesthetic production could be written to appear as a revitalizing force favoring the avant-garde.

The process of guaranteeing that the history of modern art and architecture is conditioned by its *own* historicity has been reinforced in a variety of ways throughout the twentieth century, but none is perhaps as potent as the persistent stereotyping of the scholar, and the art historian in particular, as someone located outside the field of aesthetic relevancy. Participatory history therefore has enormous advantages over scholarly history as it developed in the twentieth century, for it guarantees that its best participants will constitute history long before historians have much of a say. Peter Eisenman, for example, *already* constitutes "history" and constructs his identity accordingly. And though he might deserve his place in history, the consequence for history writing is that artistic personality *must* be appropriated by a culture that has made it central to its understanding of the debate. The anti–art history topos is part of the game, for it makes a handy opponent in the battle for aesthetic life fighting the presumed negativities of abstraction.

Any history of modern art will have to encounter the long shadow of its unwanted presence. It was an intellectual demand dating to the very beginnings of modernism. Think, for example, of one of the founders of modern psychology, Theodor Lipps (1851–1914).[25] Though he was one of the most widely interdisciplinary scholars of his age, he demanded that artists stay away from books. "Any art that philosophizes is lost (*verloren ist jede Kunst die philosophiert*)."[26] Lipps, criticizing art history as a perversion of the art experience, influenced Heinrich Wölfflin, who, interpreting the study of art as a way to regain lost contact with meaning, was no fan of traditional art history either. Wölfflin condemned the numerous "book-corpses" (*Bücherleichen*) that line the shelves of libraries.[27] Experiencing art was more fundamental than studying it, or more correctly stated, experiencing art was *equivalent* with studying it. Though this is something that we *as scholars* might casually dismiss, we should recognize the attraction it still holds for some of the most important intellectuals of our age. Rudolf Arnheim, whose *Visual Thinking* (1969) and *New Essays on the Psychology of Art* (1986) were cult books in the campaign for aesthetic meaning, recently demanded that we "experience" art in order to cleanse our minds of literary and art historical notions of aesthetic understanding:[28]

> The examples offered here will suggest ways of approaching artistic experience by what can be *seen directly and spontaneously. Such seeing requires no scholarship*. . . . When the eyes of viewers come *to trust the immediacy of vision,* works of any style, medium or period will let their visitors in on what first looked like a secret.[29]

The origins of the idea that we should learn things first *without* art scholarship have once again to be sought in the decades of the late nineteenth century post-Enlightenment era, with its protest against discursive, philosophical, and academic abstractions. It came to be repeated ad infinitum by even the most academic of people as a sort of calling card of intellectual "authenticity." By the 1950s, in the flush of the post–World War II rise of the American middle class, authenticity in the fight against historical ploddings came to be received as a populist commonplace preached in undergraduate art appreciation courses and in art and architectural design studios.

> Art history can tend to foster misunderstanding and I think it is true to say that the academic study of art may have done more harm than good because it has made *an intellectual discipline* of what should be *an experience* of something precious. (Bruce Allsopp, *The Future of the Arts,* 1959)[30]

My purpose here is not to defend art history or to portray it as victimized by bourgeois participatory aesthetics. On the contrary, there are numerous points of contact between bourgeois historicism and art historical writings. The processes that make art "real" to our historical consciousness have become such a part of our discursive culture that we hardly take note it when we encounter it, even in "scholarly" literature. Artists are invariably portrayed as leaders, innovators, and "revolutionaries": in short, as people who have affected world history by being able to alter our visual perceptions. *Their* art has forced *us* to be more conscious of our continuing presence in history.

> [With Bramante's work] a decisive readjustment of the eye took place . . . [and a new] relation to visible forms . . . and conception of the world.[31]
>
> [Georgy Kepes demonstrated] just how the optical revolution—around 1910—formed our present-day conception of space and visual approach to reality.[32]
>
> The important things about these men [Mies van der Rohe, Walter Gropius, and Le Corbusier] was the development of a new aesthetic language.[33]
>
> Matta Clark anticipated by several years the total reversal in optics, which has since led painters to wonder again about the interplay between figure and its image, the object and its reproduction.[34]
>
> So revolutionary does Horta's breakthrough appear in retrospect that it is irritating that so little is known about his preceding development. . . . The Tassel House, a work of complete assurance, outstanding for its synthesis of architecture and decorative arts and its declaration of new formal principles.[35]
>
> Russian Constructivism posited an entirely new relationship between the artist, his work and society.[36]
>
> Between the end of 1906 and the spring of 1907, one work possibly more than any other created its own definition of avant-gardism. . . . It [Picasso's *Les Demoiselles*] was a threshold, a breakthrough, one of those works that makes looking, reading, or hearing different.[37]

At stake is more than just an "interpretation" of events in the arts. Sentences like these silently construct and fulfill the image of a self-revitalizing aesthetic domain by their assumption of normalcy, all of which plays into the legitimacy of an upper middle class that must continually define itself in terms of its capacity to instantly comprehend "new" revitalizations of aesthetic meaning—whether that be through critical writings like these, SoHo discoveries, or the making of a new Pepsi Generation.

I am not arguing that there is some sort of *other* history or that what we need are more "accurate" historical descriptions. I am attempting to foreground an irresolvable historiographic crisis that forces us to meditate on the fundamental antihistorical nature of our understanding of twentieth-century aesthetics. Any history of modern art will have to confront the problem if only because bourgeois historicism is designed to defy alternative historical recountings. My concern rests, therefore, with identifying the scale of the modernist aesthetic ethos. It is a history without a "discipline" adequate to its importance. It is in some sense a discipline in disguise. As part of its cunning is the claim of accessibility. Did not Ernst H. Gombrich write *Story of Art* (1950) for high-school children, Wilhelm Waetzoldt write *Du und die Kunst* (1938) for the "common man," and Arnheim write *To the Rescue of Art* (1992) for "first time museum goers"? These authors celebrate themselves as meta-intellectuals claiming to put their commitment to the nobility of their calling before that to academia. The philosopher Jerome Stolnitz recently added a new category: "percipients."

> The work of art is the touchstone. The external knowledge is, unless the *critic has radically confused his priorities,* merely hypothetical and ancillary. . . . It is by *scrupulous attention* to the work itself that *the percipient* can often and more *safely assimilate* those images or passages he at first finds puzzling. He will do so by *focused perception* of their *manifest properties* and by com-prehension of their relations to their neighbors and to the whole.[38]
>
> In establishing this attitude, the percipient *accepts and submits to the autonomy of the work,* which is now, and not as previously, the lawgiver. He enters *aesthetically* into its world which is now for him the *only world.* He does not balk at its beliefs, feelings, and values. They may be remote from those of his usual stable self, even at variance with his own, even diametrically opposed. The cognitive or moral judgments or the practical action, that would otherwise be precipitated are not permitted to appear, inhibited, as they are, by disinterestedness. . . . Only when the percipient apprehends the work disinterestedly can he contemplate it for its own sake alone. Only then [as Hannah Arendt said] can he "let it be as it is, in its appearance."[39]

The hypocrisy is obvious. Who, after all, are these "percipients?" Are they not part of that same bourgeois longing for a purified self? The essential problem, however, from the point of view of historiography is that the history of experience that is implied in this framework of discourse covers up issues relating to history of dissemination. The history of how aesthetic ideas filter through culture and of how they are produced, introduced, and manipulated—whether the venue be the fashion industry, schooling, politics, or exhibitions—is the history that participatory historiography must either ignore or conceal. Creativity has to be mistified as a permanent feature of art's history and yet presented as something spontaneous. Let us take a passage written for the architectural audience by the critic Charles Jencks:

> The Faculty Club for the University of California is both a straightforward use of vernacular elements and an esoteric game in art history. Thus the dining room of the club makes use of neon banners and stuffed animal heads to both accept and mock the traditional ideas of a baronial hall, while the references to Sir John Soanne, Theo van Doesburg, Spanish Colonial Architecture and the shack-style add a certain frisson for the architectural pundit.[40]

In attempting to describe the formal decisions that went into the making of a design, Jencks almost seems to presume that design happens in its own immediacy as a quasispontaneous "making use of" visual historical references.[41] It is not anything more difficult than choosing what to wear for afternoon tea. History is denied depth in its own self-realization! Unfortunately, "art theory" has played into the hand of this illusion, an illusion that constitutes modernity not through an evaluation of the art product but through the symbiotic and sycophantic relationship between a building and a discourse of "critical" self-reflection that protects it from other historical contingencies. And it is the complicity of the latter with modern art that is so difficult to unravel in determining what is the "object" of study when attempting to come to terms with twentieth-century modernism. Part of the problem lies in the popularization in the 1970s and 1980s of existentialism and phenomenology, which used the sheen of radicalness to conceal the ethos of an experiential mystique that was often conservative at heart. The rise of Martin Heidegger's popularity among art and architectural theorists certainly is an example of how a philosopher's writings came to legitimate perceptualist-based aesthetic consumerism.[42] Truth was achieved not by going to a library, not by laborious reading of books from antiquity to the present, not by skeptically questioning one's education, and not even by musing on one's intellectual inadequacies. No! Truth can be achieved by looking at a painting by Van Gogh.

> What is "at work" in a work of art? Van Gogh's painting is the opening up of that, what the instrument, the pair of shoes, in truth actually *is*. This being-ness "steps out of" the unconcealedness of its being.[43]

Like Plato, Heidegger is disturbed by illusion. But unlike Plato, who positioned the literate and presumably well-read philosopher-king far above poets and artists, Heidegger sees the unread and unschooled painter as a "philosopher" and, in reverse, academic philosophers as masters of dangerous illusions. In the American context of undergraduate "theory" courses, Heidegger made readers feel as if they could gain access to a happy paradise of "critical" meaningfulness without the struggles and alienations of arduous study. This is, of course, a fool's paradise.

The problem is that if the "unconcealedness of being" can be achieved by making a painting, and then reconstituted by *looking* at it (in a museum!),[44] then why write books about modern art if that is an enterprise far below the level of art's own immanent meaning?[45] Ironically, there are few philosophers who have bothered themselves with this problem. Irwin Edman (1896–1954) was, for example, a highly influential philosopher from Columbia University. He stressed a philosophy of life dedicated to the religious and political struggles associated with liberal democracy by means of an all-encompassing aesthetic.[46] The aesthetic experience was not a "perceptual thrill . . . or a vague impression" but "intelligence embodied . . . and from [its] intensity and order, one becomes able to decipher with a more clear and affectionate apprehension the world of confusions in which we live."[47] In the chapter "The Thing, the Eye and the Plastic Arts," he went on to point out that the aesthetic experience both contains and transcends the everyday.

> In the ordinary seeing we do during the day, we do not in any aesthetic sense use the eyes at all. We see as much of the objects, so to put it, as we need to get around with. . . . The first step toward plastic appreciation is to recover the *immediacy and innocence of the eye,* and to live for the moment of observation in what is visually there.[48]

This is all very nice. But where does it leave the history book, which is read, which is *not* art, and which *is not innocent* (as no reading is innocent)? As Edman expressed it with uncompromising—and I would say highly disturbing—clarity: "a book on aesthetics is justified not so much by leading readers on to further books on aesthetics, but rather by returning them to the arts, a return marked by sharpened and deepened appreciation."[49] What we want, according to Edman, is not "a disinterested, plodding inquiry into truth," but "the interested passion for beauty"; and that is the *highest* philosophical experience one can attain.[50] Art calls philosophy into being, while at the same time it obliterates its very purpose. A book is only useful if it does not lead us to more books, and this from a philosopher! Even a writer as difficult to read and understand as Hans Georg Gadamer has become a cult hero for bourgeois aesthetes ever eager to seek out those who play to their longings.[51]

> Of all the things that confront us in nature and history, it is the work of art that *speaks to us most directly.* It possesses a *mysterious intimacy* that grips our entire being,

> as if there were no distance at all and every encounter with it were an encounter with ourselves.[52]

And so we once again see art and its "language" in an implied competition with the plodding realities of history and "art history." If reading was slow and cumbersome, looking at art and admiring beautiful and in many instances not so beautiful *Lebensgestalten* was fast, efficient, powerful, and liberating. Why read history when one could be *in* it. From the point of view of the capitalist art market, interested in the sale and acquisition of art objects, playing on the inherent "visual sophistication" of its up scale clients, and needing an eternally young crop of artists, this argument made good sense. It is, therefore, they who will determine modernity through their choices and their experiences. The result has been a smear across the consciousness of the bourgeoisie in the facile but admittedly powerful stereotyping of scholars and historians, using the structure of "philosophy" to reinforce a shaky disguise.[53]

The problem of *writing* a history in which artists, bolstered and protected by some of the most eminent philosophers of the twentieth century, outfox the historian is only made more acute by the fact that artists, from the early days of the twentieth century, have in some sense anticipated the beauty of this circular relationship. Wassily Kandinsky, for example, was very conscious of the need to play the role of "an innocent" maker of philosophically potent insight. He even demanded that the "ideal art critic" should put his or her criticism aside.

> The ideal art critic should not criticize the artist in terms of "mistakes, misconceptions, errors," etc. etc., but should attempt to *feel* the interior realities of this or that form, and *translate* that experience for the public.[54]

In describing his own painting *Improvisation, No. 30,* Kandinsky flaunted his "successful" completion of a work of art that was specifically designed to be comprehensible to formalist analysis in which the roles of historian, critic, and "experiensor" merge in enlightened participation with the painting. And just in case a "critic" failed to recognize his intention, Kandinsky provided the important beginning point. He boldly constructs his own ideal spectator!

> The contents . . . are indeed what the spectator *lives* or *feels* while under the effect of the form and color combinations of the picture. This entire description is chiefly an analysis of the picture which I have painted rather subconsciously in a state of strong inner tension.[55]

Historians who do not follow Kandinsky's directives instantly locate themselves *outside* of the painting's historical mission, and thus are part of the problem, so to speak, and not part of the "solution." Artists to this day continue to manipulate the process, and usually with very little resistance. In fact, they are usually expected to manipulate their personality so as to remain consistently aloof from the historical other.[56] And there will always be critics who will rate art works as philosophical, usually those artists with some sort of "signature style"; the rest are placed on the trash heap of inauthenticity long before an alternative historical accounting can be constructed.[57]

There can, therefore, be no untortured history of modernist theory, for the ground has been so thoroughly contaminated that one *cannot* but lament the fact that critical historical erudition (which can only come through reading) and critical theoretical knowledge (which can supposedly come through creativity and its philosophical aesthetic essentialism) are so antagonistically constructed in modernist discourse as to be irrevocably separated. As a result of the complicity between modernity and its bourgeois collaborators, historians are left to walk a steep hill if they want to achieve a position in the very "history" they claim is so important. They are called upon not merely to report facts but to turn into artists themselves.[58] I would venture to say that Vincent Scully is an example of a historian who attempts to bridge the gap between "scholarship" and the participatory ethos. He makes no effort to expose the inevitable crisis of self.

> There the skyscrapers seem *to rush forward* to populate the tip of the island as it sails out to sea *each one clamoring to be seen* from afar, as if floating on the water. . . . Between them, far uptown, the city *breathes* its fresh green breath in Central Park.[59]

This is the specular double of bourgeois *Lebensphilosophie:* not only is the architecture "animated," thus satisfying our need that it be "meaningful," but the observer purposefully reveals himself to an ever-anxious readership that he too is an animated, living perceptionist uncontaminated by rationalist discourses and its self-doubts. This is no Mr. Data mulling over the infinite problems of existence in his mechanical brain, but a Deana Troy, an "empath," seeing into the spirit and soul of seemingly inanimate objects. I would assert that this type of participatory historical aestheticism can only be maintained by a bourgeoisie perpetually nervous about its creative essence and deeply uncertain about whether it can produce any art truly worthy of the great cultures of the past.[60] Yet, bourgeois society has become so enamored of this arrangement, and reinforces it through a whole network of theories and practices ranging from "empathy" to "visual training," "sensitivity training," and "humanist psychology," that even to question it becomes a sign of arrogance. It is a system that, despite its incredible accomplishment of making art and architecture accessible, and despite its aim to ground subjectivity in communicative reflection and social commitment, exploits that most popular tool of the bourgeoisie, shame. The conscientious historian is left to struggle to the point of mental exhaustion against all these complex maneuverings.

The obliteration of distinctions between artist and nonartist, the creation of powerful stereotypes about the role of artist and scholars, the appropriation of avant-gardist art in the capitalist system, and the complicity of intellectuals in the discourse of authenticity, not to mention the destruction of syntactical clarity about the purpose and limits of history, all make the role of art history as an academic enterprise enormously complex. Its subject is infinitely less recognizable than the twentieth-century discipline that claims to describe it. I believe that it is precisely for this reason, however, that the history of modern art and architectural theory, when pursued as an investigatory response to the cunning of modernity to perpetuate the myth of its vitality, will be one of the most significant philosophical and cultural problems of our future age. It is a domain that has been ignored, marginalized, simplified, and repressed by the overwhelming power of consumerist needs to overinvest itself in aesthetic matters. It thus remains as an enormous question mark looming over the process of modernist self-consciousness. As a consequence of the problem of how to figure forth certainty in a field of discourse that is constructed to remain unknown, the history of modern "art" is unwritten and even unwritable, so much so that one can assume that the "theories" that we use to describe its history are not the intellectualized form of creative living that we often think they are, but the most devious and sinister aspects of modernity, constructed with masked identities, rhetorical devices, psychological manipulations, and bricolaged textualizations. The problem is that any historical narration of these phenomenon would involve the exposure of so many redundancies, reformulations, overlappings, dislocations, and self-delusions—all fraught with its own reassertions of individuality, originality, and "relevancy"—that the results will not be recognizable as "history" in the traditional sense. The already-givenness of history in society's desperate drive for self-activation ensures a situation in which even those histories and aesthetic practices that are written as a resistance to the dominant bourgeois aesthetic will be either implicated in the process or made to appear irrelevant.

Notes

I would like to dedicate this essay to Professor Stanford Anderson. I came to M.I.T. in 1980 as a graduate student to study under him. At the time there were few intellectuals with as much mental acumen who had achieved advanced standing in architectural history and who were simultaneously committed to the furtherment of architectural studio education. Anderson's work on Peter Behrens was instrumental in shaping my interest in early German modernism.

1. By 'art' I mean everything from paintings to dinnerware, basically, anything filtered through the representations of marketing.

2. Paul Schultze-Naumburg, "Kulturarbeiten," *Der Kunstwart* 1 (1900) 20 (my translation). For a recent monograph, see Norbert Borrmann, *Paul Schultze-Naumburg, 1869–1949. Maler, Publizist, Architekt. Von Kulturreformer der Jahrhundertwende zum Kulturpolitiker im Dritten Reich* (Essen: R. Bacht, 1989). Schultze-Naumburg began his career as a painter, but became famous for a series of articles published in the journal *Der Kunstwart,* 1(1900), which were eventually published as a book entitled *Kulturarbeiten* where he proclaimed the struggle against the degeneration of the nation (*Entartung des Volkes*). Schultze-Naumburg became a noted teacher and occasionally designed a building or garden. He was extraordinarily conservative and welcomed the advent of Hitler.

3. See also Mark Jarzombek, "The *Kunstgewerbe,* the *Werkbund,* and the Aesthetics of Culture in the Wilhelmine Period," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 53, no. 7 (March 1994): 7–19. Other articles that are relevant to issues in this one are "Good-Life Modernism and Beyond: The American House in the 1950s and 1960s," *The Cornell Journal of Architecture,* 4 (fall 1990): 76–93; "The Crisis of Interdisciplinary Historiography," *Journal of Architectural Education,* 44, no. 3 (May 1991): 150–55; "Ready-made Traces in the Sand: The Sphinx, the Chimera and Other Discontents in the Practice of Theory," *Assemblage: A Critical Journal of Architecture and Design Culture,* 19 (Spring 1993): 73–95: "De-Scribing the Language of Looking: Wölfflin and the History of Aesthetic Experientialism," *Assemblage,* 23 (Summer 1994): 28–69.

4. The term "bourgeois critics" does not designate professional critics who speak for the bourgeoisie, but the range of "critical" discourses that involve the bourgeoisie at the broadest level. It is, of course, a false consciousness, in that it exploits the apparent openness of choice—as represented through the eternal present of visuality, fashion, and experience—to disguise the presence of the "unspeakable," namely the scale of underlying economic, financial, and commercial realities. Bourgeoisie, as I use the term, is not a negative expressing a tendency toward traditionalism or superficiality. There is nothing as bourgeois as the (alas disingenuous) critique of superficiality as a way to conceal anxieties about the upper middle class's uncertain role in world history.

5. Max Nordau, *Entartung* (Berlin: C. Duncker, 1892) Nordau was the son of a Rabbi. His book was enormously influential and translated into many languages.

6. Karl Ernst Osthaus, "Umgestaltung der Museen im Sinne der neuen Zeit," *Schriften zur Zeit und Geschichte,* 8 (1919): 83.

7. Henry van de Velde, "Kunst und Industrie," *Süddeutsche Monatshefte,* 7, no. 1 (1910): 88.

8. "Die völkische Bedeutung der sozialdemokratischen Ideale," *Kunstwart,* 27, no. 3 (1913): 199 f. Or, as Prince Bernhard von Bülow, chancellor from 1900 to 1909, explained:

> The Social Democratic Party has placed itself outside our national life. Whatever is achieved and accomplished in the State is of no interest to it, except in so far as it can serve to crush existing conditions, and in that manner clear the way for the realization of purely Socialist ideas. In the calendar *Vorwärts* publishes every year, Bismarck and Moltke, Blücher and Scharnhorst, Zeithen and Seidlitz are not mentioned, nor are Leipzig and Waterloo, . . . but [rather] a series of Russian Nihilists and Italian Anarchists. (Bernhard von Bülow, *Imperial Germany,* trans. Marie A. Lewenz (New York: Dodd, Mead Co, 1914), 223–4).

9. Quoted in Stephen Pepper, *Principles of Art Appreciation* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1949), 153.

10. John Dewey, "Experience, Nature and Art, in *Art and Education,* (Merion: Barnes Foundation Press, 1929), 28–29.

11. John Dewey, *Art as Experience* (New York: Capricorn, 1934), 41, 325. The attempt to use a philosophy of life to enhance political ideals (in this case, those of democracy) was attempted at the same time by Herman Nohl and others in Germany in the cause of a more conservative cultural aesthetics. See Herman Nohl, *Die Aesthetische Wirklichkeit* (Frankfurt am Main: Gerhard Schulte-Bulmke, 1935).

12. Dewey's involvement in the creation of the Barnes Foundation makes it clear that he was well aware of the social agenda behind a "philosophy of experience." For a general outline of Barnes's development, though hardly impartial, see Gilbert M. Cantor, *The Barnes Foundation, Reality and Myth* (Philadelphia: Chilton Books, 1963). Particularly important at the time was Albert C. Barnes, "Art Teaching that Obstructs Education," in *Art and Education* (Merion: Barnes Foundation Press, 1929), 214–16. Dewey dedicated his book *Art as Experience* to Barnes. Barnes had made his fortune in his early thirties through his role in developing a silver compound used in medicine. In 1910, aided by his friend William Glackens, he began to collect art and by the 1920s had amassed a remarkable collection of modern art. Barnes was an active proponent of racial equality, a supporter of the New Negro movement in the 1920s and an astute and appreciative student of Afro-American art and culture. He left custody of his collection to Lincoln University, a leading black college. For Barnes's biography see William Shack, *Art and Argyrol* (New York: Thomas Yoseloff, 1960), and Howard Greenfield, *The Devil and Dr. Barnes* (New York: Viking, 1987).

13. Abraham H. Maslow, *Motivation and Personality* (New York: Harper & Row, 1954), 215.

14. Bernard J. Boelen, *Personal Maturity, The Existential Dimension* (New York: Seabury Press, 1978), 180 (my emphasis). Boelen is expressing a type of Heideggerian-Bergsonian-Deweyism. Boelen taught at DePaul University. See also Hugh Downs, *Potential, The Way to Emotional Maturity* (New York: Doubleday, 1973).

15. Herbert Read, *Art and Society* (London: William Heinemann, 1937), 13.

16. As Robert Sommer, Professor of Psychiatry at Würzburg, phrased it in the 1890s, each of us should try to become a *lebendige Gestalt,* or "living form" (*Grundzüge einer Geschichte der deutschen Psychologie und Aesthetik von Wolff-Baumgarten bis Kant-Schiller* (Würzburg: Stahel'schen K. Hof- und Universitäts- Buch- und Kunsthandlung, 1892), 417–418.

17. Walter Del-Negro, *Die Philosophie der Gegenwart in Deutschland* (Leipzig: Felix Meiner, 1942), 84.

18. This term is a code word for upper-middle-class anxieties concerning the lower classes.

19. Robert Sommer placed Schiller at the threshold of modernity. *Grundzüge einer Geschichte der deutschen Psychologie und Aesthetik,* 411.

20. Friedrich Schiller, *On the Aesthetic Education of Man,* ed. Elizabeth M. Wilkinson and L. A. Willoughby (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 77.

21. Hermann Glaser, *The German Mind of the Nineteenth Century, a Literary and Historical Anthology* (New York: Continuum, 1981), 82–83.

22. Friedrich Schiller, op. cit.

23. It finds it parallels in those academic circles where students are all too eager to "know" who the latest theorists are. I remember a time when everyone read Gaston Bachelard. Few students in the arts now even know the name. This is not to critique intellectual fashion, but rather to criticize historians of the time period who failed to include the *popularization* of Bachelard in their analyses.

24. Bourgeois culture, I argue, works on the interchangeability of subject and object, knowledge and power, past and present. In that sense, bourgeois culture is both modern and postmodern. To fall into the trap of distinguishing "modernism" from "postmodernism" is to unwittingly legitimate an aesthetic culture that demands that critics discuss its anguished art production as if it had historical relevance.

25. Lipps founded the Psychological Institute at Munich in 1896. He taught there as successor to Carl Stumpf from 1894 to 1911. Theodor Lipps also wrote, among other works: *Raumaesthetik und geometrisch-optische Täuschung* (Leipzig: J. A. Barth, 1897), and *Von der Form der ästhetischen Apperception* (Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1902). For a brief discussion and bibliography, see Niels W. Bokhove and Karl Schumann, "Bibliography der Schriften von Theodor Lipps," *Zeitschrift für philosophische Forschung,* 45, no. 1 (1991): 112–30. For a good discussion of Lipps and other theorists of the so-called "expression theory" see Robert Kirchhoff, *Allgemeine Ausdruckslehre, Prinzipien und Probleme der allgemeinen Ausdruckstheorie* (Göttingen: C. J. Hogrefe, 1957).

26. Quoted, for example, by Herman Nohl in *Stil und Weltanschauung* (Jena: Eugen Diederichs, 1920), 4. Lipps is of course not attacking philosophy, but rather false intellectualization.

27. Theodor Hetzer, "Heinrich Wölfflin zum 80. Geburtstag," *Forschung und Fortschritte,* 20, nos. 16–18 (June 1944): 142. I can't help but think of Nazi book burnings. Hetzer, who taught at the University of Leipzig, is another forgotten art historian. He authored several important works, including *Das deutsche Element in der italienischen Malerei des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1929). Some of his shorter pieces have been assembled in *Schriften Theodor Hetzers,* ed. Gertrude Berthold (Mittenwald: Urachhaus, 1981). His politics are difficult to assess, but the fact that he published *Forschungen und Fortschritte* in 1944 is not without certain significance.

28. Arnheim, born in Berlin, began his studies at the Psychological Institute of the University of Berlin. He left Germany in 1933, worked in Rome for 6 years as editor for an institute of the League of Nations dedicated to educational film, and finally emigrated to the United States in 1940. He taught at Sarah Lawrence College and then at the New School for Social Research in New York City. In 1968, he moved to Harvard University and established its Department of Visual and Environmental Studies, an ambitious attempt to embed the teaching of studio art in a broad social, psychological, and historical context. When Arnheim retired, he moved to Ann Arbor, where he became a visiting professor at the University of Michigan.

29. Ibid., 62 (my emphasis).

30. Bruce Allsopp, *The Future of the Arts* (London: Sir Issac Pitman, 1959), 83–84. Allsopp graduated from the Liverpool School of Architecture in 1933. After the war, he went to the University of Durham as lecturer in architecture, becoming senior lecturer in 1955 and director in 1965. He was chairman of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain from 1961 to 1965, and is the author of three historical novels and numerous books on architectural history and aesthetics.

31. Heinrich Wölfflin, *Principles of Art History,* trans. M. D. Hottinger (New York: Dover, 1950), 18.

32. Sigfried Giedion, "Art Means Reality," in Gyrorgy Kepes, *Language of Vision* (Chicago: Paul Theobald, 1944), 7.

33. Peter Blake, *The Master Builders* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1960), 16.

34. Alain Jouffroy, "The Paris International Avant-Garde," trans. Norbert Guterman, *The New Art Around the World* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1966), 63.

35. William Curtis, *Modern Architecture since 1900* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1982), 22.

36. Christian Lodder, *Russian Constructivism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 1.

37. Frederick R. Karl, *Modern and Modernism, the Sovereignity of the Artist 1885–1925* (New York: Atheneum, 1988), 268.

38. Jerome Stolnitz, "The Actualities of Non-Aesthetic Experience," in *Possibility of the Aesthetic Experience* (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff, 1983), 39–40.

39. J. Stolnitz, ibid., 35, 39–40. Though his use of the "percipient" is intended to suggest a type of viewing that is beyond standard scholarly designation, it suffers from the abstractions implied in its anonymity.

40. Charles Jencks, *Modern Movements in Architecture* (Garden City: Anchor, 1973), 223.

41. It is unfortunate how many people still write about architecture under the illusion that design is some sort of autonomous creative process, and that economic, political, beaurocratic, and legal valences are merely "technical" issues.

42. I am not trying to say that there is real philosophy and that there is popularized philosophy. All philosophy as it applies to the arts is in essence "popularized" because it all fits into social longings for aesthetic knowledge. This does not diminish its importance. On the contrary, it helps give art a "value" and thus helps commodify it for an audience that knows only how to assess even intellectual ideas through the veil of commerce, that is, what is "up-to-date." My complaint here is not that these works should not be read and studied, but is purely historiographic. The history of modernist art theory cannot restrict itself to the history of modern theories of art. That forms an uncritical cycle of mutual support.

43. Martin Heidegger, *Vorträge und Aufsätze* (Pfullingen: G. Neske, 1954), 32. For an excellent discussion of Heidegger's aesthetics see Erich von Rothacker, *Gedanken über Heidegger* (Bonn: Bouvier, 1973).

44. The discussion assumes that the painting is some sort of common property, and that the problem of reproduction does not endanger the desire for "unconcealedness." Certainly, if the painting were seen in flesh and blood, so to speak, the museum context would be no less artificial.

45. Derrida tried harder than most to rid Heidegger's destruction of metaphysics of its residual ontotheological transfiguration of Truth and Being. Derrida was convinced that the privileging of speech over writing legitimated the illusion that language was a transparent medium of Being in which subject and object coincide. Writing by way of contrast is detached from its original context and lacks a concrete situation that guarantees unequivocal identity between meaning and objective reference. Derrida's "grammatology" aims to reverse the priority of speech over writing as a model of language. What I am attempting is to position the privileging of speech within bourgeois consciousness—thus its emphasis on "experience" or on the continuous cycle of now-histories—that represses connections to textuality.

46. Irwin Edman, "A Philosophy of Experience as a Philosophy of Art," in *Essays in Honor of John Dewey* (New York: Henry Holt, 1929), 122–132. Edman, who received his doctorate from Columbia University in 1920, remained associated with the university for most of his

academic life, eventually becoming chairman of the department of philosophy. Edman was a spokesman for the liberal tradition of William James and John Dewey. Occupied less with abstruse theory than with bringing the pleasures of philosophy and the arts to the layman, Edman published widely in newspapers and magazines. Many of his humorous poems appeared in the *New Yorker.* He also hosted the radio program *Invitation to Learning,* and was an important advocate for raising the level of philosophical and aesthetic understanding of Americans. Some of his primary works are *Poems* (1925), *The Contemporary and His Soul* (1931), *Fountainheads of Freedom* (1941), and *Under Whatever Sky* (1951). Edman felt strongly about the need to internalize one's thoughts. Reflecting on the digest magazine called *Quick,* for example, he proposed that one be created called S-L-O-W, in which the articles would be read, marked, and inwardly digested. "We would be able to taste rather than gulp." Edman's influence can be felt in the works of a number of other writers, one being Richard Guggenheimer's *Sight and Insight, A Prediction of New Perceptions in Art* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1945).

47. Ibid., 127–128. "By Empathy, or *Einfühlung,*" he went on to explain, "is meant that tendency of the body to experience in its own tensions and incipient movements what it perceives in external objects. . . . We feel ourselves poised in movement and in rest with the discus thrower, and our muscles grow tight with the tensions of some of the figures, tortured and muscular, of Michelangelo (*Arts and the Man* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1928), 93).

48. Irwin Edman, *Arts and the Man,* 87–88. The chapter titles are: "Art and Experience"; "Art and Civilization"; "The World, the Word, and the Poet"; "The Thing, The Eye, and the Plastic Arts"; "Sounds, the Ears, and the Musician"; "Art and Philosophy."

49. Ibid., quoted from dust jacket.

50. Ibid., 152–53.

51. Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method* (New York: Crossroads, 1984), 119.

52. Ibid.

53. Once again, I am protesting against the prevalent practice to exploit the discourse of philosophy toward an obfuscation of the intellectual problems associated with the arts. Since I myself have taught courses called "theory" I am certainly complicit in the confusion. But that does not mean that I am not nervous about the implications and consequences.

54. Quoted in Paul Westheim, *Die Welt als Vorstellung* (Berlin: Gustav Kiepenheuer, 1919), 9.

55. Quoted in David M. Robb, *The Harper History of Painting: The Occidental Tradition* (New York: Harper, 1951), 819.

56. Artists today often have to establish a "signature" style to gain access to the capitalist art market. Pierre Bourdieu makes the following observation.

> Never too has the irreducibility of the work of cultural production to the artist's own labor appeared so clearly. The primary reason is that the new defition of the artist and of artistic work brings the artist's work closer to that of the "intellectual" and makes it more dependent than ever on "intellectual" commentators. . . . Accompanied by historians writing the chronicles of their discoveries, by philosophers who comment on their "acts" and who interpret and over-interpret their works, artists can constantly invent the distinguishing strategies on which their artistic survival depends, only by putting into their practice the practical mastery of the objective truth of their practice, thanks to the combination of knowingness and naïveté, calculation and innocence, faith and bad faith that is required by *mandarin games,* cultivated games and the inherent culture, whose common feature is that they identify "creation" with the introduction of *deviations [écarts],* which only the initiated can perceive, with respect to forms and formulae that are known to all. (*The Field of Cultural Production Essays on Art and Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 109).

Bourdieu interprets the intellectualization process as a consequence of the increased complexity of art's historicity, moving in that sense from modernism to postmodernism. My point is slightly different. The intellectualization process I am charting is a *cover* for an inherently antiintellectualist strain in art psychological discourses, so constructed that any criticism directed toward it can easily be made to appear unadvanced, antiintellectual or "traditional." In other words, what is at stake in the ongoing history of now-ness and artistic revolution is *not* a "commentary on commentary"—that is the illusion—but part of a struggle of dislocation that continually opens the space in which the "self" can pretend to actualize its own expressions.

57. I would argue that a history of modernity has to more fully problematize the subtle bourgeois processes of *Entartung.* The recent revival of realism has, for example, revealed how repressive the aesthetic community had become during the height of abstractionism. At a larger scale, *Entartung* takes place in ways that rarely gain much press. In one museum I know well, 80 percent of the collection is not on display because the works are now deemed "unsuccessful." I am not arguing that every painting produced should be in a museum, only that we have to meditate on the reality that aesthetic conceptions of great significance are produced in this way, and yet the processes are difficult to historicize.

58. Or they have to leave history and become "critics."

59. Vincent Scully, *Architecture: The Natural and the Man-made* (New York: St. Martin's, 1991), 2.

60. Bourgeois attacks on "theory" or on the purely intellectual are, one could argue, a type of Pavlovian response conditioned by the energy it once required to displace the aristocracy.

8

THE HISTORY OF LOUIS HAUTECOEUR: CLASSICAL ARCHITECTURE AND VICHY POLITICS

Hilary Ballon

If the master writers on French architecture—Jacques-François Blondel, Quatremère de Quincy, Viollet-le-Duc—had a twentieth-century heir, it was probably Louis Hautecoeur (1884–1973), author of the nine-volume *Histoire de l'Architecture classique en France,* which was published between 1943 and 1957.[1] The comparison will surely seem odd at first. Hautecoeur was not engaged with the contemporary practice of architecture as were his illustrious forebears, and whereas their writings stand as major contributions to architectural theory, Hautecoeur is regarded as an encyclopedist who amassed a pile of data. But the perception of Hautecoeur as a neutral fact-finder is wrong and misconstrues the nature of his history, which was highly partisan. I hope to show that Hautecoeur offers a systematic and theorized view of the past that is closely linked to his conservative politics. Like Blondel and Quatremère before him, Hautecoeur used history to champion classicist values and a return to cultural order in his own times.

The significance of Hautecoeur's enterprise only emerges when set against the backdrop of modern French history. He wrote the *Histoire* over a period of twenty years which encompassed the turmoil of the 1930s, the Nazi occupation of France, and the liberation. During that time, Hautecoeur played a leading role in the public culture of his country, as museum director and exhibition organizer in the 1930s and as Minister of Fine Arts in the Vichy regime. In addition to this direct engagement with politics, Hautecoeur's writings on culture, past and present, had political implications of which he was well aware. Yet his politics and his activities during the occupation were forgotten after the war in a paradigmatic example of what Henry Rousso has called the "Vichy syndrome." The selective lapses of memory about the Vichy years, which enabled France to reunite after the liberation, also enabled Hautecoeur to recast himself as an apolitical scholar and disavow the ideological agenda of his writings.[2]

The reception of the *Histoire* is itself a symptom of the Vichy syndrome. Ever since tome I appeared fifty-odd years ago, the series has existed in a critical vacuum. While the publication of each volume was greeted with polite praise for the author's erudition and comprehensive coverage of the subject, reviewers ignored the basic premises and intellectual framework of the series. This response was partially driven by Hautecoeur's dry prose and his chosen genre, the multivolume encyclopedic survey, which invites selective reading. But these academic qualities do not so much conceal Hautecoeur's viewpoint as set the polemical passages in sharper relief. Certainly the distinguished French art historians who reviewed the *Histoire* could not have missed Hautecoeur's provocative thesis. For that reason, the uncritical, even gingerly response to the *Histoire* seems connected to the collective wish in postwar France to bury the troubling memories of Vichy, with which Hautecoeur was entangled. To wrestle with Hautecoeur's ideas opens the door to his leadership in Pétain's National Revolution, his collaboration with the Nazis, and his anti-Semitism, issues further complicated by Hautecoeur's reemergence after the war as a prominent academician. It is telling in this regard that the only critics who addressed Hautecoeur's thesis (and who, by the way, dared fault the *Histoire*) were foreigners: Fiske Kimball, Peter Collins, and the anonymous reviewer in the *Times Literary Supplement.*[3]

The *Histoire* quickly acquired the status of an impartial reference work and has preserved it ever since. Whatever values, biases, or narrative techniques structure Hautecoeur's text, they have been overlooked in favor of an information-driven reading. Even Hanno-Walter Kruft, a writer alert to the theoretical implications of historical literature, mentioned no such dimension to Hautecoeur's monumental history, though he cites it frequently as a source of information in his *History of Architectural Theory from Vitruvius to the Present* (1985).

If *Histoire de l'Architecture classique en France* has enduring value, it is not, I would argue, as a reference work. The organization of the volumes makes them difficult to use, and the information is by now mostly outdated. Hautecoeur's nine-volume epic is far more interesting when considered as a work of architectural theory and cultural criticism. This chapter is an initial attempt to excavate the theoretical and political dimensions of the *Histoire* and to reconnect the two sides of Hautecoeur: the Vichy official and the architectural historian. The chapter has three objectives: first, to place the *Histoire* and its publishing history in the context of Hautecoeur's career; second, to highlight the architectural theory embedded in the work; and third, to relate Hautecoeur's scholarship to his political convictions. In addition to his published writings, I have drawn on an untapped archival source: the personal papers which Hautecoeur bequeathed to the Bibliothèque de l'Institut upon his death in 1973.[4]

Biography

In terms of productivity alone, Hautecoeur belongs in a class with Blondel and his prolific compeers. Fueled by an immense capacity for work, Hautecoeur's output was prodigious, even if hundreds of short notices and introductory essays are removed from his bibliography.[5] He produced catalogs of Spanish, Italian, and French paintings and wrote substantial books on Greuze, David, the architecture of the Louvre, and the symbolism of circle and dome, to mention a few. With the exception of a few surprising subjects—Egyptian mosques and early twentieth-century Italian politics to wit—Hautecoeur's writings concentrate on the classical tradition, with the *Histoire* ranking as his magnum opus.

That epic work had a long gestation. After graduating from the École Normale in 1908, Hautecoeur pursued his education at the French School in Rome (1908–10) and at the French Institute in Saint Petersburg (1911–13). In those foreign cities, his lifelong interest in the classical tradition yielded its earliest fruits in two separate theses, one on neoclassical painting, the other on neoclassical architecture in Saint Petersburg.[6] Hautecoeur began to work on French architecture upon returning to Paris in 1913, but the project was interrupted by the war and not resumed until the 1920s.

By that time Hautecoeur had become an important figure in the French museum world and a recognized scholar. He was giving courses on the French Renaissance at the École du Louvre when Auguste Picard expressed interest in publishing his work-in-progress on the history of postmedieval French architecture. A contract was signed on 4 July 1928 for a work of four or, at most, five volumes, the first volume due "about 1932," the others at eighteen-month intervals.[7] In 1932 Picard informed the author that publication could not proceed due to the difficult conditions in France, but whether a manuscript was even finished at that point remains unclear.[8] Hautecoeur was greatly expanding the series—the projected four or five volumes eventually became nine—and the manuscript of the first four volumes (tomes I–II) was completed in 1939.[9]

Circumstances were even worse at that time. In a letter dated 14 January 1941, Picard informed Hautecoeur that publication of tome I had to be delayed for many reasons. The foreign readership, which accounted for half the sales, had disappeared; the French clientele was half what it was, and their means were limited. Moreover, it was difficult to move things into the Free Zone.[10]

Yet 3 months later, in April 1941, Picard reported that the manuscript was in the printer's hands. There were difficulties obtaining suitable paper, but publication was moving ahead.[11] Since adverse economic conditions persisted, Picard's turnaround points to a political consideration: his author happened to be in charge of cultural affairs in the Vichy government, and it behooved a publisher who wished to survive the National Revolution to appease him.

The first two volumes of the *Histoire* (tome I, parts 1 and 2) appeared in 1943, while Hautecoeur was in office. The earliest review was by Lucien Rebatet, an Action Française journalist and raging anti-Semite who commended Hautecoeur's emphasis on "the national character of our art."[12] As Rebatet understood, the *Histoire,* with its celebration of Frenchness, upheld a basic tenet of Pétain's National Revolution.

Hautecoeur had joined Pétain's government after a long and steady rise in the French cultural bureaucracy. At the end of his studies, he became, in effect, a part-time art historian and full-time administrator. To touch on the high points of that institutional career, he was Director General of Fine Arts in Egypt from 1927 to 1930; oversaw the renovation of the Musée du Luxembourg where he was posted from 1930 to 1937 as chief curator; then, despite a fundamental antipathy toward modern art, served as founding director of the National Museum of Modern Art from 1937 to 1940.[13] In July 1940, Pétain appointed Hautecoeur to head the fine arts division of the Ministry of Education and Youth, which was at the forefront of the Vichy propaganda campaign. As Secretary General of Fine Arts, a post he held during all but the last 4 months of the occupation, Hautecoeur was responsible for the preservation and creation of art in France. He commissioned and bought art for the state, supervised public art schools and cultural programs, and controlled the artistic patrimony of France—all museums, historic monuments, and public art.[14]

Hautecoeur was fired in March 1944. Pierre Laval seems to have engineered the dismissal, and Hautecoeur, who had been a loyal Pétainiste, was replaced by Laval's ally Georges Hilaire. Initially Hautecoeur was bitter about his demise and complained when Hilaire took credit for his accomplishments.[15] But after the liberation, Hautecoeur recast his dismissal as a badge of honor. He circulated the story that Goering had called for his ouster "for persistent refusal to collaborate" ("pour refus permanent de collaboration"), but there is no hard evidence that Hautecoeur acted to obstruct Nazi policies.[16] At least Hautecoeur was unable to present any exculpatory evidence when he faced charges of collaboration in December 1944.

In his memoirs of the occupation, which were published in 1948, Hautecoeur portrayed himself as a rebel-on-the-inside, secretly despising the Nazis with whom he was obliged to work and acting only to preserve the French patrimony. With regard to his Vichy service, he declared, "politics were of no concern to me."[17] Yet the self-serving memoirs only demonstrate Hautecoeur's basic compliance with Nazi policies. Upon learning that the Germans intended to seize private Jewish art collections, he tried only once to raise the subject with the German ambassador, Otto Abetz. Abetz cut him off, and by Hautecoeur's own admission, he never raised the subject again.[18] Surely it fell squarely within his ministerial purview to protect the art collections of the Rothschilds, the Reinachs, the David-Weills, the Wildensteins, and other Jewish families, if only because, as another Vichy official noted, "the Jewish collections make up a considerable part of the artistic patrimony of France."[19] Moreover, more than the artistic patrimony was at stake. As Michael Marrus and Robert Paxton have argued, "the pillage of Jewish art was an unpleasant reminder of how aryanization could become an entering wedge for German seizure of the commanding heights of French industry and finance."[20] Michèle Cone has also documented other ways in which Hautecoeur advanced the agenda of the Nazi occupiers: he never tapped his acquisitions budget to aid refugee artists, and he abetted the Nazi campaign to melt down French public sculptures so the metal could be used by Germany.[21]

Such matters were not, however, considered at the postwar inquest. The charges against Hautecoeur were trivial. They concerned his failure to stop the Nazis from seizing Jan Van Eyck's Ghent altarpiece, and trips he purportedly took to Germany.[22] After a year and a half, in April 1946, the charges against Hautecoeur were dropped, whereupon, with his pension restored in full, he retired.

After the war, Hautecoeur's mainstay was the *Histoire,* absorbing his energies when he was unemployed and an outcast from the bureaucracy, which was his natural milieu. From 1946 to 1949, Hautecoeur went into voluntary exile in Geneva, where he had largely honorary posts at the university and museum. The last five volumes of the *Histoire,* which were published in the 1950s, were finished during these years; the final volume is dated 25 August 1949.[23] In the closing lines, Hautecoeur virtually conflated his own troubles with those of France. "To this task [the *Histoire*], I have devoted a lifetime which is coming to an end," he wrote, prematurely anticipating the end of his career (he lived another twenty-four years). "May this work not be unworthy of the contribution [of the classical architects]; may it bring about admiration for an architecture once disdained though dominant for four centuries, in a country which, despite invasions, crises, [and] political shifts, has not ceased to build and to rebuild."[24]

It was Hautecoeur's conviction that in order to rebuild, France had to rededicate herself to the core values of the classical tradition—to harmony, balance, and reason. They were the touchstones of a genuinely French culture. In 1952, shortly after Hautecoeur returned to France, he was appointed to the Institut de France and presided as permanent secretary of the Academy of Fine Arts from 1955 until his retirement in 1964, a fitting post for one so committed to the academic ideal.[25]

Theory

The title of *Histoire de l'Architecture classique en France* (History of Classical Architecture in France) encapsulates Hautecoeur's primary concept. The nine volumes cover no less than four hundred years, from approximately 1500 to 1900, and unlike most other general works on French architecture, they address the provinces almost as much as Paris, bourgeois architecture as much as that at court. The working title, *L'Architecture en France de Henri IV à nos jours* (Architecture in France from Henri IV to the Present), gave a clearer sense of the study's range, which is one of its great strengths.[26] Nonetheless, Hautecoeur found it fitting to subsume this great architectural diversity under the heading of classical architecture.

In his parlance, "classical" refers to the all-pervasive spirit or conceptual framework of the age. "Classicism is not only a form of art but a conception of being which transforms states, nations, literature, [and] ways of feeling, believing, [and] thinking."[27] The classical epoch—following the Egyptian, Greek, and Gothic epochs—emerged circa 1500, reached an apogee in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and slowly expired in the nineteenth century; the official date of its death is 1900. This life cycle provides the basic narrative structure of the *Histoire*. Writing after the death of classicism, Hautecoeur situated himself in an incoherent period of transition. At times he is hopeful that the values of classicism will reemerge to rescue France from aesthetic and moral confusion; more often his tone is mournful and nostalgic as he describes the gradual evisceration of the classical spirit. Hautecoeur's faith in classicism has three aspects which will be discussed in turn: a concept of normative beauty; an idea of classicism as the French national style; and an anxiety over foreign influences.

Although Hautecoeur posits classicism as a mentality which transcends style, he clearly has a stylistic model in mind, as the following passage demonstrates.

> The desire for moderation; the rule of nothing to excess; the reserve in expression; the will to submit ornament to form, form to composition, composition to a mathematical arrangement more or less rational; the concern to subordinate parts to the whole: all of these qualities which will become manifest after 1635 in the

> works of a Corneille, a François Mansart, a Levau, these qualities are already the foundation, soon to be brought to perfection, of the classical spirit.[28]

While the classical architecture of the mid-seventeenth century embodies the "classical spirit," Hautecoeur's touchstone is neither of the leading architects mentioned above, François Mansart or Louis Le Vau, but rather François Blondel, first director of the Royal Academy of Architecture. This peculiar preference goes far to reveal Hautecoeur's ideal of normative beauty.

He regarded beauty as the faithful companion of logic and truth. As such, it owes nothing to the frenzy of individual creativity that afflicts the modern world. Beauty arises from a rational thought process, the results of which will inevitably reflect a broad social consensus. Hautecoeur's paradigm is the Royal Academy of Architecture during its first decades when, under the leadership of François Blondel, the academicians subordinated their individual expression to collective norms and engaged in a process of rationally defining aesthetic value.

> They don't think about being original; they don't seek to astonish and contrive new effects as do Baroque artists whose excess and individualism they condemn. The role of the artist is to bestow the finest proportions on recognized forms. The vocabulary of the architect is as restrained as that of writers; it behooves them less to invent than to arrange. . . . [29]

In this passage Hautecoeur echoes Poussin's famous definition of invention. "Novelty in painting does not consist above all in choosing a subject that has never been seen before," Poussin wrote, "but upon a good and novel arrangement and expression, thanks to which the subject, though in itself ordinary and worn, becomes new and singular."[30] Yet Hautecoeur's complaint about "excess and individualism" departs from the seventeenth-century language of art and points to his critique of modern life, which we will turn to in the closing section.

Hautecoeur traces the roots of his normative aesthetics to the reality of construction, which he regards as an essential source of individual restraint. The enterprise of building, by compelling architects to attend to such practical matters as structure, climate, function, and decorum, serves to contain artistic whimsy and to reinforce social conventions. Basically Hautecoeur disapproves of design as an end in and of itself, which is what he means by "theory." For instance, he dislikes the ideal projects of Ledoux and Boullée, because they are unbuildable, and hence irrational. In a curious but revealing passage, Hautecoeur contrasts the judicious measure of artistic freedom exercised by Blondel with the undisciplined freedom that reigned in the Royal Academy a century later.

> Certainly old François Blondel had extolled imitation of the ancients, but like Philibert de l'Orme, he had preserved his freedom of judgment, because he was an architect and he demanded respect of decorum. After 1750 most theoreticians are not practitioners . . . , and their doctrines are all the more supercilious because they are more general and more removed from reality.[31]

What is odd here is not the opposition between practice and theory, but rather the role assigned to Blondel.

Hautecoeur affectionately mentions "old Blondel" in the introduction and conclusion of nearly every volume, the companion epithet underscoring the distance between our age and his.[32] Hautecoeur applauds Blondel for fusing theory and practice despite the fact that he rarely practiced architecture. As far as building design is concerned, Blondel's experience was limited to two executed works of architecture—a stable and a triumphal arch. True, he also inspected fortifications and supervised engineering projects, but Blondel's historical importance unquestionably stems from his theoretical writings. He is a poor example to make Hautecoeur's point about the unity of theory and practice; however, Blondel's heroic role in the *Histoire* underscores the author's academic and normative bias.

After all, what Blondel teaches us about beauty does not pertain to the physical form of architecture, to its sensuous and experiential qualities. Evidently these aspects of architecture were irrelevant to Hautecoeur; they go unmentioned in the *Histoire,* which is one of its great inadequacies. Blondel's lesson concerns a method of reasoning which, in Hautecoeur's view, necessarily produces a single truth or conception of beauty.

> Just as there cannot be two mathematical truths, there could not exist two beauties. Truth is everywhere and always the truth; logic could not depend on conditions of time and place. The Beauty of yesterday will be the Beauty of today. . . . Intellectual and aesthetic values are universal and eternal because they emanate from reason and are not the passing whim of opinion, of fashion, of sensibility.[33]

In paraphrasing Blondel, Hautecoeur reveals his own view of beauty as absolute and linked to the immutable nature of man. Abandoning any sense of historical objectivity, Hautecoeur takes Blondel's side in the debate with Charles Perrault over arbitrary beauty. "The position of Blondel was clearly more solid," he commented, "when the Academy, acknowledging his principles, founded its aesthetic on the enduring basis of man, on an understanding of proportion based on human nature and consequently identical among the ancients and the moderns . . ."[34] Forms of art will change, but the idea of beauty, already equated with the classical spirit, is unchanging.

Hautecoeur embraced a contradiction which he failed to see. If beauty is absolute and human nature universal, how then can he account for the sovereign, specifically French form of beauty which he consecrates? There is no answer to this question because it goes unasked. To Hautecoeur the idea of Frenchness is not a historical problem; it is a matter of faith and of moral conviction, hence he asserts, as if it were a self-evident truth, that the values of classicism are indigenous to France and constitute her national style. This premise is clearly stated at the beginning of the *Histoire:* over the *longue durée* "France remains faithful to the ideal of logic, clarity, and subtlety."[35] Then each volume tells a similar story. Two opposing styles confront one another. Usually one is native to France; the other tends to be a foreign import, as for instance in the early sixteenth century when French medieval traditions encountered Italian Renaissance forms, or in the seventeenth century when French classicism (here the term refers to a style) encountered Flemish and Italian strains of the Baroque. When opposing styles commingle, French values survive and conquer: "in France [architecture] retains the innate taste for logical and solid construction, the science of materials, [and] respect for forms imposed by the climate and for programs dictated by needs."[36]

The emphasis on structure links Hautecoeur with Viollet-le-Duc, a thinker whom he frequently attacked. Hautecoeur believed that two forces killed the classical spirit in the nineteenth century: one was eclecticism, the other was the structural rationalism of Viollet-le-Duc. Nevertheless, the *Histoire* betrays a great debt to Viollet, evident above all in Hautecoeur's analytic method by which he dismembers buildings and describes their individual parts. There are sections on different types of plans and vaults and facades, on windows, galleries, porches, and every other imaginable component, but never a description of a building as a whole. Noting this relationship between Viollet and Hautecoeur, Peter Collins in a review of 1952 observed, "*L'Histoire de l'Architecture classique en France* is in fact a most important contribution to the theory of architecture. French awareness of the structural basis of style has always been characteristic of their classical architecture."[37]

Hautecoeur's preoccupation with national style goes hand in hand with the way he underplays, and sometimes flatly denies, foreign influences on French architecture. For the most part he constructs an essentially autonomous, self-referential history of French architecture. Through this filter he fails to see, for example, that Bernini had any impact in France. If Le Vau's design for Versailles bears similarities to Bernini's Louvre design, it is accidental; earlier French precedents account for the Bernini-like features.[38] Hautecoeur outlines native genealogies for most buildings of note, refusing to acknowledge the importance of foreign architectural currents within France. Thus he writes in tome

IV that the classical revival in mid-eighteenth-century France, which he admired, was an indigenous movement and owed nothing to England, whereas the Rococo style, which he disliked, was imported from abroad.

Fiske Kimball took the opposite view in *The Creation of the Rococo* (1943), which stressed the French origins of the Rococo. Given this clash, it is not surprising that Kimball was attuned to Hautecoeur's xenophobia. "Hautecoeur tends to consider anything contrary to his normative aesthetic as an aberration, for instance the excesses of the Baroque and the Rococo," Kimball wrote in *The Art Bulletin*. "He likes to think of such aberrations as foreign, even where this gives to other nations the credit (in his view, the discredit) of artistic creation. On the other hand, where he approves a movement, a chauvinism, perhaps unconscious, seeks to vindicate its French origin."[39] Kimball was too generous on this last point. Hautecoeur was not unconscious of his chauvinism; in fact, he celebrated the idea of a purified French culture in his more overtly political writings, to which we now turn.

Politics

What most undermines Hautecoeur's image of intellectual restraint and propriety are his own writings—the journalism and other essays on the contemporary cultural scene. Written from the 1920s through the Vichy era, these texts vent xenophobic and anti-Semitic prejudices which, alas, were not unusual at the time. In their cultural histories of Vichy, Cone and Bertrand Dorléac used these topical writings to demonstrate that as fine arts minister, Hautecoeur was not the apolitical bureaucrat he claimed to be. I would like to use these writings to clarify the ideological foundation of Hautecoeur's scholarship.

Hautecoeur belongs to the intellectual tradition of right-wing French conservatism, and more specifically, that of the Action Française. I have found no evidence that Hautecoeur was a member of the Action Française, as were fellow art historians Louis Dimier and Pierre d'Espezel. Yet Hautecoeur sympathized with the basic tenets of the Maurrassian doctrine, as Eugen Weber defined them: right-wing nationalism, respect for order and tradition, faith in the orderly processes of reason, and anti-Semitism.[40] It should also be noted that Charles Maurras came to politics from the sphere of cultural criticism, and he regarded the classicists of the seventeenth century as the acme of French culture. "If our France remains strong, it is because she was put together by classical architects."[41] These words, written by Maurras in 1896, also capture the faith of Hautecoeur, who extended the Maurrasian perspective to the discipline of art history.

Hautecoeur regarded the root problem of the age as "modern individualism," which he blamed for the social disorder, moral decline, and aesthetic disharmony in France.[42] By linking together these spheres—the social, moral, and artistic—he heightened the importance of aesthetic reform and allowed the possibility that it might initiate broader social changes. Exhorting the art world to "recognize the need for order at the same time as respect for the laws particular to each art," Hautecoeur sounded a common theme of the interwar period when the "call to order," *le rappel à l'ordre,* unified artists and critics of divergent politics.[43] In Hautecoeur's case, the rhetoric masked, among other things, a devotion to the academic ideal and a fierce antimodernism. While painters such as Robert Delaunay and Fernand Léger rethought their modernist practices and developed what Kenneth Silver termed a new classicism, Hautecoeur fashioned an art history for that moment. It celebrated the golden age of French classicism, the age of Louis XIV, when moral unity and social order prevailed, and when "all the arts obeyed a common discipline." Hautecoeur located in the past an image of the future he awaited.[44]

In the *Histoire*'s pages, Hautecoeur projected his anxieties about individualism and anarchy onto François Blondel, his alter ego. "Blondel, like many of his Catholic and royalist contemporaries," Hautecoeur wrote,

> sensed the danger of opposing theories, which not only authorized the individual licence of artists and the libertinage of Italian and certain French architects, but which risked compromising the universality of religion and the principles of State. . . . They believed in the necessity of a general rule and of a teachable doctrine.[45]

Is it not odd to qualify Blondel as royalist? Perrault was no less royalist, or for that matter less Catholic, than Blondel, and the crown lent support to both camps in the Blondel-Perrault dispute. The aesthetic debates in the 1670s by no means challenged the authority of the monarchy, yet Hautecoeur inflated the risk of social disorder because he read the past in terms of his own times.

If Hautecoeur exemplifies certain conservative trends in the art world of the interwar period, it is also true he stood apart by virtue of his power to shape the public culture of his country. As curator and government official, Hautecoeur's initiatives fell into two categories. First, he tried to recast the official groups of artists and architects in the image of the royal academies, a task he made central to his term as fine arts minister and described in detail in the memoirs.[46] It involved a battery of colorless administrative reforms, which say much about Hautecoeur's bureaucratic orientation. His goals were to grant professional groups more authority in regulating professional conduct and setting aesthetic standards; to shift the emphasis in art education from theory to technique; and to redefine the procedures for training, licensing, and evaluating artists. In short, he sought the restoration of something akin to academic rule.

Second, Hautecoeur promoted a new form of public art with "uplifting" subject matter, clear meaning, and popular appeal. The display of decorative sculpture at the 1937 International Exposition was a showcase of Hautecoeur's cultural concerns. He featured large-scale works, mostly decorative reliefs for buildings, which engaged the public realm both by virtue of their size and their content. The sculptures illustrated the importance of family, labor, agricultural productivity, religion, and of course, patriotism—conservative values which previewed the cultural agenda of the National Revolution.[47]

One of the artists featured in Hautecoeur's exhibit of 1937 was Arno Breker, who was soon to become Hitler's sculptor. During the war Breker was a cultural celebrity in France, and the Vichy government honored him in a one-man retrospective exhibit at the Orangerie in 1942.[48] Some critics looked beyond Breker to Hitler's Germany, which they praised for bringing artists into an enviable productive partnership with the state. This view was not consigned to Nazi publications; it made its way, for example, into the elite pages of *Beaux Arts,* a magazine reconstituted from the aryanized ashes of the *Gazette des Beaux Arts,* which ceased publication in France in 1939 because its director, George Wildenstein, was Jewish.[49] The editorial committee of *Beaux Arts* included such noted scholars as Jean Babelon and Pierre du Colombier, yet the magazine printed the Nazi drivel of Bernard Poissonnier. After touring Germany with a small group of French artists in 1941, Poissonnier described the Nazis in glowing terms and, naturally, wrote a rave review of the Breker exhibition.[50]

Hautecoeur may not have shared these pro-Nazi sentiments as he later claimed, but the sad fact is that his celebration of a pure French art reinforced the ethos of aryanism.[51] In fact, Hautecoeur, on more than one occasion, made outright anti-Semitic statements. In the 1920s he was alarmed by the sudden rise of Jewish artists in Paris, men such as Chagall and Soutine, who formed the so-called school of Paris. Those Eastern European painters, he wrote in transparent code, have "an eye for publicity which our compatriots don't possess. They even take advantage of their foreign accent to attract attention."[52]

His anti-Semitism became more explicit during the war. The following remarks were published in 1943 to accompany an exhibition of recent French Painting:

> However it is oriented, French painting has always shown a preference for moderation, order, and also nature. For the past 20 years, the Parisian salons and maga-

> zines might have given the wrong impression because the French were mingled with many foreigners, often Jews from Russia, Lithuania, Poland, and the Balkans who, eager to be noticed or subject to ancestral forces, practiced an art very different from our own.[53]

This passage reprises the anti-Semitic art criticism between the wars that pitted the school of Paris, comprised of foreign Jews, against the French school, which supposedly formed a continuous chain from Poussin to Dérain, Dunoyer de Segonzac, and Vlaminck. But by 1943 when Hautecoeur published these remarks, conditions had changed: Jewish artists could no longer exhibit in Paris, and the government Hautecoeur served in a leadership capacity was rounding up Jews and sending them to death camps.

Admittedly, Hautecoeur made relatively few anti-Semitic statements, at least in print, yet they cannot be dismissed as insignificant acts of personal opportunism. His case is entirely different from that of Le Corbusier and Mies van der Rohe who briefly flirted with, respectively, Vichy and the Nazis in order to obtain architectural commissions; they did so to advance their careers without subscribing to the basic tenets and policies of those governments.[54] Hautecoeur, on the other hand, was fully committed to the cultural orientation of Pétain's National Revolution. He had helped to shape it during the formative, interwar period, then enacted Vichy policies as a minister in Pétain's government.

To conclude, *Histoire de l'Architecture classique en France* belongs to the project of national redefinition during the turmoil of the 1930s and 1940s in France. The right-wing hankering for an authoritarian, pure, and harmonious culture, Hautecoeur translated into a learned vision of a classical past. Beneath its dry prose, the *Histoire* seethes with the anxieties that ultimately produced the Vichy regime. Seen in this light, the *Histoire* is a more troubling work than we have previously acknowledged, but also a more interesting one. It is a commonplace to say that historians write without objectivity; they view the past through lenses shaped by their society and by their personal beliefs. Hautecoeur's case is a reminder of how easily we can overlook that commonplace, naturalize ideology, and cling to the illusion of benign erudition.

Notes

I am grateful for this opportunity to pay tribute to Stanford Anderson, whose scholarship has enriched the study of architectural theory and whose teaching, analytic precision, and brilliant intellect I was fortunate to experience firsthand as a graduate student. Lessons that

I learned about historical method and architectural theory in his proseminar have stayed with me. I hope he will hear them echo in this historiographic inquiry.

My thanks to Michèle Cone, Sarah McPhee, and Carol Willis for their astute remarks on an earlier version of this chapter, and to Martha Pollak for her invitation to contribute to this book.

1. The nine volumes were organized in seven tomes, with tomes I and II each published in two parts. A revised and enlarged edition of tome I was published in four volumes between 1963 and 1967. Hereafter I omit the title of *Histoire de l'Architecture classique en France* in the notes and give the title of the relevant tome.

2. Henry Rousso, *The Vichy Syndrome. History and Memory in France Since 1944* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1991; originally published in Paris: 1987). For the standard view of Hautecoeur, see the obituaries and other biographical articles, most of which barely mention his Vichy service: *Le Monde,* 21 November 1973, 14; *Revue de l'Art* 22 (1973): 98; *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* December 1973, 39; *Bulletin de la Classe des Beaux-Arts, Bruxelles, 5th series,* 56 (1974): 1–2, 22–26; *Association Amicale des anciens élèves de l'École Normale supérieure* (1975): 34–37; E. Hubert, *Dictionnaire de Biographie française,* vol. 17 (Paris: 1989), 746–47.

3. Peter Collins's comments in the *RIBA Journal,* 60, no. 2 (December 1952), 67, were favorable, but the anonymous piece in the *Times Literary Supplement,* 22 July 1949, and especially Fiske Kimball's review in the *Art Bulletin,* 35 (March 1953): 75, were critical. These criticisms so annoyed Hautecoeur that, on the final page of the *Histoire,* he reminded his readers that French historians had uniformly admired his work, even if two English-language writers had not; see tome VII, 488, n. 1.

4. The papers and correspondence of Louis Hautecoeur are catalogued as MS. 6861–7017. Two sets of papers remain sealed until 23 November 2023, the fiftieth anniversary of Hautecoeur's death; they are memoirs, entitled *Nékuia. Mes morts* (MS. 6965–66), and *Correspondence* (MSS. 6968–97). The other dossiers include many letters as well.

5. For a bibliography of Hautecoeur's writings up to 1964, 10 years before his death, see Marguerite Milliez Hautecoeur, "Bibliographie des travaux de Monsieur Louis Hautecoeur," *Annexe, Procès-Verbaux de la Commission du Vieux Paris,* 6 July 1964. A typewritten supplement at the Bibliothèque de l'Institut (N.S. 9828, suppl.) covers the period 1964–71. The tally of writings up to 1964 reportedly comes to 67 books, 534 articles, and 905 book reviews.

6. Hautecoeur, *Rome et la renaissance de l'antiquité à la fin du XVIIIe siècle,* Bibliothèques des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 105 (Paris: 1912); and Hautecoeur, *L'Architecture classique à Saint-Pétersburg à la fin du XVIIIe siècle* Bibliothèque de l'Institut français de Petrograd, vol. 2, (Paris: 1912).

7. Bibliothèque de l'Institut Ms. 6927, no. 7.

8. Picard wrote Hautecoeur on 24 October 1932: "Depuis le moment où nous avons parlé de ce projet, il est survenu pas mal d'évenements importants et peu agréables, et précisement à cause des circonstances actuelles, il serait necéssaire que nous nous entretenions de nos projets concus à une époque infiniment différente de celle que nous traversons en ce moment" (Bibliothèque de l'Institut MSS. 6927, no. 10).

9. See tome II, *Le Règne de Louis XIV,* part 1, author's note (Paris: 1948).

10. Bibliothèque de l'Institut MS. 6927, no. 16. On the fate of the publishing industry during the occupation, see Pascal Fouché, *L'Edition française sous l'Occupation, 1940–1944,* 2 vols. (Paris: 1987), which does not mention Auguste Picard's small firm.

11. Bibliothèque de l'Institut MSS. 6927, no. 18.

12. The review, which is among Hautecoeur's papers (Bibliothèque de l'Institut MS. 6927, no. 352), does not indicate the source of the newspaper clipping. On Lucien Rebatet, who served for a time as Charles Maurras's private secretary, see his own book, *Les Dècombres* (Paris: 1942), Eugen Weber, *Action Française. Royalism and Reaction in Twentieth-Century France* (Stanford, Calif.: 1962), 199–200, 505–10; and Michael Marrus and Robert Paxton, *Vichy France and the Jews* (New York: 1981), 42–44.

13. On Hautecoeur's dislike of modern art see, for example, his hostile remarks about cubism in *Considérations sur l'art d'aujourdhui* (Paris: 1929), 57–58.

14. His appointment as acting director general of fine arts on 21 July 1940 became permanent 3 days later, on 24 July. The letters of appointment are in Bibliothèque de l'Institut MS. 6888, nos. 3–4. On Hautecoeur's work for the Vichy government, there are three essential works: Michèle Cone, *Artists under Vichy. A Case of Prejudice and Persecution* (Princeton, N.J.: 1992); Laurence Bertrand Dorléac, *Histoire de l'art: Paris 1940–1944. Ordre national, traditions, et modernités* (Paris: 1986); and Hautecoeur's memoirs, *Les Beaux-Arts en France, passé et avenir* (Paris: 1948). For a general discussion of the art world in occupied Paris, see Sarah Wilson, "Collaboration in the Fine Arts, 1940–1944," in *Collaboration in France: Politics and Culture in the Nazi Occupation, 1940–1944,* eds. Gerhard Hirschfeld and Patrick Marsh (Oxford: 1989), 103–25, which has references to her earlier articles on the subject. To the best of my knowledge, Hautecoeur commissioned no works of architecture during his years as minister. On the architectural profession during the occupation, see Danièle Voldman, "Etude de cas: les architectes," in *Le Régime de Vichy et les français,* eds. Jean-Pierre Azéma and François Bedarida (Paris: 1992), 613–20.

15. For Hautecoeur's attack on Hilaire, see his letter dated 7 August 1944 in *Les Beaux-Arts en France,* 328–30.

16. On his ouster, see *Les Beaux-Arts en France,* 327. As far as I can determine, Hautecoeur's

version of events remains uncorroborated, though it became accepted fact and was repeated in numerous obituaries.

17. The full passage reads as follows: "La question politique ne se posait [pas] pour moi. Le Ministre me faisait l'honneur de me confier des fonctions administratives qui n'avaient aucun caractère politique: protéger les oeuvres d'art, les monuments, rouvrit les théatres, les écoles. Avais-je le droit de réfuser par calcul personnel?" Hautecoeur, *Les Beaux-Arts en France,* 20–21.

18. On the encounter with Abetz, see Hautecoeur, *Les Beaux-Arts en France,* 279; there is a slightly more detailed account in the preparatory notes for the memoirs in Bibliothèque de l'Institut MSS. 6890, nos. 32–51.

19. The comment by Education Minister Jérome Carcopino is cited by Marrus and Paxton, *Vichy France and the Jews,* 103.

20. Ibid.

21. Cone, *Artists Under Vichy,* xviii, 71, 108, 162. On the sculpture purges of 1941 and 1942, see also Michèle Cone, "Art and Politics in France During the German Occupation, 1940–1944," Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1988; and Yvon Bizardel, "Les Statues parisiennes fondues sous l'Occupation (1940–1944), *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* 83 (March 1974): 129–48. In *Les Beaux-Arts en France,* 315, Hautecoeur essentially denied any part in the sculpture purges, which he claimed not to remember clearly. On the other hand, in papers at the Bibliothèque de l'Institut (MSS. 6890), he justifies the destruction of statues which, in his view, had little artistic value.

22. The Secretariat of Fine Arts was a division of the Ministry of Education, hence the latter directed the inquest, officially called the "Conseil d'enquête chargé par le Ministre de l'Education nationale d'examiner les cas des fonctionnaires de l'administration des Beaux Arts." On the Ghent altarpiece, see Lynn Nicholas, *The Rape of Europa. The Fate of Europe's Treasures in the Third Reich and the Second World War* (New York: 1994), 143–45, and Hautecoeur's account of the episode in *Les Beaux-Arts en France,* 303–11. With regard to his travels, Hautecoeur said he had only traveled to Vienna, where he even claims to have made his anti-Nazi opinions known. The Bibliothèque de l'Institut has extensive notes pertaining to his defense (see MSS. 6888); they are the basis of his memoirs, *Les Beaux-Arts en France.*

23. Among the reviewers, only the Renaissance art historian Pierre du Colombier, writing in *Ecrits de Paris* (January 1950), mentioned the overlap between Hautecoeur's Vichy service and the *Histoire,* but solely for the purpose of honoring the author's productivity.

24. "A cette tâche nous avons consacré une vie qui s'achève. Puisse ce travail n'être pas trop indigne de leur oeuvre, puisse-t-il faire aimer une architecture jadis dédaignée, qui regna durant quatre siécles, un pays qui malgré les invasions, les crises, les fluctuations de sa poli-

tique, n'a cessé de construire et de reconstruire." Tome VII, *La fin de l'Architecture classique, 1848–1900* (Paris: 1957), 488.

25. See Rousso's comments on the Vichy syndrome in the Académie Française, *The Vichy Syndrome,* 64–68. Hautecoeur's success at the Académie des Beaux Arts is a comparable case.

26. The working title is recorded in the publishing contract, Bibliothèque de l'Institut MSS. 6927, no. 7.

27. "Le classicisme n'est pas seulement une forme d'art mais une conception de l'existence qui transforma les états, les nations, les littératures, les manières de sentir, de croire, de penser." Tome VII, *La fin de l'Architecture classique, 1848–1900,* 473.

28. "Ce désir d'être sobre, cette règle du 'rien de trop,' cette retenue dans l'expression, cette volonté de soumettre le décor aux formes, les formes à la composition, la composition à une ordonnance mathématique ou tout au moins rationnelle, le souci de subordonner les parties à l'ensemble, toutes ces qualités qui vont se manifester après 1635 dans les oeuvres d'un Corneille, d'un François Mansart, d'un Levau, ce sont déjà les caractères, bientôt portés à leur perfection, de l'esprit classique." Tome I, *La Formation de l'Idéal classique,* pt. 2, *L'Architecture sous Henri IV et Louis XIII* (Paris: 1943), 839.

29. "Ils ne songent pas à être originaux; ils ne cherchent pas, comme les baroques dont ils condamnent les exces et l'individualisme, à étonner, à trouver des effets inédits. Le rôle de l'artiste est de donner à des formes connues les proportions les meilleures. Le vocabulaire de l'architecte est aussi restreint que celui des écrivains; il leur importe moins d'inventer que d'ordonner. . . ." Tome II, *Le Règne de Louis XIV,* pt. 2 (Paris: 1948), 871. The final illustration is a section through the king's bedchamber at Versailles to underscore the idea of political, aesthetic, and moral unity.

30. Anthony Blunt, *Nicolas Poussin,* vol. 1 (Princeton, N.J.: 1967), 365.

31. "Certes, le vieux François Blondel avait préconisé l'imitation des anciens, mais il avait, comme Philibert de l'Orme, conservé sa liberté de jugement, parce qu'il était architecte et qu'il exigeait le respect des convenances. Après 1750 la plupart des théoriciens ne sont pas des practiciens . . . , et leurs doctrines sont d'autant plus impérieuses qu'elles sont plus générales et plus eloignées des réalités." Tome IV, *Seconde moitié du XVIIIè siècle. Le style Louis XVI 1750–1792* (Paris: 1952), 530. For another concise statement of this viewpoint, see tome II, pt. 1, 491.

32. See, for instance, the references to "le vieux Blondel" in tomes iv, 58; v, vii and 395; and vii, viii.

33. "Pas plus qu'il ne peut y avoir deux verités mathématiques, il ne saurait exister deux beautés. Le vrai est partout et toujours le vrai; la logique ne saurait dépendre des conditions de temps et de lieu. La Beauté d'hier et de là sera la Beauté d'aujourd'hui et d'ici. Les valeurs intellectuelles et esthétiques sont universelles et éternelles, parce qu'elles émanent

de la raison et ne sont pas les fruits saisonniers de l'opinion, de la mode, de la sensibilité." Tome VII, *La fin de L'Architecture classique 1848–1900* (Paris: 1957), 477.

34. "La position de Blondel était singulièrement plus solide, lorsque admettant ses principes, l'Académie fondait son esthétique sur le fonds permanent de l'homme, sur le sens d'une proportion née de notre propre nature, identique, par conséquent, chez les anciens et chez les modernes, et tenait pour transitoire la décoration." Tome II, *Le Règne de Louis XIV,* pt. 1 (Paris: 1948), 490.

35. "La France reste fidele à un idéal de logique, de clarté, de finesse." Tome I, pt. 1, viii.

36. " . . . conserve le gout inné chez nous de la construction logique, solide, la science des matériaux, le respect des formes imposées par le climat, des programmes dictés par les necessités." Tome I, pt. 1, x–xi.

37. Peter Collins, review of *Histoire de l'Architecture classique en France,* Vol. 4, *RIBA Journal,* 60, no. 2 (December 1952): 67.

38. Tome II, *Le Règne de Louis XIV,* pt. 1 (Paris: 1948), 282.

39. *Art Bulletin,* 35/1 (March 1953), 75. The review has a devastating opening: "It is ungracious to say that everything is there except the essential: study of the works of art as such, and of artistic creation." Kimball has little to say in his review of tome VI, *Art Bulletin,* 36, no. 1 (March 1954).

40. Weber, *Action Française,* 26.

41. This passage from "Prologue d'un Essai sur la critique" is cited by Kenneth Silver in *Esprit de Corps. The Art of the Parisian Avant Garde and the First World War, 1914–1925* (Princeton, N.J.: 1989), 207. On the aesthetic origins of Maurras's thought, see Weber, *Action Française,* 9–12.

42. The following passage is typical: "Pourquoi, dès lors, notre architecture ne se transforme-t-elle pas progressivement comme elle se modifia au XVIe ou au XVIIIe siècles? Faut-il accuser l'individualisme moderne? Sans doute." *Considérations sur l'art d'aujourd'hui* (Paris: 1929), 11. Three of the book's four chapters first appeared in *Revue de Paris* in 1927.

43. Hautecoeur's statement is from *Considérations sur l'art d'aujourd'hui,* 127. On the artistic call to order, see Kenneth Silver, *Esprit de Corps. The Art of the Parisian Avant-Garde and the First World War, 1914–1925.*

44. "Les grandes époques [furent] celles où tous les arts ont obéi à une discipline commune, sans que fut interdit le jeu des imaginations individuelles." *Considérations sur l'art d'aujourd'hui,* 127.

45. "Blondel, comme beaucoup de ses contemporains catholiques et monarchistes, sentait tout le danger des théories adverses, qui n'autorisaient pas seulement les licences individuel-

les des artistes, le libertinage des architectes italiens et de certains français, mais qui risquaient de compromettre l'universalité de la religion et les principes de l'Etat. . . . Ils croyaient à la nécessité d'un règle générale, d'une doctrine enseignée." Tome II, *Le Règne de Louis XIV,* pt. 1 (Paris: 1948), 491.

46. On Hautecoeur's administrative reforms during the occupation, see Hautecoeur, *Les Beaux-Arts en France,* chaps. 3–10; and Pierre Imbourg, "Les grandes reformes to M. Hautecoeur," *Beaux Arts,* 26 December 1940.

47. On the sculpture display at the 1937 exhibition, for which Hautecoeur was one of the principal organizers, see his catalog, *Exposition Internationale de 1937. Sculpture decorative* (Paris: 1937); Eric Michaud, "Art, propagande, publicité autour de Paris—1937," in *L'Art face à la crise 1929–1939,* Université de Saint-Etienne, proc. 26, Centre Interdisciplinaire d'Etude et de Recherches sur l'Expression Contemporaine, 1980, 75–92; and Mady Menier, "A propos de la sculpture dans la section française de l'exposition de 1937, quelques éléments de recherche," in idem., 93–109. Another example of Hautecoeur's support for uplifting art is the book he wrote on paintings of family life, where he attributed renewed interest in the subject to "les idées sociales qui vont transformer l'Europe": *Les Peintres de la vie familiale. Evolution d'un thème* (Paris: 1945) 151. Hautecoeur was less interested in another key aspect of the Vichy cultural project—the revival of artisanal production; see Christian Faure, *Le Projet culturel de Vichy. Folklore et révolution nationale 1940–1944* (Lyon: 1989).

48. On the Breker exhibition, see Cone, *Artists Under Vichy,* 162–64 (note the photograph of Hautecoeur with Breker at the opening in May 1942); and Wilson, "Collaboration in the Fine Arts," 118–21. Cone chillingly reminds us that soon after this demonstration of Franco-German cultural cooperation, on 16–17 November 1942, the Gestapo rounded up 20,000 Parisian Jews who were sent to their deaths at Auschwitz.

49. Publication of the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* resumed in October 1942 in New York City as an English-language magazine, still under the direction of George Wildenstein. His departure from France was timely; Jews were shortly thereafter banned from working in the French press. Several remaining members of the editorial committee regrouped and put together *Beaux Arts.* Hautecoeur joined the Comité de Patronage of the new magazine at the start of 1942. In a letter of 24 December 1941, Hautecoeur instructed the editor-in-chief Pierre d'Espezel, himself a member of Action Française, that any changes in the personnel or organization of the magazine had to be approved by the Secrétariat Général des Beaux Arts (Bibliothèque de l'Institut, MSS. 6888, no. 83).

50. Bernard Poissonnier, "Le Voyage des peintres et sculpteurs français en Allemagne," *Beaux Arts,* 28 November 1941; the review of the Breker exhibition is in the issue dated 20 May 1942.

51. According to some reports (Bertrand Dorléac, 315), Hautecoeur disliked the Germans, an antipathy growing out of his experience during World War I. Hautecoeur's success in

reconciling his dislike of Germany with his enthusiasm for the pro-German Vichy regime was characteristic of the right wing in France.

52. "un sens de la publicité que ne possèdent pas nos compatriotes. Ils profitent meme de leur accent pour se faire remarquer." *Considérations sur l'art d'aujourd'hui,* 72. The text casts other aspersions on foreign artists: see 71–72. For a full discussion of these painters, see Romy Golan, "The École vs. the École de Paris: The Debate About the Status of Jewish Artists in Paris Between the Wars," in *The Circle of Montparnasse: Jewish Artists in Paris 1905–1945,* eds. Kenneth Silver and Romy Golan (New York: 1985) 80–87. Hautecoeur's diatribe should be added to the body of anti-Semitic writings discussed by Golan, for instance, Camille Mauclair, *Les Météques contre l'art français* (Paris: 1930).

53. "En fait, quelles que soient ses tendances, la peinture française a toujours montré le gout de la modération, de l'ordonnace, et même de la nature. Pendant vingt années, les salons parisiens et les revues ont pu faire illusion, parce qu'aux français se mêlaient de nombreux étrangers, souvent israelites, venus de Russie, de Lithuanie, de Pologne, des Balkans, qui desireux d'être remarqués ou soumis à des influences ancestrales, pratiquaient un art fort différent du nôtre.

[The passage then continues on the theme of national style.] Cette école de Paris, qui subit d'ailleurs fortement l'influence de nos maîtres et dont il ne s'agit de contester ni l'intérêt historique ni même la valeur n'était pas, en tout cas, une école française. Nous avons, il y a dix ans, en pleine crise, essayé de le montrer par une experience: dans une exposition organisée par nous à Bruxelles, nous n'avons présenté que des peintres français et l'on s'apercut alors que malgré les différences d'age, de temperament, d'education, de tendances, tous possédaient des caractères communs." Louis Hautecoeur, "Prefacio," in Museo Nacional de Arte Moderno, *Exposicion de Artistas franceses contemporaneos. Exposicion organizada por la Asociacion francesca de accion artistica bajo el Patrocinio del Estado francés y con la cooperacion del Museum Nacional de Arte Moderno de Madrid* (Madrid: 1943), n.p. The text was printed in Spanish translation; I have quoted Hautecoeur's original French text which is among his papers at the Bibliotheque de l'Institut, MS. 6910, nos. 303–304. The exhibit, which took place in Madrid in 1943, was sponsored by the Vichy government and organized by the Association française de l'Action artistique, a right-wing group. For an assessment of Hautecoeur's anti-Semitism, see Cone, *Artists Under Vichy,* 82.

In the short-lived pro-German arts magazine *Atalante,* editor René Borelly conveyed a similar vision of a new socially minded art. His language is more inflammatory than Hautecoeur's, but in substance there is little difference. "L'art français contemporain," Borelly wrote, "a encore de puissantes et saines racines et que, debarrassé de la lèpre qu le rongeait, il rerouvera, par une nouvelle poussée de sève, son prestige universel"; see Borelly, "L'Art au Service de la Revolution nationale," *Atalante,* 1 (December 1941): 3. Borelly was associated with the Institut d'Etudes des Questions Juives in whose offices *Atalante* was based. See the memo to Hautecoeur regarding this group, Bibliothèque de l'Institut, MSS 6888, nos. 55–56.

54. On these episodes in the careers of Le Corbusier and Mies van der Rohe, see Robert

Fishman, *Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century: Ebenezer Howard, Frank Lloyd Wright, and Le Corbusier* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1977), 243–52; Mary Macleod, "Le Corbusier from Regional Syndicalism to Vichy," Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1985; Franz Schulze, *Mies van der Rohe. A Critical Biography* (Chicago: 1985), 185–88, 195–204; Elaine Hochman, *Architects of Furtune. Mies van der Rohe and the Third Reich* (New York: 1990). The case of Philip Johnson is different because his romance with the Nazis was rooted in conviction, however superficial his convictions may be judged; see Franz Schulze, *Philip Johnson. Life and Work* (New York: 1994) 132–46; Michael Sorkin, "Where was Philip?," in *Exquisite Corpse. Writings on Buildings* (New York: 1991), 307–11.

9

BETWEEN FORMALISM AND DECONSTRUCTION: HANS GEORG GADAMER'S HERMENEUTICS AND THE AESTHETICS OF RECEPTION

Danilo Udovicki-Selb

It is hardly necessary to argue today that, like other human artifacts, the architectural object is a complex structure that is situated, in its origin and its intention, in the world of human relationships. It is equally evident that, more persuasively than art itself, architecture testifies to the fact that the life of forms is part and parcel of what Heidegger called "the life-world" (*Lebenswelt*), the multitextured continuum within which individual life, the historical forms of social life, and the life of the given products of culture all find their place in mutual determination. This proposition, if true, demands of course, that architecture be viewed not as an interplay of space and volume alone, but as a structural whole that conjoins diverse elements: individual imagination, formal aesthetics, and the peculiar historical "grid" giving the architectural work its specific physiognomy.

I would argue in this chapter the relevance of Hans Georg Gadamer's philosophical hermeneutics and Hans Robert Jauss' aesthetics of reception for a critical approach to the history of architecture. While doing so, I ground both theories in what I suggest is their common epistemological origin: the work of the Russian formalists.

Gadamer's *Truth and Method*[1] and his various essays gathered in their English edition under the title *Philosophical Hermeneutics*[2] are attempts to establish a universal theory of understanding (*Verstehen*) that could then be applied to all aspects of human life, or the life of culture broadly conceived. The hermeneutic approach, which he develops, and which differs significantly from the traditional one, is applicable equally to art, architecture, texts, historical understanding, and understanding of social action. He grounds his belief in the universality of hermeneutics or, in his view, of language as a meta-institution on which all social life depends.[3] "Even the non-linguistic work . . . therefore, falls within the province of the proper task of hermeneutics."[4] Learning to see is, in fact, learning to say, to communicate meaning.[5] The notion of language, hence, extends far beyond the use of linguistic tools. Language does not refer only to that which is "sayable." "Rather," says Gadamer, "language is all encompassing. There is nothing which is fundamentally excluded from being said."[6] For language is the sustaining medium of all manifestations of the spirit. Every interpretive act is mediated by language. "To that extent, the entire experience of the world is linguistically mediated and the broadest concept of tradition is thus defined, and that includes what is not itself linguistic, but is capable of linguistic interpretation."[7]

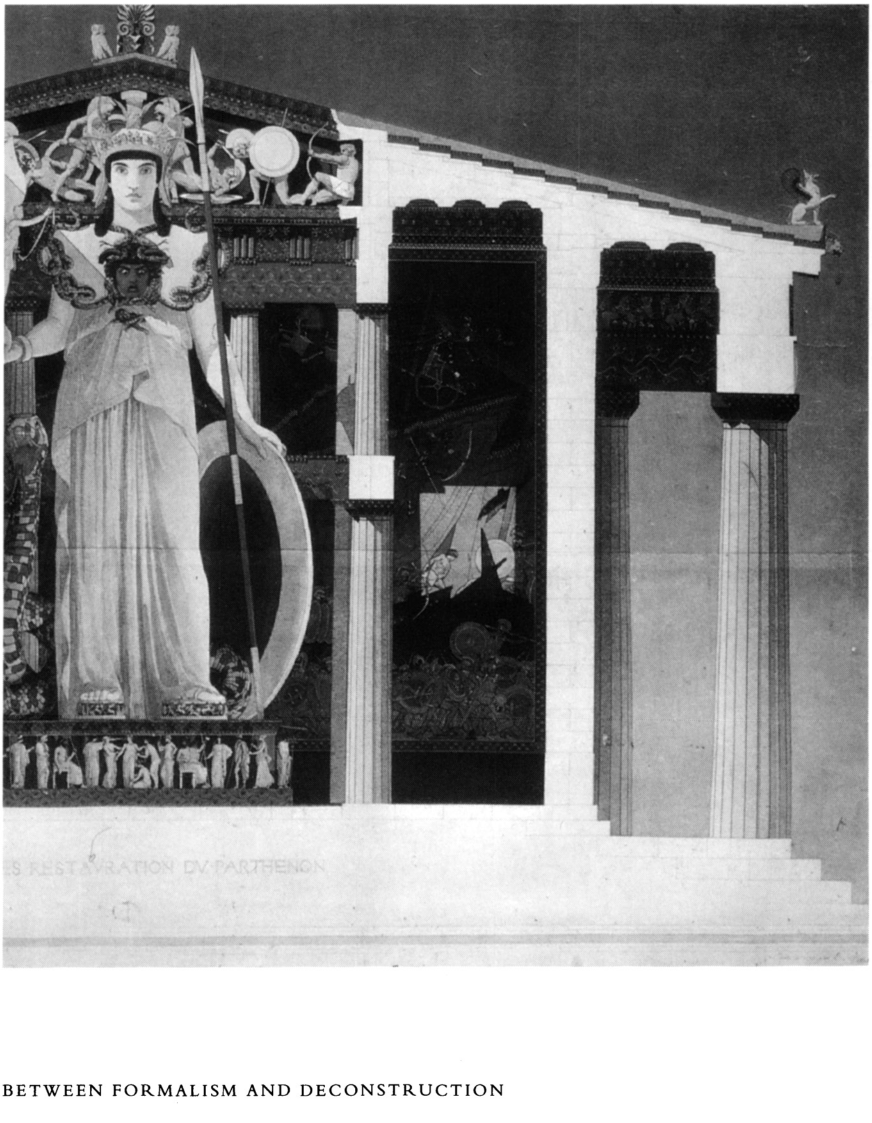
Thus conceived, Gadamer's hermeneutics is an effort to steer understanding away from two forms of alienation: that of aesthetic consciousness, and that of historical consciousness. Of primary interest for the understanding of architecture are the aesthetic alienation and Gadamer's proposition for overcoming it.

The aesthetics that underlies art history, according to Gadamer, has always implied a belief in the timelessness of the work of art, that is, of the "truth" enclosed in the work. According to such canonized formation, the understanding of history is aimed at that truth, awaiting reconstruction through "objective," selfless, methodologically pure analysis. Subjective judgment must be suspended at all costs. As a result, says Gadamer, the viewer no longer remains open to the immediate claims of the work, and is instead forced to resort to "the alienation into aesthetic judgment."[8] In search of the unequivocal truth, aesthetic dogmatism renders irrelevant the specific historical and cultural position of the interpreter and lay viewer alike. Only too often does art history imply, according to Gadamer, that the work's life-in-time is due to timeless properties that it—the work of art—intrinsically possesses.

While Gadamer's conception of hermeneutics seeks to counter such dogmatism, it is also opposed to its antipode, relativistic historicism, which developed, from Schleiermacher to Dilthey, around the debate on understanding (*Verstehen*) in the social sciences. Relativistic historicism offers to go beyond the transcendentalism of "objectivity" by suggesting an entirely subjective, indeed psychologistic method for examining historical events as well as cultural artifacts: the method, that is, of reexperiencing the author's subjective, inner creative process. The task of the interpreter, then, is to understand the author as the author understands herself or himself. The "experience," however, is not a matter of mere intuition, but is rather a central part of the *method* of understanding. In other words, Gadamer opposes a method that requires the interpreter to transcend her or his temporal position by disallowing her or his prejudice[9] to interfere with her or his subject of study.

It is against the idea of a *positivistically* postulated method that Gadamer develops his concept of hermeneutics. While it may reveal certain valuable aspects of the work under consideration, claims Gadamer, strict methodological discipline, regarded as an absolute standard of research, "hides from our vision the noblest achievements of understanding."[10] The comparison between the Beaux-Arts interpretative rendering of the Parthenon by d'Espouy, and the sketches Le Corbusier made some decades later, conclusively supports this claim (figures 9.1 and 9.2). We face two competing interpretations, or else two hermeneutic programs of architectural interpretation. Unlike Le Corbusier's semantic approach, d'Espouy's pretends to be an objective view of the past grasped by a self-knowing subject. While they are both deeply immersed in the prejudice structure of their own historicity, the first makes the effort to

Figure 9.1 Beaux-Arts rendering of the Parthenon's section, by D'Espouy.



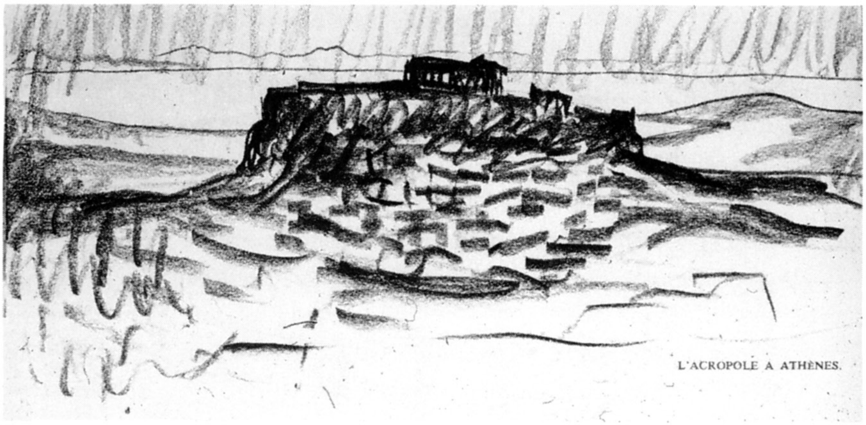

L'ACROPOLE A ATHÈNES.

Figure 9.2 A view of the Parthenon on the Acropolis, by Le Corbusier.

reach an "objective" truth through methodological reconstruction of the past. The presupposition of this nineteenth-century positivist interpretive standard is that "architecture relies primarily on an objective view of the autonomous rules of architecture, best exemplified in the study of the classical orders."[11] These autonomous rules are therefore viewed as an immutable truth to be reconstructed faithfully through self-alienation. Gadamer's position disregards such pretensions of "objectivity" and speaks openly through its own bias, thus allowing for unsuspected hermeneutic insights. By its nature, understanding is an existential act. Says Gadamer,

> To exclude by controlled, methodical consideration whatever is alien and leads to misunderstanding—misunderstanding suggested to us by distance and time, change in linguistic usage, or in the meanings of words and mode of thinking—that is certainly far from an absurd description of the hermeneutic endeavor. But the question also arises as to whether the phenomenon of understanding is defined appropriately when we say that to understand is to avoid misunderstanding. Is it not, in fact, the case that every misunderstanding presupposes a "deep common accord?"[12]

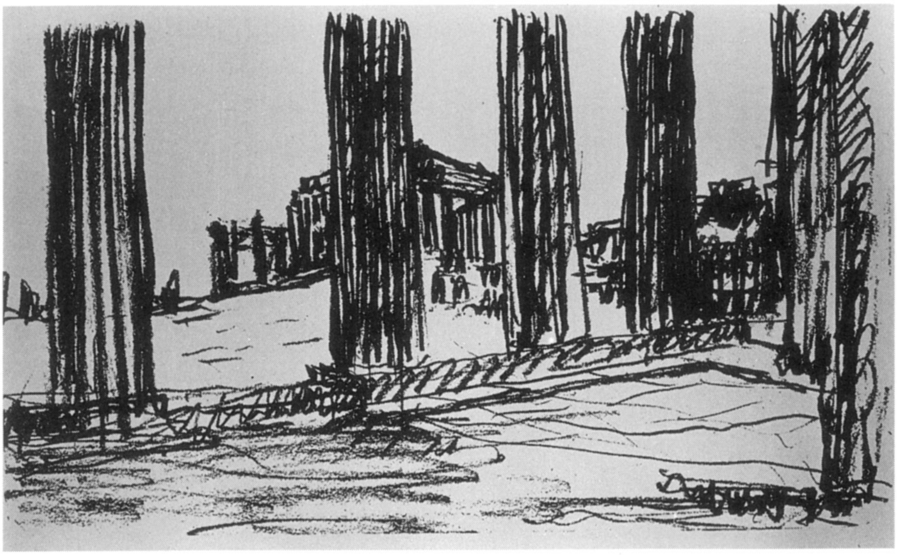
Understanding is saturated with current forms of historical consciousness, which in turn are imbedded in the given ways of living and thinking.[13] The givenness of the horizon of understanding, its historical directedness, constitutes one's "hermeneutic situation." Critical self-knowledge cannot make this hermeneutic situation disappear. Nor should it; the pre-judice-structure, which is an organic part of one's life-world, is indeed, according to Gadamer, "the productive ground" of all understanding. A *Vor-urteil* is a pre-judice pointing to the fact that the interpreter begins with a certain spectrum of expectations: concepts, themes, beliefs, values, norms, practices, that characterize his own imbeddedness in a specific point of historical time. In other words, "theory and interpretation *precede* history" (emphasis added).[14] Therefore, to understand a given work, one must "come to understand oneself in a kind of dialogue."[15] Understanding is an event which takes place through "hermeneutic conversation."

The hermeneutic conversation between the interpreter, like all genuine dialogue, involves equality and active reciprocity. When Le Corbusier walks through the Acropolis he engages in such conversation with it. He calls this conversation "promenade architecturale" (figures 9.3 and 9.4). Says Gadamer,

> The horizon of the present does not take shape at all without the past. There is just as little horizon of the present in itself as there are historical horizons which one would have to attain. Rather, understanding is always a process of the fusing of such horizons existing in themselves.[16]

The event of understanding cannot occur in the case of the interpreter's conscious self-alienation, his intentional "self purging" of pre-judice. In that case, the crucial bias of his "openness to the world" is pulled from under him. This bias is the condition of his communication with the past. The interpreter has no other ground from which to leap. As Herbert Butterfield wrote,

Figure 9.3 A view of the Parthenon through the Propilea, by Le Corbusier.



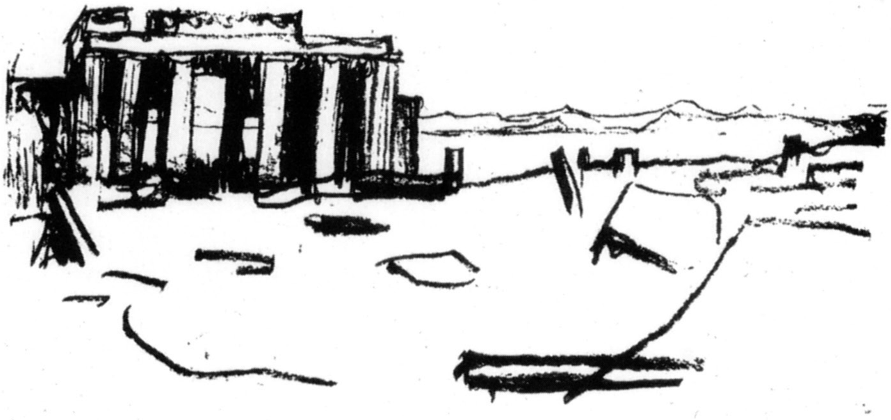


Figure 9.4 A view of the Propilea from the Parthenon, by Le Corbusier.

> The historian may be cynical with Gibbon or sentimental with Carlyle; he may have religious ardor or he may be a humanist. . . . It is not a sin in a historian to introduce a personal bias that can be recognized and discounted. The sin in historical composition is the organization of the history in such a way that bias cannot be recognized.[17]

A particular relevance of the "orthogonality" of the Parthenon—as well as the standardized, repetitive character of its elements—appears only in the context of industrial mass production. For Le Corbusier, the Parthenon is a "*machine à émouvoir*." The *guttae* (figure 9.5) adorning the edges of the entablature appear to us now as series of tightly secured "nuts" and "bolts" of a machine, while the *trygliphes* (figure 9.6) are mechanically cut steel bars crafted with the precision and firmness of an object designed for serial industrial production. What is achieved here in the marble, claims Le Corbusier, is precisely this "rigorous accurateness of a mechanical plasticity that the machine taught us to practice."[18] The same object, therefore, has the "capacity" to reveal in time quite different meanings, manifestly unforeseen by its creator. Le Corbusier's "discovery" of the mechanical properties of the Parthenon points to the interpreter's dependence on the specific horizon of his hermeneutic situation. The givenness of the hermeneutic situation cannot be dissolved into critical self-knowledge so as to disperse the given pre-judice structure.

"The hermeneuticist," says Thomas McCarthy in his chapter on hermeneutics in *The Critical Theory of Jürgen Habermas,* "is not an absolute ego for whom everything else . . . is just so many *cogitata*."[19] His or hers is not a tran-

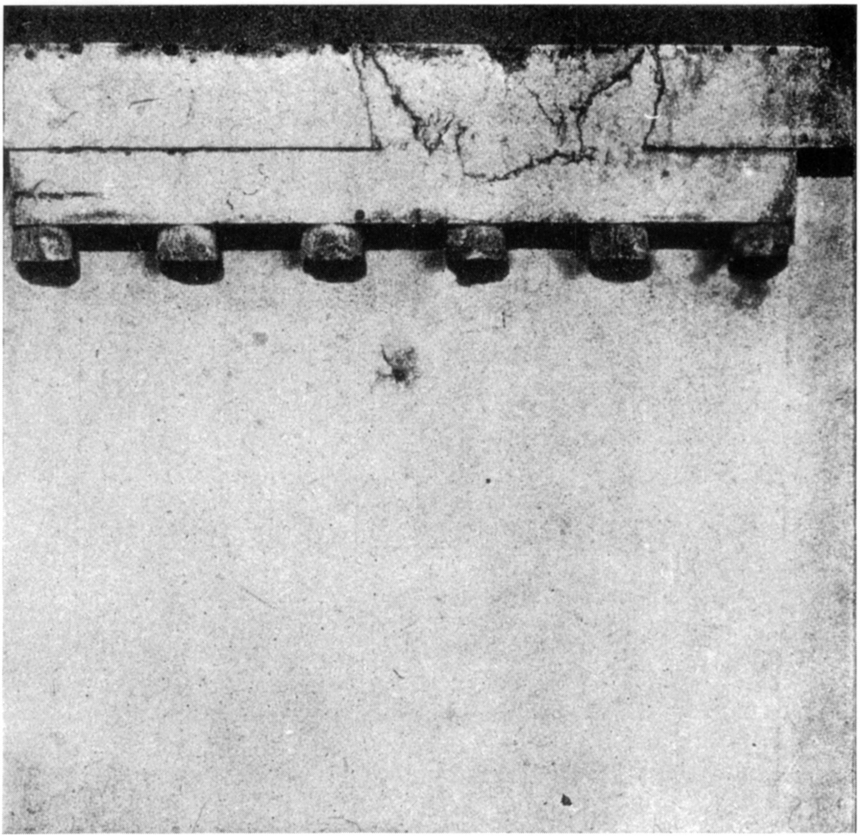


Figure 9.5 Guttae on the Parthenon. (From *Vers une architecture*.)

scendental consciousness, but rather itself a product of the same tradition that he or she is trying to understand. The call for methodological purity, which demands that misunderstanding be avoided at the cost of setting aside one's concepts, ideals, and standards, loses sight of the fact that those concepts, ideals, and standards belong to the cultural legacy, the tradition that constitutes the hermeneutic situation.[20] Moreover, the work itself is a part of that same tradition. The interpretation must preserve the foreignness of the work, that is, avoid identification with the author's intention, experience, or with the supposed truth residing in the work; yet the interpretation must also bring the work into intelligible relationship with the interpreter's life-world. In this sense, the interpretation is a reappropriation of the tradition, and its further development, a *creation* and not a *reproduction*. For "every artifact has unforeseen

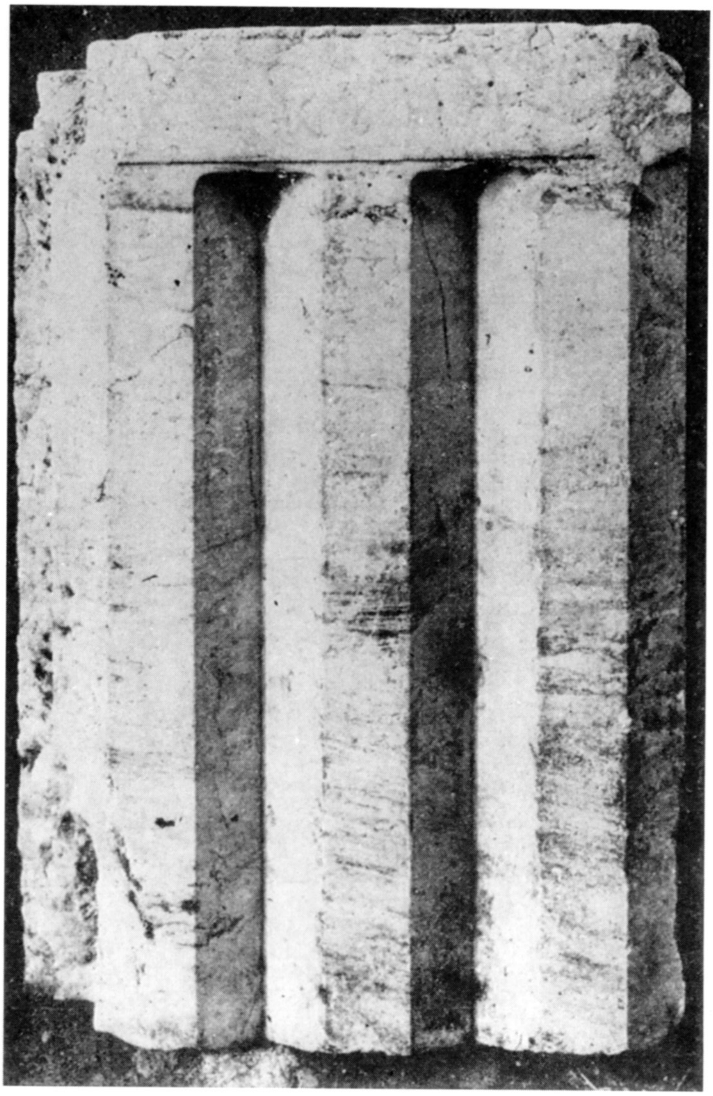
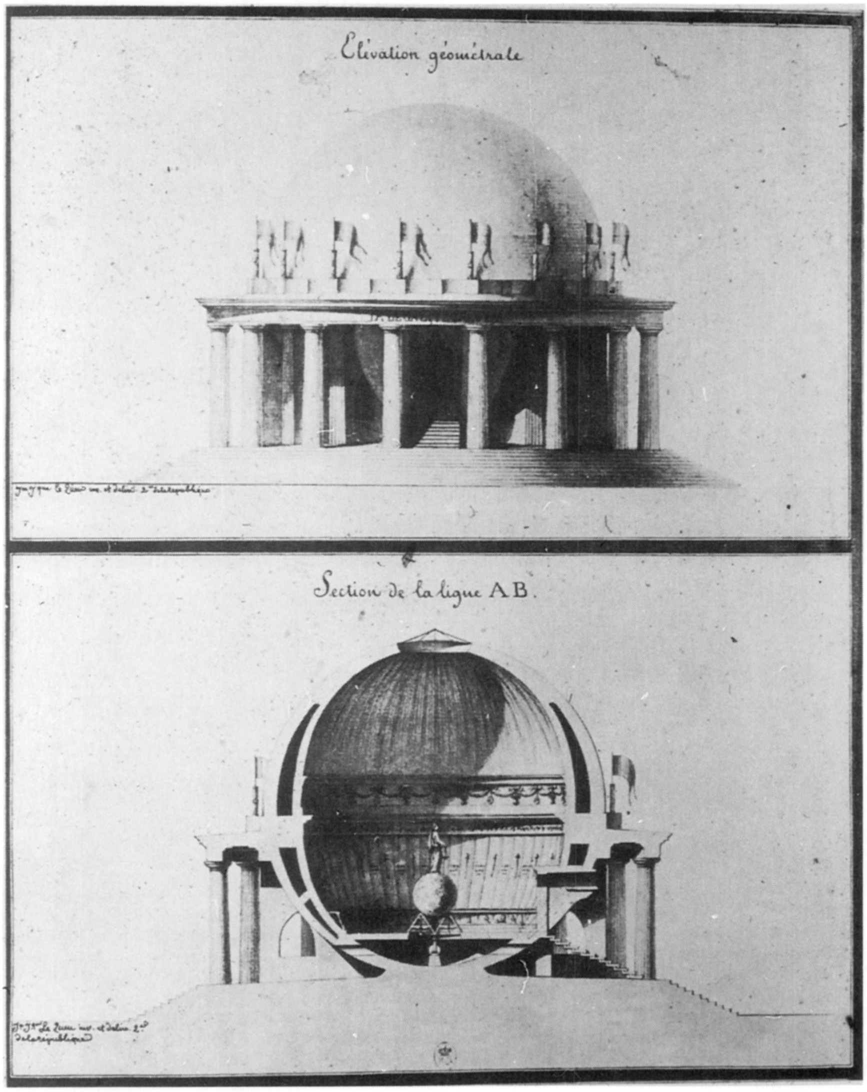


Figure 9.6 A trygliph on the Parthenon. (From *Vers une architecture*.)

Figure 9.7 The Temple of Equality, by Jean-Jacques Lequeu, 1790.


Élévation géométrale
Section de la ligne AB.

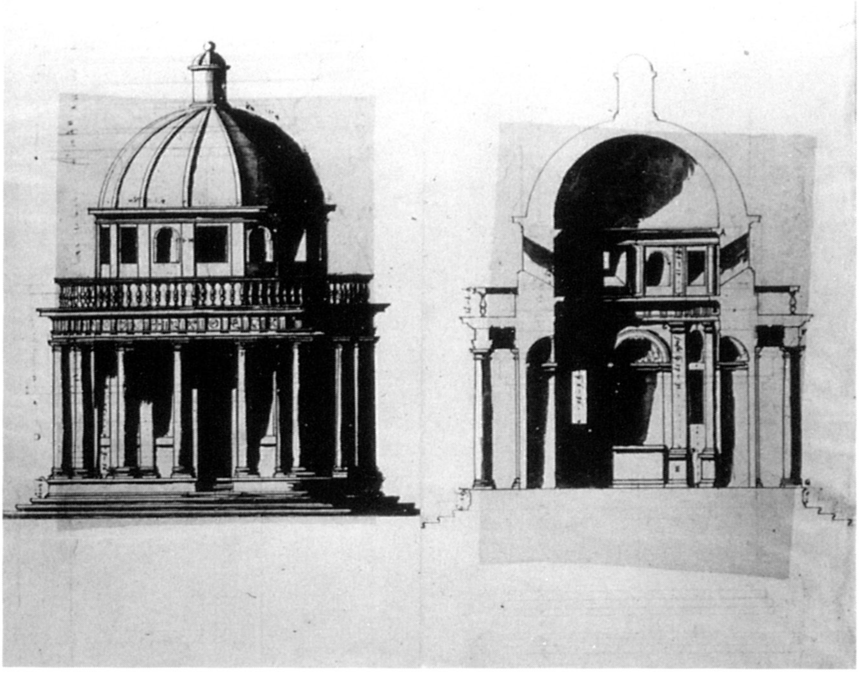


Figure 9.8 San Pietro in Montorio, Rome, by Donato Bramante.

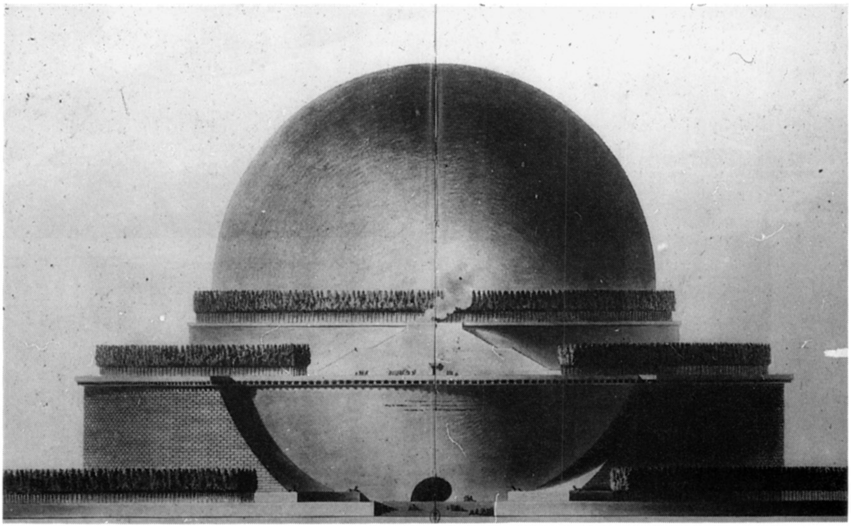
consequences, is open to unforeseen interpretations."[21] The artifact is not created once and for all but is put into question each time it is subjected to interpretation.[22]

According to Gadamer, understanding, then, is "the interplay between the movement of tradition and that of the interpreter. . . . The anticipation of meaning . . . is determined by what is common to us and the tradition and binds us to it. What is common, however, is constantly being developed in our relationship to tradition."[23] In this sense, interpretation has "a hypothetical and circular character."[24] There is surely no way of completely raising oneself above one's pre-judice-structure, and once and for all establishing an "uncontaminated" relationship between oneself and the work. Thus, to push further the argument, what Gadamer would say is that Le Corbusier's understanding of the Acropolis carries no more bias than the one by d'Espouy. Le Corbusier's approach is not independent of previous interpretations either. Even if posited as a rejection of the previous interpretations, Le Corbusier's reading remains an integral part of the same tradition, or in Heidegger's terms, part of what constitutes the "being" of the Acropolis. The history of the interpretation of the Acropolis is the sequence of partial, historical "concretizations" of that work. Together they form its ontological condition.

The hermeneuticist starts with a certain anticipation of meaning—his pre-judice-structure directs his search toward a specific aspect of the work. The circularity of the interpretive process, however, encompasses more than just the work itself: while developing one's understanding of the work, interpretation at one and the same time also reveals the existent pre-judice-structure. Gadamer expresses this insight in a manner very reminiscent of Heidegger: He says: "The self that we are does not possess itself; one could say that it happens."[25]

The movement, then, is not away from the self (self-alienation of the interpreter); on the contrary, it is toward the clarification of the existent pre-judice. Understanding is an event in a dual sense: it allows the work to become or to "win reality,"[26] that is, to be continuously revived through time-bound, episodic concretizations. At the same time, it allows the interpreter to come to "possess himself" within one and the same process; the interpreter transcends the historical horizon of the work, consequently transforming her or his own original horizon as well. Understanding culminates in the "fusion of horizons." This new horizon transcends both the past and the present. The productive event of understanding consists in the formation of a comprehensive horizon within which the limited horizon of the work and that of the interpreter are

Figure 9.9 Project of a cenotaph for Newton, by Etienne-Louis Boullée, 1784.



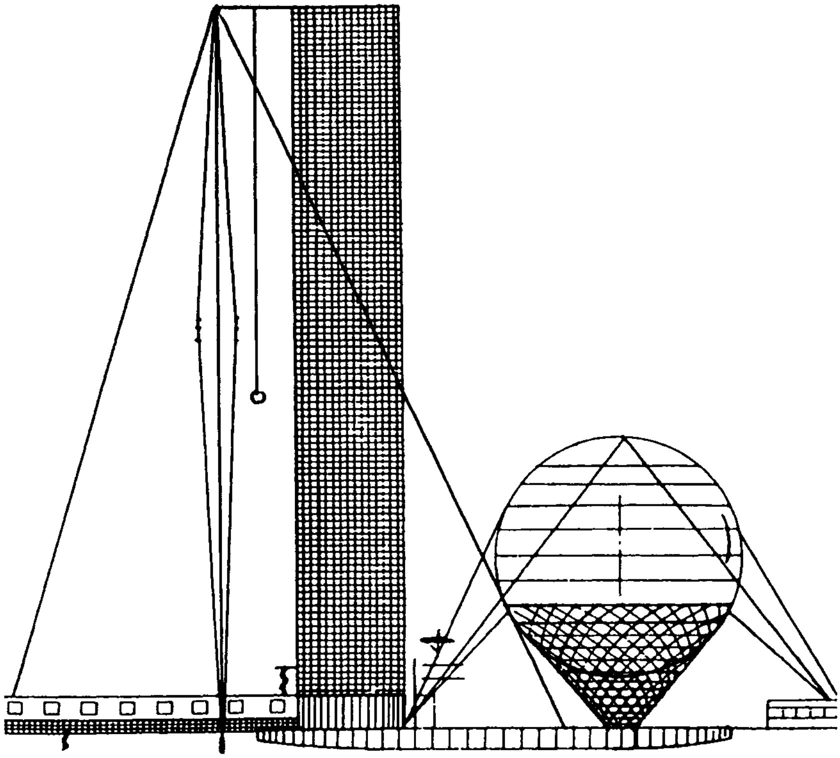


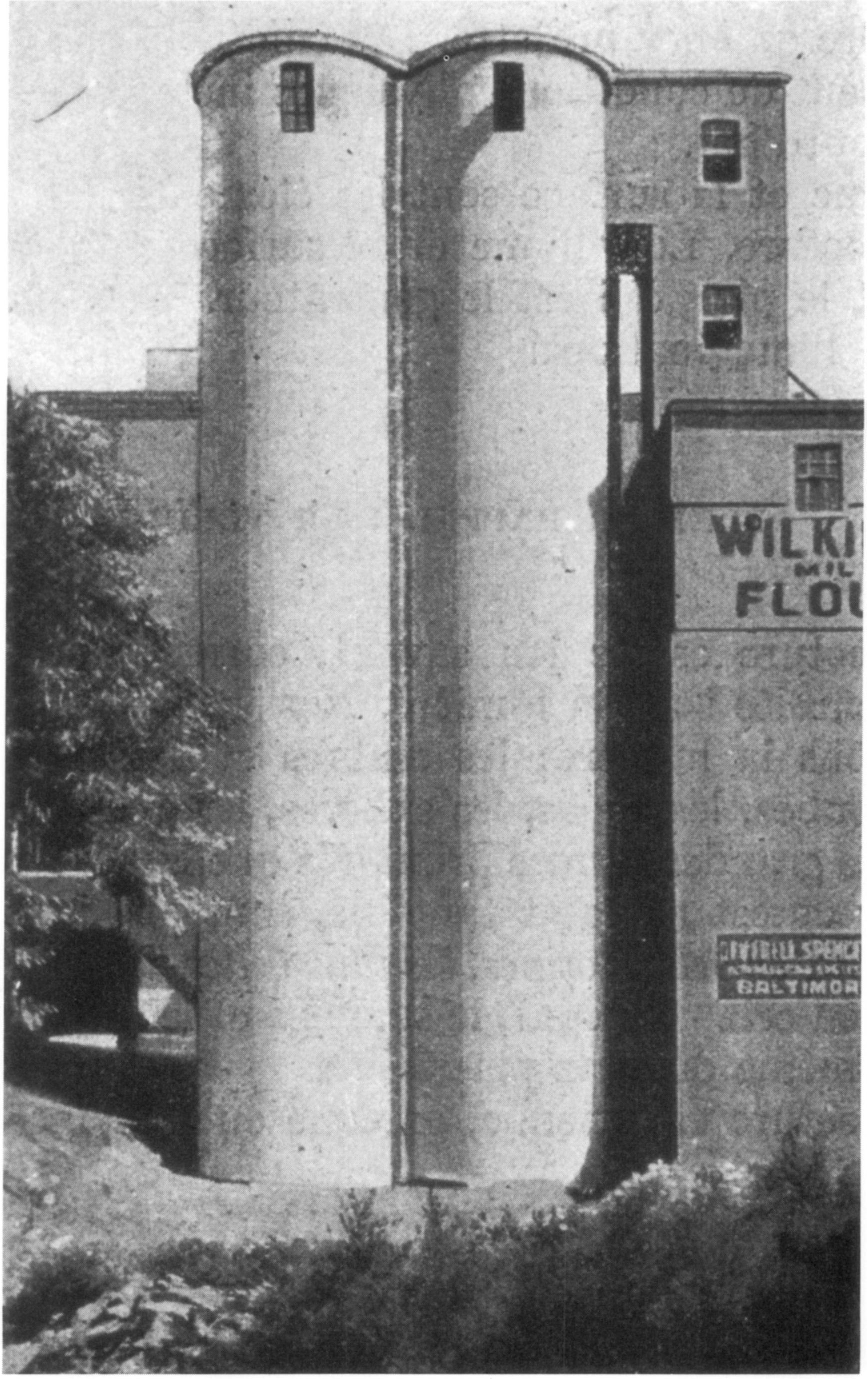
Figure 9.10 Thesis project for a Lenin institute, by Ivan Leonidov, 1927.

fused into a common view of the subject matter. Le Corbusier's programmatic *Vers une archiecture* ("vers" already anticipates transcendence) showed "to the eyes that do not see" that, once the possible convergence between the Baltimore silos and the Parthenon's Doric columns (figures 9.11 and 9.12) was recognized, the way was open to the fusion of horizons, and thus to transcendence. The Villa Savoy, for example, can be seen as a case of appropriation and transcendence both of the Parthenon and of its historically bound interpretation.

Gadamer's conception of hermeneutics indeed builds on Heidegger's existential epistemology. Heidegger had already shown that timelessness of the work is not simply the property of the work rediscovered faithfully every time. In his essay "The Origin of the Work of Art," he claims that "just as a work cannot be without being created, but it is essentially in need of creators, so what is created cannot itself come into being without those who preserve it."[27]

We have seen that, according to Gadamer, interpretation, that is, the understanding of the work of art, is temporally conditioned. If true, this proposi-

Figure 9.11 Baltimore silos. (From *Vers une architecture.*)


WILKI
MIL
FLOU
BALTIMOR

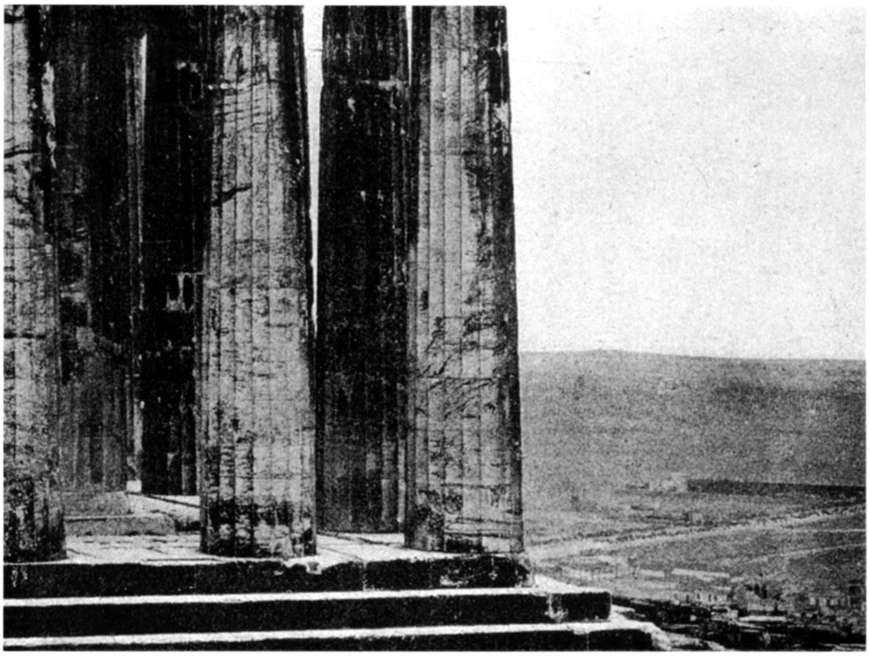


Figure 9.12 View of the Parthenon's columns.
(From *Vers une architecture*.)

tion leads us to conclude that the interpretation of the work is itself a creative act—an act, indeed, that contributes to the reinvention of the work each time the work is subjected to interpretation. The ontological coherence of the work thus appears to depend on the interpreter as much as it does on the author, its first "creator." This approach brings us, further, to the conclusion that the actual "existence" of the work is fundamentally contingent on its *reception*.

This insight was already crucial not only to Heidegger, and later to Gadamer, but also to the Prague structuralist circle, active in the 1920s and 1930s, and until their temporary silencing around 1948. They reemerge in the early 1960s through the scholarly work of the second generation of Czech structuralists, soon to be followed by the French.[28]

Mukařovský's and Vodicka's insistence that aesthetic values are objectified within the *process* of their *reception,* and that they cannot be apprehended as timeless substances, is tightly bound to Heidegger's understanding that the truth in the work "becomes and happens." While the role of the "speculative systematization of the Germans," such as K. Büler, E. Husserl, and E. Kassürer, was crucial to the construction of the Czechs' theory of art, aesthetics, and literature, the role of the compelling "technical analyses [introduced by] the Russian formalists"[29] was of essential importance as well.[30]

It is of particular significance that, in order to substantiate their criticism of the sociological approach to literary analysis, the Russian formalists drew their inspiration from the methods of formal analysis employed in art history. The work of art for the formalists was always a "man-made" object, an invented, artificial object, an object whose artistry emerges from its "artificiality." They, therefore, limited themselves to the study of the specifically "literary" dimension of the work. Their fundamental question was: *how* is a work made as a work out of the amorphous linguistic and other material found in everyday life? They drew this question from established norms of analysis in art history where the primacy had long been given to the issue of *how* a particular painter worked, rather than what he meant to represent.[31]

An article Šklovskij published in 1917, "*Iskusstvo kak priëm*" (Art as Process)[32] was soon embraced as the manifesto of Russian formalism. In this article, Šklovskij analyzed the principles of the artistic "process" or *priëm*[33]—that is, the 'process' of transformation of habitual material intended to elicit a new, unusual, or surprising perception of this material. Interestingly enough, and this has not been noticed so far, the Russian word *priëm* also means "reception." It seems hardly surprising that linguists involved in the formal analysis of the elusive tools art employs in combining linguistic materials, would use as complex and ambiguous a term as *priëm*. The tension this semantic synchrony—*process* and *reception*—provokes becomes even more explicit, I would suggest, when considered in the function of a second term, also central to formalism: *ostranenie*, or "estrangement," and thus *ostranenie priëma*.[34] It is characteristic of the "language of art," according to Šklovskij, to tend to "estrange" (defamiliarize) the material the artist offers to the "reader" through a "process" (*priëm*), which shakes away learned automatisms. The artist does everything she or he can to have the reader "see" things in a way she or he usually does not see them, that is, receives them. It is the specific role of the art or literary historian to show the means the artist uses to this effect. In other words, *ostranenie priëma*, I suggest, is at the same time the *uncovering* of the artistic *process* and the *estrangement* of its *reception*.

In essence, the formalists operate on the assumption that the reified materials of everyday life conceal an excess of meaning that can be structured ad infinitum into a work. For art is not an object but a given *relationship* of objects or materials. Art uses everyday life as a building material for unexpected interpretations. In other words, the artist is, as Šklovskij would say (along with Majakovskij), the instigator of the "revolt of the objects." It then becomes evident that, by extension, such semantical displacements can operate at the level of the work itself through a new reception, that is, through a "process" that involves the work's own "excess of meaning." Reception, the modalities of reception that is, can therefore also be regarded as a "device" or a "process" that establishes new relationships between signifiers and signifieds. In other words, the process of "making" is identified with the process of "reception." This 'identity' is contained in the term *priëm*.

This brings us back to the Czech structuralists. Roman Jakobson, another leading Russian formalist, moved to Czechoslovakia in 1920, awakening passionate interest among the Prague circle in his approach. By 1930 the Czech structuralists made the decisive step the formalist concept itself had invited. They began to realize that the aesthetic values the formalists had invoked were objectifiable only when the process of *reception* intervened. They concluded that the "new ways of seeing" depended as much on the intrinsic structure of the artifact as it did on its interpreter. The Prague structuralists, therefore, moved from the uncovering of the process of the artist's aesthetic procedures, to the revelation of the aesthetic role of reception itself. They saw both as tightly linked within the process of the work's artistic constitution. By the same token, the rigid mold of formalist exclusivity crumbled once again to open the way, this time to a pluralistic approach, indeed a circular (or dialectical) approach of the hermeneuticist. As Hans Robert Jauss noted, the Prague structuralists went the farthest in overcoming the dogma of the incongruity between the structural and the historical analysis. They linked the initial stages of this theoretical position, as expounded by the formalists, to a structural aesthetics which *includes* the category of "aesthetic perception." In other words, they described the given structural form of the work from a diachronic point of view, that is, from a point of view of sequential concretizations conditioned by the history of the work's reception.

Felix Vodička developed the founding texts of structuralism established by Mukařovský in his work *Struktura Vývoje* (1969). Within this newly established polarity between the work and the "literary public," art history's main task was to describe the concretization of the work as established by its historic reception. Gadamer's notion of the "excess of meaning"[35] draws its inspiration from the same source. According to Gadamer,

> The artist's own comments about what is said in one or another of his works may certainly be of possible interest. . . . But the language of art means the excess of meaning that is present in the work itself. This inexhaustibility that distinguishes the language of art from all translation into concepts rests in this excess of meaning.[36]

It is the excess of meaning that makes possible the work's life in time. The interpreter extracts from the work the answers corresponding to ones own motivations, aspirations, interests, and criteria, all conditioned by a historically determined "horizon of expectations."[37]

In an analogous paragraph, the Czech Marxist philosopher Karel Kosik proposed, in 1961, that the work is a work because it *calls for interpretations,* "and because it has an influence of many meanings."[38] What happens to the work through interpretations, says Kosik, is the expression of what the work is; each new interpretation, each new "concretization" of the work is proof of the work's vitality and influence. That "the eternal power of the work is realized over time"[39] corresponds to Heidegger's insight that the truth of the work is "un-truth," that is, that the truth reveals itself gradually, through partial and limited understanding. That "there belongs to it [the work of art] the reservoir of the not-yet-revealed . . . in the sense of concealment"[40] inspires both Kosik and Gadamer. For they both believe that the timelessness of the work resides in its temporality. Thus, the work's life is incomprehensible from the work itself. "If the work's influence were its property as radiation is the property of radium," writes Kosik, "then the work would live, i.e. exercise an influence, even when 'unperceived' by a human subject."[41]

This is the point when the literary theories of such scholars as Frederick Jameson,[42] with a Marxist bent, but most particularly Hans Robert Jauss on the occasion of his noted 13 April 1967 inaugural speech at the University of Konstanz ("Literaturgeschichte als Provokation der Literaturwissenschaft"), begin to develop an "aesthetic of reception." They suggested that historical understanding of the work must be built on the historical functions of production, communication, and reception.[43] Says Jauss,

> The history of art incorporates the historical appearance of works and their immortality as the result of aesthetic activities of mankind. If, with Karel Kosik, we understand the dialectics of history as a process in which history "contains both the historicity that is transient . . . and the formation of the immortal," then the history of art is distinguished from other spheres of historical reality by the fact that in it the formation of the immortal is not only visibly carried out through the production of works, but also through reception.[44]

Tradition is not self-generating; it presupposes reception. Even classical works are contemporary only where they have been "received." Interpretation must find points of reference in our own hermeneutic situation from which meanings, beliefs, and formal solutions offered in the work, strike *us* as having a point. Interpretation subsequently organizes "the voices of the past in a meaningful way."[45]

To pose the fate of *Œdipus Rex,* for example, as a problem belonging to the theory of games (or relegate the Parthenon to the realm of machines), with a human protagonist playing chess with an electronic computer, himself unable to leave or break the game and yet predetermined to lose it, and endure just defeat—that is a brazen and at the same time a quite suggestive reception of

King Œdipus. To compare Gloucester's suicide, or rather its symbol, its mime performed on a flat stage in *King Lear,* with Gibber between Hamm and Clove in *Endgame,* and find in both the remnants of eschatology, is to see in Beckett what Beckett did not see himself. Jan Kott does both in his essay on tragedy and grotesque in *Shakespeare Our Contemporary.*[46] Kott's contemporaneization of Œdipus and Lear permits us to perceive the difference between our own and the bygone world of tragedy: in our world, the absolute has ceased to exist; it has been replaced by the absurdity of existence where a man is forced into a game "in which the probability of his total defeat constantly increases."[47] Kott heard in Œdipus and Lear that voice speaking to us without hesitation, directly. The trick, then, is in the interpretation—the ultimate bridge between the work and ourselves. The interpreter builds further on the structure that the author has left behind.[48]

This takes us back to Gadamer and to the question that we cannot avoid, given his theory of interpretation: *how* should one proceed in one's interpretive inquiry?[49] That means that there is a certain span outside of which concretizations cannot be seen as concretizations of this particular work.

Yet Gadamer refuses to find himself engaged in the creation of a handbook of hermeneutic practice. The ambition to advise on the methodological procedure is antithetical to his original intention: to demonstrate the partiality, worse, the potential sterility, of *method* as such. "What is it that really makes the productive scholar," he asks, "that he has learned the methods? The person who never produces anything has also done that much." Theoretical sterility all too easily applies the method "to something not really worth knowing."[50]

However accurate this assessment might be, it is precisely Gadamer's rather extreme methodological disinterestedness that greatly hinders the practical implementation of his theory. He tries to circumvent the issue by pointing to 'imagination' (*Phantasie*), whose hermeneutic function is crucial in the event of understanding.[51] This, however, adds little to the development of "the standard of appropriateness" of interpretation. Gadamer's unwillingness to develop any "Gadamer" allows him to abandon the pose of neutrality and to consider himself a participant in a dialogue, through which he is also supposed to understand himself more profoundly. Yet, this self-understanding (the seeing through prejudices) supposedly simply *happens by itself.* The hermeneuticist may decide to abandon her or his pre-judices, and yet she or he may not. In Gadamer's view this is situationally determined and cannot be willed either way.

On the level of its "deep structure" there is a curious inconsistency in Gadamer's theory. On the one hand, Gadamer sees the interpreter as an active agent. Simultaneously, however, the interpreter is a captive of his hermeneutic situation. Gadamer's reluctance to leave the level of abstract philosophical analysis and embrace a more concrete, pragmatic way of hermeneutic procedure renders his "hermeneutic situation" itself opaque. The interpreter's effort to overcome the opaqueness must then be guided purely intuitively. Gadamer, paradoxically, elevates this difficulty to the level of hermeneutic principle:

> Philosophical hermeneutics is certainly "normative" in the sense that it attempts to replace a worse philosophy with a better one. But it does not propagate a better practice, and it does not conceive hermeneutic practice as if it were guided by a consciousness of application and intention of application.[52]

To direct our practice is not the intention of Gadamer's hermeneutics. Yet the practical question of procedure is certainly the most vexing question in this context, whether we are analyzing an architectural project or literary text.

As Habermas—one of Gadamer's most incisive critics—has tried to demonstrate, Gadamer's position has conservative implications.[53] For Gadamer, suggests Habermas, the evolving tradition and the hermeneutic inquiry "merge into a single point." In Habermas's own view, the two are as likely to part ways. Interpretive reflection is not only a means of further development and appropriation of tradition but often marks a departure from tradition, a rupture with the past. "In grasping the genesis of the tradition from which it proceeds and on which it turns back, reflection shakes the dogmatism of life practice."[54] To a certain degree, Gadamer has replaced one absolute by another—the absolute of the work's objectivity by the absolute of tradition. In Habermas's view, hermeneutic understanding must de-absolutize tradition. Hermeneutic intention, in other words, must be *critical.*[55] It is precisely due to the lack of critical intent that Gadamer can allow himself not to assign an operative dimension to his theory. Critical intent of necessity requires that the hermeneutic procedure be further substantiated. Understanding "with practical intent" (to use Habermas's phrase from *Knowledge and Human Interest*) cannot avoid facing the practical questions that plague the interpretive inquiry.

Yet, the significance of Gadamer's contribution to the theory of understanding is certainly beyond doubt. Even the contextual approach, itself an important advancement in understanding art and architecture (demanding that the meaning of the work be inferred from the whole web of human relationships at a given point in time), seems lame in comparison. For Gadamer the interpreter indeed is a partner of the author: they share a common venture. To define the steps that the interpreter must take in this partnership is no easy task. Gadamer has triggered the crucial issue almost despite himself.

Hans Robert Jauss has, in a certain sense, taken up the challenge. He acknowledges explicitly his indebtedness to both Gadamer and Habermas, "brothers at odds with each other," as he calls them. He recognizes that the two played a decisive role in reestablishing the linguistic character of the human experience, that is, communication as the condition for the understanding of meaning. Like them he rejects the classical aesthetics that believes in the existence of absolute norms. Yet, he also goes beyond the *Wirkungsästhetik* (which considers the norm to be the result of a gradual sedimentation of taste), as well as the *Produktionsästhetik* (according to which aesthetic norms are to be derived from the autonomy and the totality of the work). For Jauss, the basis for the evaluation of an aesthetic process—applicable to the interpretation of the architectural object as well—is what he calls "innovation" and "modernity." The interpreter, or for that matter the literary public—the "community of interpreters" we could say—are all co-players with both the author and the work. In order to determine the span of possible concretizations of a work as determined by the structure of a work, that is, the dialectical relationship between this structure and its potential concretizations, Jauss calls upon hermeneutics. Yet, the question, how free the interpretation can be and when it ceases to be an interpretation of the existing work—that question still remains essentially open. Jauss limits himself to the assertion that the message is defined by the particular structure of the work and the ability of the historically bound community of interpreters to translate such message into a code—a socially shared code.

Building on Gadamer's concept of the "horizon of expectations," Jauss goes further by claiming that each work corresponds to, and is shaped according to, some social *expectations* of the period in which it is created. These expectations are both the established norms, the conventions, and the existing conditions in the arts. For there is no work that would appear as an absolute novelty amid an existential void. Therefore each work directs its public toward a predetermined reception, as each work evokes among its public a given "horizon of expectation" (*Erwartungshorizont*). If the art historian is able to *reconstruct* this horizon of expectations, she or he will be able to determine the character of the work of art. The changes that occur in the work's success, in the way it is received or rejected, are the signs of a change of horizon (*Horizontwandel*) of expectations. *Don Quixote* evoked faithfully the horizon of expectations of the public of its time which liked epic novels. Yet, through its artistic parody, this work also overthrew this horizon of expectations. This is why, concludes Jauss, the criteria of an art process are their *innovation* and *modernity*.

This thesis on innovation and modernity Jauss then introduces into the system of *diachrony* and *synchrony*. Like language, the artwork combines a horizontal and a vertical development. Diachrony pursues the developmental continuum of the work in history, and establishes its relationship to works that precede or follow it. Synchrony instead directs the historian's attention to the heterogeneous plurality expressed in the structure of works created in the same period.

An attempt was made here to bring under a common denominator two convergent hermeneutic theories, Gadamer's philosophical hermeneutics and the theory of reception, while searching for their origin in the work of the Russian formalists. Architecture, like art, lives through the process of its reception, either as a source of "inspiration," or as an object of criticism, or else of use. The ultimate faith of an artwork, as of any artifact, rests on the excess of meaning that it is capable of revealing. The process of designing—which is also, in essence, a hermeneutic act—is not limited to the initial act of "creation" of the object. Rather, it is revived each time this object is confronted with the creative capacity of its later interpreters. The work continues to be reconstructed as long as it is able to yield new angles of interpretive uses. What is more, these possibilities are neither exhausted by the author's intentions nor by our particular reception of the work. The meaning of a work transcends both the intended meaning of the designer and the reception of the interpreter. Yet a question remained: What are the methodological criteria that can outline the scope beyond which the interpretation of an artifact is no longer a fair one? Indeed, architecture and architectural criticism remain caught up in this debate over meaning. The current discourse on deconstruction,[56] for example, seems to evolve precisely around the relevance of the critical attitude regarding the conventions built into the interpreter's own life situation. It seems to me that one can capitulate in the face of the socially legitimated biases, and accept them as givens; or one can at least strive to reckon the biases into one's interpretive act. In the latter case one avoids two things: seeing oneself outside history, on the one hand, and surrendering to received notions on the other. We need a methodology that helps identify the biases and develop interpretations that are critical not only to the "other" but to one's own points of view as well.

As references to Habermas's criticism have already implied in this chapter, the most significant alternative to the aesthetics of reception—albeit tightly connected to it—is the one provided by the school of anthropological Marxism, through its central concept of *Praxis*. Marxist and formalist schools had already in common their distancing from blind empiricist positivism, as well as from the aesthetic metaphysics of the history of the spirit, even though they attempted to solve them through opposite means. What emerges, however, is a curious analogy between the aesthetics of reception and Marxist aesthetics, specifically regarding their theory of meaning. Indeed, for humanist Marxism—radically critical of the theory of reflection—meaning is not intrinsic to the work either, but has always to be reestablished anew through the dialectics of human *Praxis*. It seems that a sustained critical analysis of this convergence, pointing to art as to a creator of reality rather than to its passive reflector, could yield some relevant insights regarding the exacting question of the scope and limit of a work's semantic field.

Notes

1. Hans Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method,* trans. G. Burden and J. Cumming (New York: Continuum, 1975).

2. H. G. Gadamer, *Philosophical Hermeneutics,* trans. and ed. David E. Lange (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1977).

3. On this question, see also Emile Benvéniste, *Problèmes de linguistique générale* (Paris: Gallimard, 1966).

4. Gadamer, *Philosophical Hermeneutics,* 100.

5. About five years earlier, Raymond Williams also developed his theory of *seeing,* which is for him contingent on our capacity to *describe.* See Raymond Williams, "The Creative Mind," in *The Long Revolution* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1975).

6. Gadamer, *Philosophical Hermeneutics,* 76.

7. Ibid., 76.

8. Ibid., 5.

9. The word that Gadamer uses is *Vorurteil,* currently translated as "prejudice." The German word, however, does not have the strong pejorative overtone of the English "prejudice" and would be more accurately translated as prejudgment. Still, in order to remain close to the established term in English translations, as well as to the form of the German term, I will adopt in this essay: pre-judice (which corresponds also to the Latin etymology of prejudice: *praeiudicium*). An alternative, value-neutral concept is used by Kurt Wolff. He calls this kind of prejudice "received notions." See Kurt Wolff, *Trying Sociology* (New York: Wiley, 1974).

10. Gadamer, *Philosophical Hermeneutics,* xxvii.

11. Stanford Anderson, "The Presentness of Interpretation and of Artifacts" in *History in, of, and for Architecture,* ed. J. Hancock (Cincinnati: University of Cincinnati Press, 1981), 52.

12. Gadamer, *Philosophical Hermeneutics,* 7.

13. About this, particularly on "ways of living," see R. Williams, *The Long Revolution,* op. cit.

14. Anderson, "The Presentness" 54.

15. Gadamer, *Philosophical Hermeneutics,* 57.

16. Gadamer, *Philosophical Hermeneutics,* 9.

17. Herbert Butterfield, "The Whig Interpretation of History," quoted by Stephen J. Gould in "Between You and Your Genes" in *The New York Review of Books* (August 16, 1984).

18. "Toute cette mécanique de la plastique . . . réalisée dans le marbre avec la rigueur que nous avons appris à pratiquer . . ." Le Corbusier, *Vers une architecture* (Paris: G. Cress et Cie, n.d.) 178.

19. Thomas McCarthy, *The Critical Theory of Jürgen Habermas* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1982), 179.

20. "Tradition" is understood here in the etymological sense of the Latin term *tradere,* "to carry over." Gadamer's concept of *tradition* corresponds to what Heidegger calls *being.*

21. Anderson, "The Presentness of Interpretation" in *History in, of and for Architecture,* 50.

22. We can see time-bound episodic architectural concretizations, as conditioned by the diverse "hermeneutic situations" of their authors, in the following examples. The Temple of Equality by J. J. Lequeu designed in the 1790s (figure 9.7). At first, what we see is a sort of Bramantesque Tempietto without a drum. When we probe further, however, we discover, from the section of the temple, that what we took for the *calotte* of the dome is in fact the upper portion of a spherical space surrounded by columns. Bramante's San Pietro in Montorio (figure 9.8) was itself a reinterpretation of a Greco-Roman round temple. Yet where does the specific difference reside? Bramante's hermeneutic situation was conditioned by Renaissance design theory: he interpreted classical architecture through the laws of musical harmony regulating the macrocosm, and the laws of perspective regulating the empirical space; both were thought of as symbolic models to be applied to the principles of architectural composition. Bramante, therefore, merged the various Roman circular temples into a harmonious totality in which most of the classical architectural vocabulary was abstracted into a concise, finely crafted jewel.

This same temple, reconsidered—in the case of Lequeu—from an entirely different prejudice-structure, dominated by Newton's discoveries in physics, took a new direction both conceptually and formally. The laws of harmonic proportions regulating the universe had been replaced by the laws of gravity. The hermeneutic situation changed, and so did the perception of the Tempietto. The new historical horizon was best expressed in architecture by Boullée's "research program," and, in particular, by his spherical Cenotaph (figure 9.9), indeed, dedicated to Newton a few years earlier. What used to be, in the Renaissance, the representation of the celestial dome carried by columns whose ideal proportions symbolized universal harmony became in Lequeu's design a cosmic sphere kept in equilibrium by columns symbolizing gravity.

Yet, to be sure, the hermeneutic "recycling" of the ancient Tholos did not end with Lequeu. The 1927 Lenin Institute (figure 9.10) by Ivan Leonidov is a case in point. The merging of the historical horizon of antiquity, the Renaissance, the Enlightenment and the age of relativity—with its "flying" humans, bouncy dirigibles, and dialectical materialism—gave Leonidov the opportunity for quite a suggestive reception of this hermeneutic "tradition"—a tradition very well known to and often reinterpreted by the Russian constructivists in their own work. To compare the Temple of Vesta, the Tempietto, Newton's Cenotaph, and the Temple of Equality to an immense inflated balloon vanquishing both the forces of gravity and those of history is to uncover in these works what their authors themselves could not see. Leonidov's updating of antiquity, the Renaissance, and the Enlightenment permits us to perceive the difference between the bygone world of architecture and our own in which the absolute has been replaced by ambiguity and uncertain balance, ephemeral appearance, and fleeting reality—all expressed in the absurdity of edifices held by cables to the ground, rather than resting on it, lest they vanish into infinity. Leonidov heard in Bramante a voice that can speak to us in our own language, directly.

23. Gadamer, *Truth and Method,* 261.

24. McCarthy, *The Critical Theory,* 172.

25. Gadamer, *Truth and Method,* 252. Heidegger would say that "truth becomes and happens." (Martin Heidegger, *Basic Writings,* ed. David Krell (New York: Harper & Row), 180.)

26. Anderson, "The Presentness" 53.

27. Heidegger, *Basic Writings,* 183.

28. Until his death in 1970, Jan Mukařovský was the central figure of the movement. He was already actively involved in literary criticism by 1917, along with the younger scholar Felix Vodička. The circle also included V. Mathesius, B. Havranek, N. Trubecki, and R. Jakobson. Mukařovský's most important contributions are to be found in *Kapitoly z české poetiky,* 3 vols. (Chapters in Czech Poetics) (Prague: 1948), SVOBODA and *Studie z estetiky* (Studies in Aesthetics) (Prague: Vimperle, Zdilce Dilna, 1971). The second generation includes such scholars as Cervenka, Jankovic, Hvatik, Dolezel, and Karel Kosik.

See also Jan Mukařovský, *Structure, Sign and Function,* trans. J. Bubank and P. Steiner (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978); *Aesthetic, Function, Norm and Value as Social Facts,* trans. M. Suino (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1970); *The Word and Verbal Act: Selected Essays by Jan Mukařovský,* trans. J. Burbank and P. Steiner, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977). Peter Steiner, ed., *The Prague School: Selected Writings 1929–1948* (Austin:

University of Texas Press, 1982); Felix Vodička, *Struktura a smysl dila* (The Structure and the Meaning of the Work) (Prague: Československy Spisovatel, 1966), trans. in German in 1976 as *Die Struktur der literarischen Entwicklung,* by Ch. Tuchinsky, P. Richter, and F. Boldt Fink.

29. Rene Waleek, *Discrimination: Further Concepts of Criticism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), 279.

30. Strictly speaking, the linguistic foundations of the Czech structuralists rest on the theories of Ferdinand de Saussure and the Geneva school.

31. This tendency is reflected in the titles of their scholarly studies, such as B. Eihenbaum, "How Were Composed the Poetics of *The Coat,*" and V. Šklovskij, "How Was Made *Don Quixote,*" in *Razvertyvanie Sižea* (Unravelling the Subject) (St. Petersburg, 1921).

32. Viktor Šklovskij, "Iskusstvo kak priëm," in *Sbornik po teorii poetičeskogo jazyka II* (Art as Process," in Collected Works on the Theory of the Poetic Language) (St. Petersburg: 1917).

33. *Priëm,* a central term in Russian formalism, has been translated into English (since Victor Erlich) as "device." In French it is translated as *procédé* and in German as *Kunstgriff.* I find "process" (understood as method) to be more flexible and more encompassing than "device" and thus closer, it would seem, to the intent of the Russian term, especially evident in the translation of Šklovskij's manifesto itself, "Art as *Process*" rather than "Art as *Device.*"

34. *Ostranenie* is a neologism introduced by Šklovskij. An adequate translation of this neologism would probably require the creation of an English neologism as well. Like *priëm, ostranenie* is also an ambiguous term, one that encompasses *simultaneously* two meanings: "uncovering" and "estranging" ("estranging" in the sense of removing from habitual associations, and thus "uncovering" the unforseen).

35. See also Heidegger, *Basic Writings,* 180.

36. Gadamer, *Philosophical Hermeneutics,* 102.

37. The term "horizon of expectations" had already been used before Gadamer in the sociology of K. Mannheim, K. Popper, and D. Buck.

38. Karel Kosik, *Dialectics of the Concrete* (Boston: Reidel, 1977). Trans. from *Dialektika Konkretniho* (Prague: Academia, 1966). See also Barthe's later concept of *pluralité.*

39. Kosik, *Dialectics,* 79.

40. Heidegger, *Basic Writings,* 180.

41. Kosik, *Dialectics,* 81.

42. Frederick Jameson, *Marxism and Form* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1971).

43. Cf. Hans Jauss, "Der Leser als Instanz einer neuen Geschichte der Literatur," *Poetica,* 7, no. 3–4 (1975): 325–44; Hans Robert Jauss, *Aesthetic Experience and Literary Hermeneutics,* trans. Michael Shaw (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982), first published in German in 1977; Hans Robert Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception,* trans. Timothy Bahti, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982).

In the preface to the 1978 Yugoslav edition of his selected essays, Jauss writes: "My efforts to establish a new historiography of art and literature were preceded, with a different denotation, by Prague structuralism—something I realized only later. Mukařovský's semiotics and, after him, Vodička's theory of concretization, had already long surpassed the dogma of the incompatibility between synchrony and diachrony, system and process, when Western theoreticians undertook the task of introducing the structure of the thought as both process and subject into the world of linguistics" (my translation). See Hans Robert Jauss, "Preface," in *Estetika Recepcije,* trans. into Serbo-Croatian by Drinka Gojkovic (Belgarde: Nolit, 1978).

44. Hans Robert Jauss, "Art History and Pragmatic History," in *Towards an Aesthetic of Reception,* trans. Timothy Bahti, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982), 75.

45. Gadamer, *Philosophical,* 6.

46. Jan Kott, *Shakespeare notre contemporain,* trans. Anna Posner (Paris: Julliard, 1962), 87–124).

47. Kott, *Shakespeare,* 96.

48. It is important to avoid possible ambiguities regarding the specific functions of the work as an open semantic field, and the role of the interpreter who "receives" the work's excess of meaning. A notable example of a quid pro quo appears in the attempt of the architectural historian and critic K. Michael Hays to reinterpret some early works by Mies van der Rohe. ("Critical Architecture Between Culture and Form," *Perspecta,* 21 (1985): 18–29.) In his article Hays introduces the concept of "critical architecture," that is, an architecture resistant to conciliatory attitudes toward the dominant culture, yet not indifferent to the contingencies of place and time. He offers a clear insight into the shortcomings of two interpretive positions: one striving to see architecture as part of "affirmative culture" and the other seeking to view it as neutral, "pure" form. Hays's analysis of Mies demonstrates the invalidity of both positions. He claims that "critical architecture" falls between the efficient representation of preexisting cultural values and the wholly detached "autonomous" formal systems. Hays emphasizes strongly that the architectural object must be viewed as an object "whose interpretation has already commenced but is never complete" (17). This is, however, where the difficulties start, for where does Hays look for sources of this never-ending completion? The way he presents his thesis, it appears that he looks for the interpreter in the work itself and only in the work. Mies's architecture, in a sense, contains its own interpretation. What is actually left out is the interpreter himself. Interpretation fails to establish that bridge between the work and ourselves.

Mies van der Rohe's work is "critical" architecture, Hays claims, in that Mies (a) understands the world around him, (b) forms a distance from that world, (c) is capable of conveying that distance, that is, of criticizing his own time through his design. Yet, in some of the article's best passages, describing Mies's 1922 skyscraper and the 1928 Alexanderplatz, we find the critic in Hays himself, in his own dramatic intervention in what Mies as an architect is trying to say. And, surprisingly, Hays defends the thesis that critical architecture in a sense embodies its own interpretation, as he concludes that "Interpretive inquiry lies in an irreducibly architectural realm between those conditions that seem to generate or enable the architect's intention to make architecture, and those forms in which the intention is transcribed" (p. 27).

In the interpretive inquiry, thus defined, the interpreter's own work remains invisible and inconsequential. Mies's work is indeed a criticism of its own kind. Yet this medium remains strictly *formal.* In this sense, architecture itself cannot represent critique. It can only invoke it in its own medium. Architecture—critical or not—cannot relinquish its nature. It communicates through "space and volume." It cannot transcribe its language into the common language. Quite the opposite: architecture transfigures criticism into form. (Herbert Marcuse expounds eloquently on this insight in *The Aesthetic Dimension: Towards a Critique of Marxist Aesthetics* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1978). In that sense, and in that sense only, architecture remains nonoperational. The pursuit of the meaning of its forms and the meaning of the critique in them is the task of the interpreter.

49. Gadamer, *Philosophical,* 96.

50. Ibid., 11–12.

51. Ibid., 12.

52. Gadamer, *Hermeneutic und Ideologiekritik* (Frankfurt, 1971), 283–317), cited in McCarthy, *The Critical,* 414.

53. On the Gadamer-Habermas controversy, see Demetrius Teigas, *Knowledge and the Hermeneutical Understanding: A Study of the Habermas-Gadamer Debate* (Lewisburg, Pa.: Bucknell University Press, 1995).

54. Habermas, noted in McCarthy, *The Critical Theory,* 181.

55. To this Gadamer replies (evoking Max Weber's argument on values) that the critique itself is by necessity partial, contaminated with a particular point of view. Critical reflection is no less context-dependent than pure description. It may remain undecided whether the claim to appropriateness of understanding at any given time is correct. For Gadamer, the question is not whether a new understanding validates or invalidates previous tradition. "Not what we do, not what we ought to do, but what happens with us beyond our waiting and doing is the question." (Gadamer, *Philosophical,* 15)

56. Derrida's deconstruction, which draws from the hermeneutic insight that no interpretation is simply neutral, further radicalizes this position by denying any deeper logic inherent in the generation of meaning. Deconstruction puts in question not only the interpreter's capacity to disengage from the prevalent social constructs of reality, it radically doubts the

relevance of all efforts on the part of both authors and their interpreters to avoid the pitfalls of irrationality: every code is a metaphor, irrational in the long run at its very core. This relativizes further our original question about the legitimate and the illicit "concretizations" of the work. For if the fruitfulness of an insight cannot be rationally assessed for lack of criteria, then all insights are equally acceptable, the sober and the wild alike. Our age just happens to reap a higher net gain from Leonidov than from Boullée or, for that matter, from the theory of relativity than from Newtonian physics.

10

FORMS OF UNDERSTANDING: THEMATIC KNOWLEDGE AND THE MODERNIST LEGACY

N. John Habraken

The Loss of Common Ground

The practitioner's knowledge, as Schön has taught us,[1] is a knowing-in-practice that is learned by doing and that must, necessarily, be largely implicit. All good practitioners have what he calls an "artistry" that allows them to operate in complex and unclear situations where values and interests are conflicting and each case is, to an important extent, unique.

Knowing-in-practice is to be contrasted with the formal and codified knowledge by which a professional is usually identified. The latter I will call the "knowledge base": it is the domain of expertise claimed by a profession. The ability to operate from that base is what the professional is hired for in the first place. Schön argues convincingly that the knowledge base is not enough by itself. Knowing-by-doing is gained by going beyond it. The medical doctor, for instance, must know the human body, but she or he needs to know more to be able to diagnose an illness and cure the patient. The lawyer must know the law but needs to know more to apply it successfully in real-life cases. The building engineer must know physics, materials, and building construction, but needs to know more to design the best possible structure.

Of all the professional fields, architecture is where the virtue of a knowing-by-doing is most readily accepted by its practitioners. Schön rightly chooses the design studio in the architectural school—a place where the age-old master-apprentice model is still preserved—as a subject for study. Without doubt, knowing-by-doing is also more deliberately cultivated in the architect's office as compared to the situation of the lawyer or the medical doctor. In engineering, medicine, and law it seems easier to forget that the knowledge base as such is not enough. In architecture, on the other hand, we may ask what, exactly, the knowledge base is beyond which the architect must reach to be a good professional? This is the question I want to explore in this chapter.

While the lawyer has the law and the medical doctor has the human body, the architect has the building as his domain of expertise. This he shares with the builder, the developer, and other consultants working on real estate. The architect, we may assume, knows the building in an architectural way—a way that is different from the way the builder and the real estate agent know it. If we try to substantiate this reasonable assumption, however, we find that it is not at all clear what such an "architectural knowing" entails.

Many within the profession seem to agree that, if there is such a thing as architectural knowledge, it is there in an implicit way. Quite a few architects will argue that any attempt to make it more explicit will destroy it. But the problem is not necessarily that architecture does not codify its knowledge base as formally as other professions do. Granted implicitness, however, there should be some evidence that knowledge is shared among architects at all, because it is only by sharing that a professional knowledge base can be claimed.

Can any signs be found that tell us that there is, among architects, a common way of knowing built form, however implicit this knowing may be? Because, without such signs, how can we be sure that there are not as many ways to know the built environment as there are architects?

A common knowledge should be reflected in the language used within the profession. To share knowledge, a minimal vocabulary is needed. At the very least we may expect that architectural elements in the built environment—as distinct from technical elements, for instance—have their proper names. This would not yet imply any codification or formalization, but only a shared recognition. It would not, by itself, mean that we can describe the built environment as an architectural system—as an ordered and predictable phenomenon in the way the medical doctor can describe the human body and the builder can describe the technical behavior of the building. It would only indicate that the built form is known to us as we know a face, and it would support the idea that we all know it in the same way. A vocabulary of names of typically architectural elements would render the built environment discussable in terms of architecture, without need to redefine it over and over again.

Today, this modest requirement is not met. When we discuss architecture among ourselves, in teaching or otherwise, we have an alarming tendency to coin a personal vocabulary and to give things new names every time. Much effort is spent explaining to one another how a particular environment "could be seen," and comparing such ways of seeing. Moreover, we often do not address the building as an architectural form as such but tend to describe the way we experience it—how it can be used, how it behaves in its setting, what impressions it evokes. This way of discussing architecture is more a way of speaking about it in social and poetic terms. It encourages a personal language. As a way of speaking it is not authentic, but largely borrowed from the critic whose task it is to explain to laypeople the "meaning" of the building and to dwell on the impression it makes on the beholder.

A professional language for architects cannot be impressionistic but must provide a stable base for discussion of the form, among peers, with reasonable clarity and precision. Here we must admit incoherence. Schön's reference, a verbatim report on the interaction between teachers and students in the design studio, only supports the impression we already have: that there is very little in terms of a shared vocabulary allowing a lucid description of architectural form as distinct from the technical form or the poetic form.[2] There is, among architects, no common language of general significance, and apparently no desire to have one; each of us struggles in a personal way to describe what he sees.

It has not always been like that. Palladio was trained as a mason and knew how to build a building as well as any master builder. But his careful studies of the way the ancients used to build provided a base for designing, more linked with the general classical education of his patron and clients than with the trade of building. In other words, he found in classicism a truly architectural way to describe the form to be built. Rediscovered from antiquity and offering a precise terminology describing parts and their relations, the classicist architectural system, as interpreted by the Renaissance architects, held for a long time. It was, for all practical purposes, a knowledge base for seventeenth- and eighteenth-century architects: it allowed them to describe the subject of their skills.

This unifying knowledge was swept away by the modernist movement. In the late fifties, when modernism was triumphant, Summerson already pointed out that it had no form language. He suggested that the "program" has taken the place of the classicist system as architecture's unifying force, replacing, as he put it, the formal with the social. Summerson notes that this leaves a dark void between the program and the final form, requiring the designer to move from one to the other by a leap of faith. He quotes both Gropius and Gideon admitting, in so many words, to the lack of a common form-knowing (this is my term) by which this void could be bridged.[3]

Avant-Garde: A Means of Survival

Our failure to claim the built form as a common knowledge base makes architecture an individual adventure. What cannot be shared among professionals cannot be shared between the professional and the layperson either. In the past, overlap of professional knowledge with the layperson's experience allowed the latter to appreciate professional competence and, to a certain extent, to judge it. A general classicist education allowed the professional architect, like Christopher Wren, to be a gentleman and made it possible for the gentleman, like Thomas Jefferson, to be an architect. Today, all professionalism is far removed from daily experience. Most professions have come to define their knowledge base in such a technical way that its codification does not connect to the layperson's view any more. Architecture has lost its connection with the layperson too, but achieved this by not defining a knowledge base at all, disallowing the sharing of any judgment with laypeople as effectively by default as other professions do by excessive formalization. Given this divide, we reserve on our side the right to pass judgment. We tend to claim that we are hired, not just to make good buildings, but to decide what is good and bad, expecting that, at the same time, our clients will suspend their own opinion on this score. The client is necessarily reduced to arguments about costs and functionality.

A well-known anecdote renders early evidence of the making of this claim, showing how the professional and the layperson had already lost their common base by the end of the nineteenth century. When Louis Sullivan submitted his plan for the Auditorium Building in Chicago, Professor Ware of Boston was invited by Mr. Peck, the chairman of the client committee, to give his opinion. Sullivan reported the meeting to his brother in a letter, from which I quote:

> "Mr. Peck: . . . assuming that you yourself, instead of Messrs. Adler and Sullivan, had from the inception of this project been engaged to design this building, Would you, in your opinion, have arrived at a result substantially similar to theirs, or do you believe that you would have produced a result somewhat or a great deal better?
>
> Professor: Had I been entrusted with the designing of this building, I do not believe I should have reached the same result. But had I reached such a result, I should consider it the inspiration of my life."
>
> After a few more paragraphs reporting on the interview Sullivan ends his letter:
>
> "The atmosphere is considerably cleared, and I am considered an artist, it seems. Poor fools!"[4]

There were good reasons for the tacit assumption, apparently made on both sides, that the client could not know anymore from the building itself what was appropriate. A building like the Auditorium had no precedent. The classicist system of designing, although still present in some stylistic aspects, could not account for it.[5] Here was a building the size of a city block, multifunctional, built in a new technology, producing a spatial organization that could not easily be typified. In that situation the work could only be based on the legitimization of the architect, and that legitimization depended on trust.

The anecdote helps us to understand the modern professional's situation. In a world where there is no longer a commonly shared orientation as to what the good building is about, recognition must come from the personal reputation of the architect. This calls for a bootstrap operation to produce the heroic ascendancy of the individual who is different. This form of heroism is now the accepted mode and one cannot consider oneself a good architect anymore unless one has distanced oneself, by one's work, from what is more broadly normative. Frank Lloyd Wright, Sullivan's apprentice and himself a powerful role model for subsequent generations, understood this very well and played to perfection the role of outsider. This placed him in a typical modernist dilemma because, on the one hand, he preached a new "organic" architecture while, on the other hand, he could not associate himself with those embracing what he advocated without weakening his outsider's image. His second paper in the special issue of Wendingen, for instance, is a long diatribe against those who corrupt and prostitute organic architecture by emulating it. He also takes distance from his pupils and followers. Although he was admired in his lifetime by many, he could not risk to teach and lead.[6]

This attitude we recognize as the now generally accepted avant-garde position. It excuses the architect and the artist from explaining themselves. But a role, to be sustained over time, needs an approving audience. We have reason to suspect that the architect's audience wants him to play the outsider's role, seeing it as proof of authority and artistry.[7] In Sullivan's days the Western world was full of energy and new beginnings, driven by an almost innocent power of invention. But it was also rapidly becoming incomprehensible within the framework of values and meanings of the past. The architect as avant-gardist makes the incomprehensibleness of the environment acceptable to the layperson, but thereby also perpetuates it. In modernism it was probably the best way to sustain professional self-respect and assure recognition by the public.

The attitude is still with us today. Although we can understand why it emerged and how it served a profession in a period of turbulent transition, we now also see that it does not allow the cultivation of a body of knowledge. It encourages the mystification of the trade, and must, necessarily, fall back on creativity and originality as goals by themselves. But these qualities, indispensable as they are, cannot be claimed by a profession for its foundation. It is, after all, difficult to believe that the advancement of other professional fields could happen without them. Yet, in the course of time, the amazing architectural innovations of this century and the previous one came increasingly to be explained in terms of personal artistic achievement and originality. Now these qualities have become basic criteria in contemporary architectural historiography.[8]

The romantic image of the artist who is different persists among professional and laypeople today. It is based, not on shared knowledge, but on a shared belief; a joint identification with ideological overtones. As for peer group comparison, prestige is no longer achieved by becoming a first among equals, but by remaining different; by being, literally, incomparable. To the avant-garde ideology the common ground is an obstacle to success.

The Quality of the Ordinary

Where individual achievement and originality are the dominant objectives, precedent and context become a problem: their presence and inevitability must be explained. Up until Palladio's time the built environment as a context for architecture, like daily bread, remained unquestioned. It was tacitly understood that architecture, the art of the special building, took place in a living tradition. Architecture appeared amid the everyday environment the way flowers bloom among the leaves of a healthy plant. It is a matter of debate to what extent Palladian space and form were rooted in local as opposed to classical, precedent, but we can be certain that the craftsmanship used for his architecture was basically the same by which the whole environment was built: masons, bricklayers, plasterers, and carpenters plied their age-old trades. Within that familiar field of action and habitual form an architect could operate to a specific purpose. His innovation was not the result of alienation, but could grow from confidence in a stable context. There was certainty that the built environment as a whole would sustain itself. This may not have made innovation easier, compared to today, but gave it context. Where the vernacular act was like "water in water" to borrow from Bataille,[9] architecture was the fish in the water, recognizable in its transparent environment, but impossible without it.

Only much later, when this stable context, which so far had been taken for granted, slowly crumbled under the weight of modernity, the everyday environment, by default, attracted the attention of architects in two ways. In terms of theory the ordinary came to be seen as a source of inspiration: the recognition of something that has become precious. In terms of action the ordinary was to be replaced by architecture: a territory to be invaded. Both ways deserve our attention.

As for the first, there always was a kinship between the common house and the church, the temple, or the mosque. Early evidence of it is found in the remarkable ninth-century St. Gall model of a monastery (figures 10.1 and 10.2). It shows plans for the whole range of buildings of the monastery, which

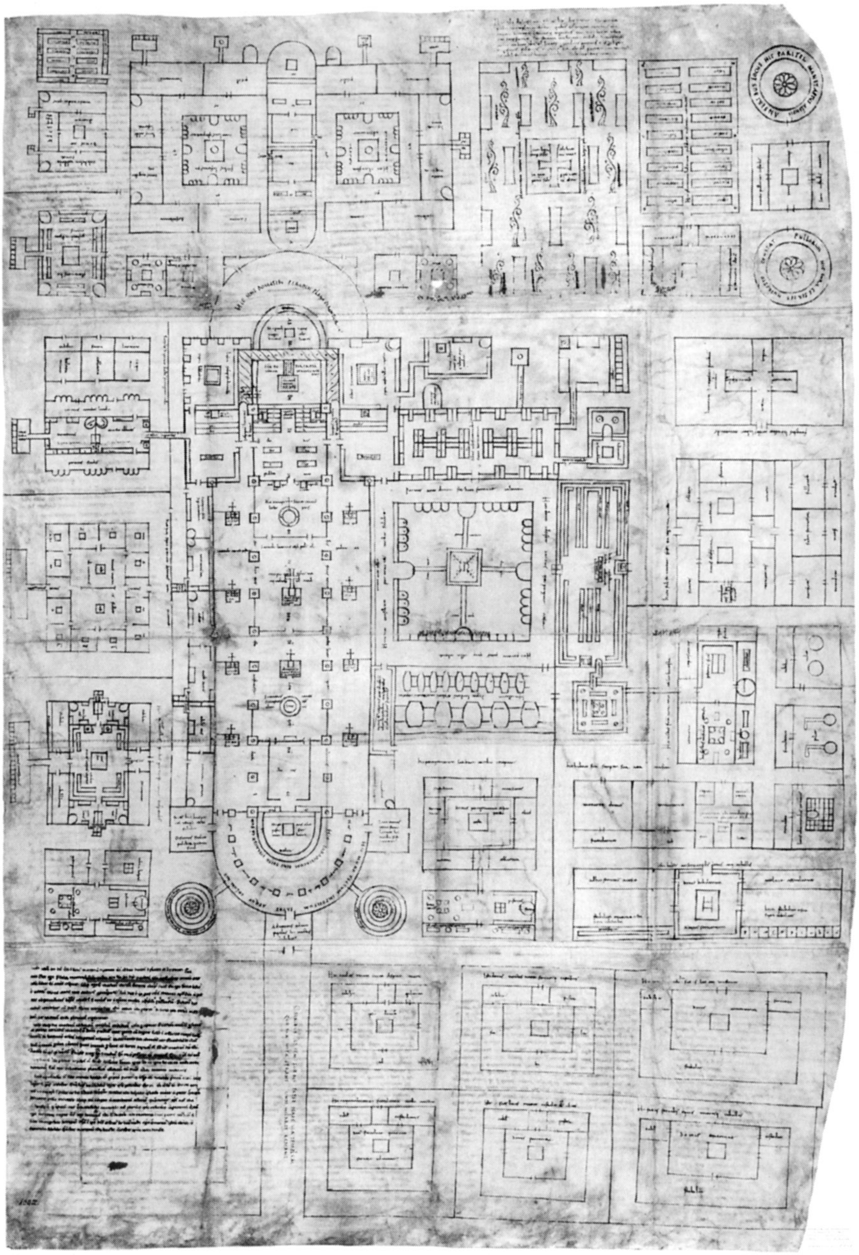


Figure 10.1 Plan of St. Gall. In the lower left-hand corner the House for Distinguished Guests of Figure 10.2. (From a facsimile print of the *92 Neujahrsblatt, historischen Vereins des Kanton St. Gallen* (St. Gall: Fehr'schen Buchhandlung, 1952.)

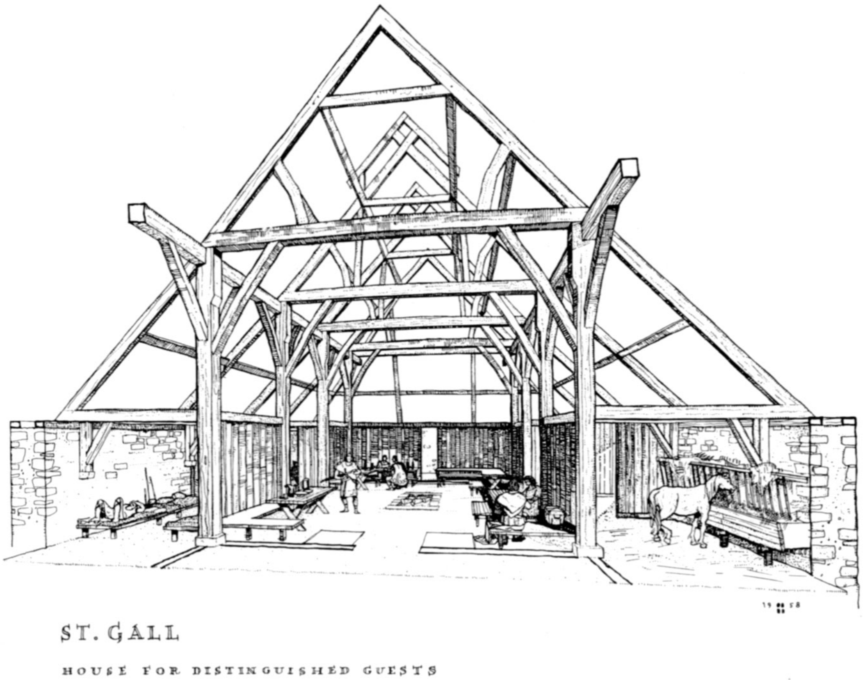


Figure 10.2 Plan of St. Gall. House for Distinguished Guests. (Reconstruction by Walter Horn and Ernest Born, from Lorna Price, *The Plan of St. Gall in Brief* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979.)

range can be ordered, without difficulty, as a continuous transformation within a single architectural theme, from one building to another; from the hen house, via the workplaces, the guest house, and the abbot's house, to the church as its final apotheosis.[10]

This continuum between architecture and the ordinary had ceased to work when Sullivan and Mr. Peck asked Professor Ware to solve their dilemma. A few decades later, the everyday environment had become sufficiently foreign to be deliberately borrowed from or to be inspired by. I should mention here the young Le Corbusier's studies of the Mediterranean vernacular and his later fascination, shared with others, with the steamship and the motorcar, grain silos, and cooling towers. Four decades later we find Venturi and Scott-Brown studying Las Vegas.[11]

Le Corbusier, Venturi, and Scott-Brown, each in his or her own way, the first in search of plasticity, the others in search of symbolism, had the courage to suggest architecture could find inspiration in the ordinary. By doing so they effectively invented the notion of the ordinary by giving it recognition. But this served only to underline the distinction between it and architecture. Le Corbusier saw the ordinary as a foreign species: a source of artifacts to borrow from in the way the artist always had borrowed from nature. But *Learning from Las Vegas* made a link: the title could make one think that architecture might relate to the ordinary as man relates to the ape. The resulting commotion among the profession only showed the extent to which it had allowed itself to believe that architecture was a self-generating enterprise.[12] But in the end the profession declined to learn and decided to see the book only as a justification for taking freely from precedent: the beginning of postmodernism. No one seriously questioned the idea that architecture was independent of the ordinary. In any case the Palladian model remained intact: at best, Venturi and Scott-Brown's advocacy of the mundane as something worth studying is comparable to Palladio's measuring of Roman ruins. In both cases there was a scrutiny of precedent in support of a new definition of architecture. But where Palladio sought a lost perfection—indeed a discipline—Venturi and Scott-Brown looked for something fresh and innocent: a liberation from modernist constraints.

The most determined attempt to rediscover the everyday environment in terms of architecture was made by Christopher Alexander in his pattern language studies.[13] By describing patterns as timeless forms not invented by architects, but of importance for their work, Alexander showed a way that could lead us to see how architecture depends on the everyday environment. But he did not follow that route to its final conclusion. His desire to also establish the objective truth of patterns made him present them as "solutions" to "problems," which put him in a functionalist mode. This prevented him from presenting patterns as primarily sustained by social convention as opposed to professional research.

It seems to me that the power of patterns is exactly that people know them and agree to apply them and by doing so make the built environment a collective endeavor in which architects would benefit by participating. Without this conventional dimension, the pattern is at risk of becoming a catalog item for the architect to pick and choose from. Alexander's proposal remains ambiguous. We are not sure whether he wants the pattern to be just another architectural inspiration or to be used as a vehicle for agreement with others.

This ambiguity is at the core of our professional condition, and leads us to the fundamental and unsolved problem with which modernism has left us: that is, the invasion of the ordinary under the now generally accepted assumption that everything to be built can be architecture. This assumption is radical, universal, and virtually unnoticed, but nevertheless acted upon with deliberation.

The idea that everything that is built should be included within the architect's domain was not posed abruptly but emerged gradually over a long period of time. In the middle of the seventeenth century, Le Muet[14] already designed a series of houses in which, for the first time, the humble urban house was seen as an object of architectural attention, equal, in this respect, to the mansion of the seigneur. There is reason to believe that he formalized a typology already in place. This led him much further along toward the ordinary than Serlio, who, a century earlier, in his book on "domestic architecture,"[15] was mainly concerned with palaces and large mansions. In the few designs for humble houses included in his book, Serlio demonstrates his ignorance of the state of the art of his time. This much we may conclude from the studies on mundane houses in historic Venice by Tricanato[16] (figures 10.3 and 10.4).

In modern times the architecture of the ordinary dwelling acquired moralistic overtones, beginning with Victorian designs for the "cottage for the worker" and culminating in massive public housing programs. Among the early probings into the territory of the ordinary we may count also the bold demonstrations of Behrens and Gropius showing that places for work and manufacture could be architecture. But it is particularly domestic form that is made to serve new visions for architecture and urbanism, as first, and most arrogantly, demonstrated by Le Corbusier in his Plan Voisin.

Soon all this is serious business and well before the Second World War, in Europe, professional design of domestic, utilitarian, and commercial space is no longer an exception.

The professionalization of the ordinary reversed its relation to the special: for the first time in history the special no longer grew from the mundane. It used to be that the mosque and the church grew from the ordinary house by invention and elaboration. Now the daring skyscraper is there first and is used as the model for the standard high-rise apartment building. In the past the monumental masonry dome evolved from the mud brick version. Now the daring prestressed concrete bridge eventually leads to the mass-produced concrete slab applied to housing construction. Where in the past the special was the product of everyday practice honed to perfection, now daily practice is a domesticated version of innovative engineering and design. Where first the special grew from the ordinary as a plant grows from fertile soil, now the ordinary is a reduction on a massive scale of what is achieved in the special building.

Although this reversal of the direction of influence and parentage seems so far to have escaped the attention of the historian, it seems worth a study and an assessment of its consequences. The phenomenon may well be just modernist and therefore transitory, but today, for the first time in history, domestic

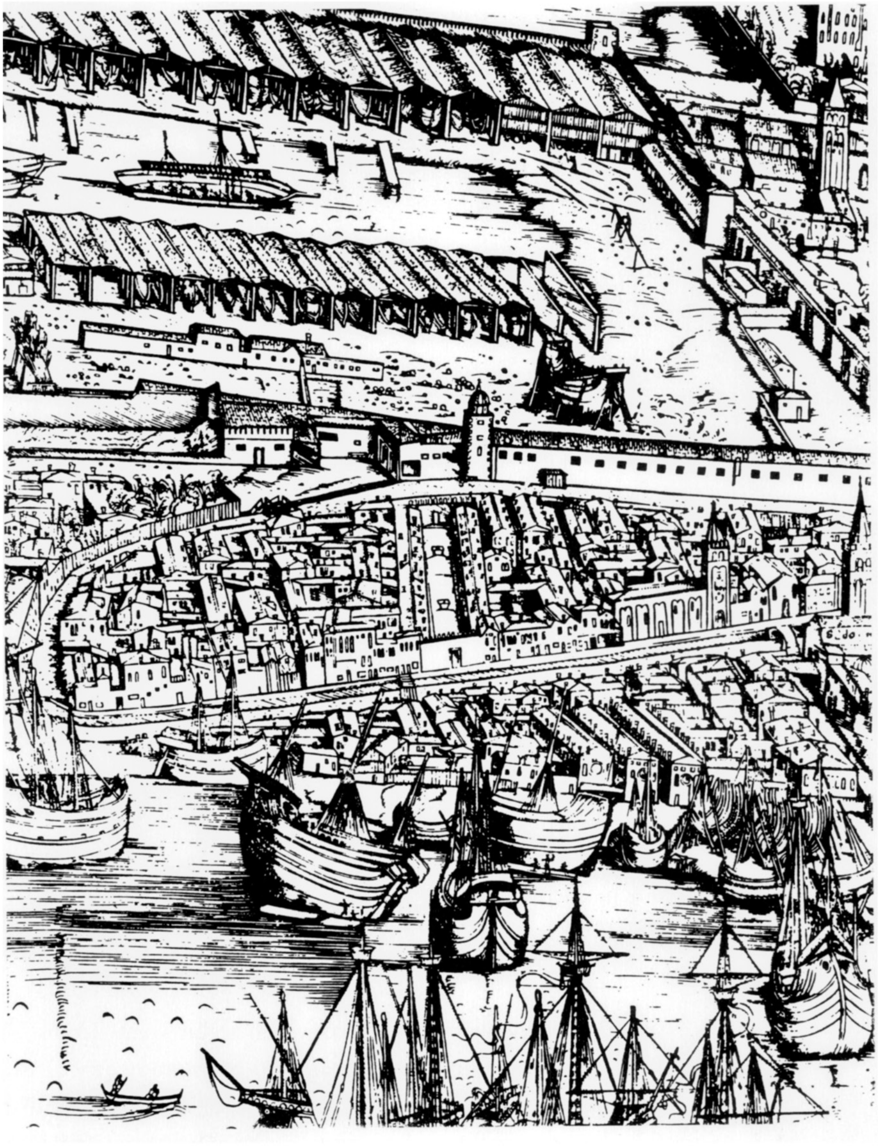


Figure 10.3 Detail of Venice from the map by Jacopo de' Barbari, showing the house type of figure 10.4 in the urban fabric near the arsenal, as identified by Tricanato.

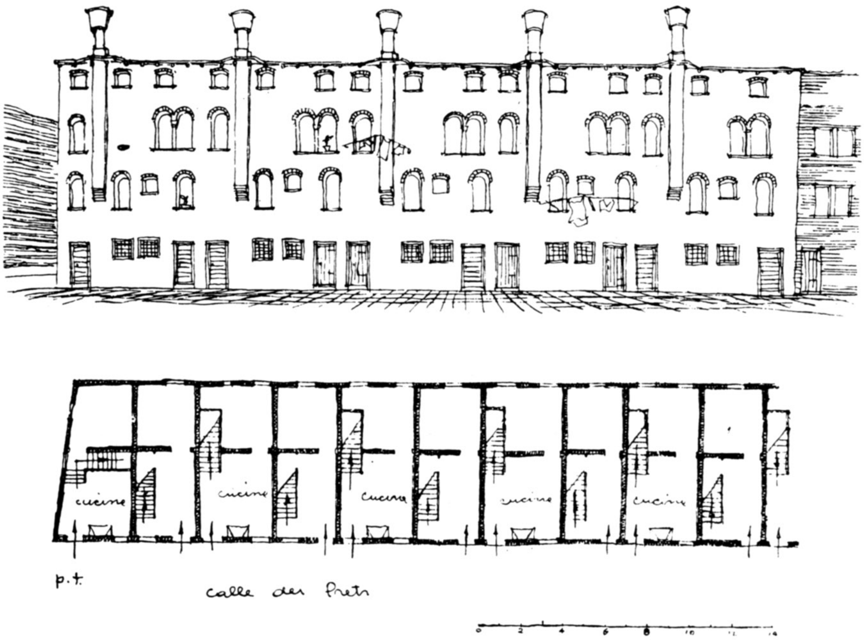


Figure 10.4 Collective housing in Venice, quattrocento. (From Egle Renata Trincanato, *Venetia Minore* (Venice: Filippi Editore, 1948). One of a very large number of examples of diverse types of low-income residential construction from the duecento to the settecento. The one shown here, of two duplex units on top of one another, each with its own ground-floor entrance, has been reinvented in modern times.

space is no longer the soil from which architecture grows. The modernist mass housing projects, in their reductionist monumentality, abased the ordinary and rendered it powerless. Being products of architects, and discussed and published as architecture, these projects have led some of the younger generation, who mistakenly see in their banality a lack of design, to strive for something "exceptional" when engaging the next housing project, thus only exacerbating the problem.

It is now generally assumed, within the profession and among its teachers, that all parts of the built environment are within the professional domain.[17] The fact is irreversible, but the astounding aspect of this change is that its impact and meaning have remained largely unexamined. In fact the profession has gone about it as if it made no real difference for the role of the architect or, for that matter, for the environment. Consequently the new task was engaged upon without a reexamination of the professional role, maintaining the Palladian preeminence of the special building as well as the avant-gardist disdain for shared values, leaving unrecognized the problem of the ordinary.

Yet it seems legitimate to ask how today's making of the ordinary must be understood and how it relates to the traditional way of seeing architecture. So far, our teaching and our theorizing have not addressed the remarkable fact that everything is special now.

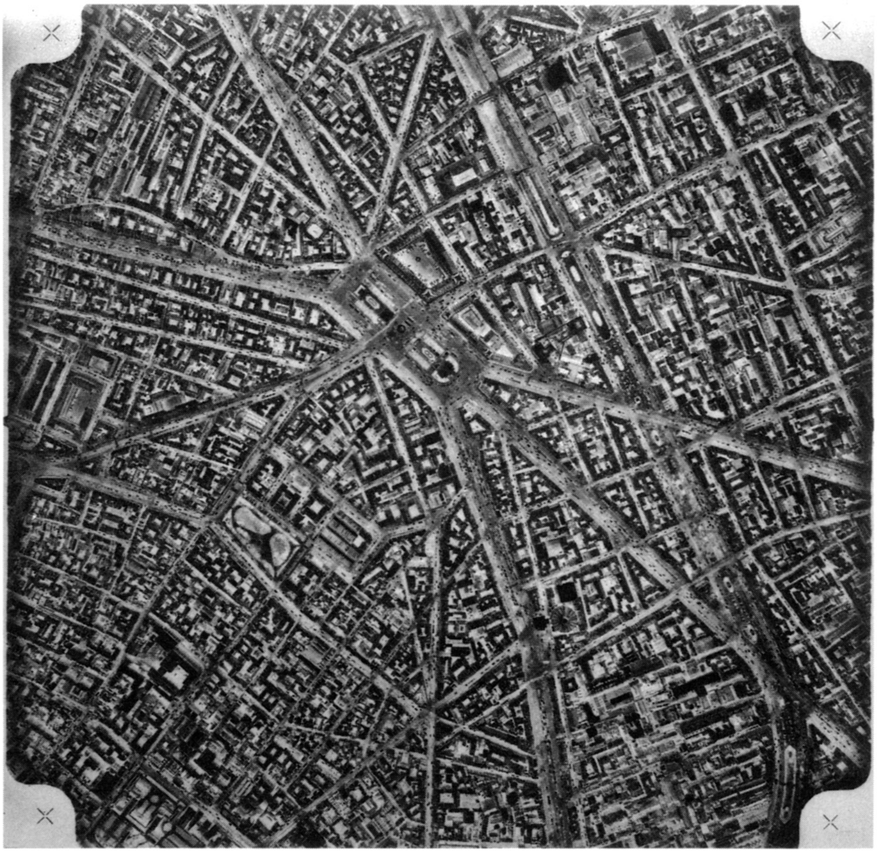
Thematic Knowledge

It has become customary to bemoan a lack of coherence in the modern built environment. I once assisted at a formal gathering of corporate managers where a well-known architect was invited to speak. As his audience without doubt expected him to do, he spoke of the apparent randomness of the present-day cityscape and its lack of overall quality in spite of the fact that individual buildings might have merit. He expressed the wish that a latter-day John Nash would appear who could, by a grand gesture, bring order to the apparent chaos. We all have heard similar wishes expressed: would it not be desirable that somehow our incoherent modern environment would be shaped by an ordering hand?

Unfortunately, apart from the question as to what extent the incoherence is real, this remedy is not available to us today, precisely because, in contrast to the nineteenth century, there is no longer a generally accepted environmental fabric out of which the grand gesture can be made. John Nash lived at the end of a long period in which a strong typology for both building and urban form had been developed. The British terraced house as used by Nash and his colleagues—with its typical sunken area between sidewalk and facade and its vertical development between party walls—first emerged in the late seventeenth century[18] and had generally been employed for over a century already before it appeared in Regent's Park.[19] The uniform facade, shared by a row of houses, had been applied by Adam, Wood, and others. The shaping of urban spaces with the help of such facades had already been done in Bath and in the well-known London squares, particularly those of the Bedford estate. It is not a belittlement of Nash's achievement to conclude that his monumental vision was accepted and acted upon because there was a good deal of precedent available. Nash's proposal, not less brilliant for it, was easily understood in the context of time and place and therefore could be implemented in a relatively short time with the cooperation of a host of collaborators, designers, tradesmen, builders,[20] and also clients willing to invest in his scheme. Regent's Park and Regent's Street were not the result of something revolutionary, but the apotheosis of something familiar. Nash's intervention was the end of an era, and one of the last occasions when a shared knowledge of the built environment could inspire a collective intervention, still admired today, summarizing all that had been done before.

A similar consensus as to what the built environment was about can be seen in Haussmann's restructuring of Paris by a network of boulevards (figure 10.5). There are of course good reasons to label this enterprise not only ambitious but also innovative. However, Haussmann's genius operated particularly in the realm of management and financing. This made possible the monumental interventions on the level of the urban structure. On the level of the urban fabric itself, however, conventional form was relied upon to absorb the resulting reverberations. The boulevards gave new life to an extant living urban fabric which was adapted to the new scale by the thematic development of the

Figure 10.5 Aerial photograph of central Paris showing Hausmann's boulevards.



familiar Parisian urban courtyard building—a type that originally appeared as the feudal Parisian *hôtel* to be adapted, eventually, for bourgeois society.

Here is Marcel Proust describing one of these earlier examples:

> It was one of those old town houses, a few of which for all I know may still be found, in which the main courtyard was flanked—alluvial deposits washed there by the rising tide of democracy, perhaps, or a legacy from a more primitive time when the different trades were clustered round the overlord—by little shops and workrooms, a shoemaker's, for instance, or a tailor's, such as we see nestling between the buttresses of those cathedrals which the aesthetic zeal of the restorer has not swept clear of such accretions, and a porter who also did cobbling, kept hens, grew flowers—and, at the far end, in the main house, a "countess" who, when she drove out in her old carriage and pair, flaunting on her hat a few nasturtiums which seemed to have escaped from the plot by the lodge . . . dispensed smiles and little waves of the hand impartially to the porter's children and to any bourgeois tenants who might happen to be passing and whom, in her disdainful affability and her egalitarian arrogance, she found indistinguishable from one another.[21]

Haussmann's planners and architects did not only use this building type, while adapting and standardizing it for wholesale application. They also maintained, as a characteristic pattern, the typical Parisian *entresol* (figures 10.6 and 10.7). This low floor just above the ground floor, usually serving the shops or workplaces below, is previously seen in eighteenth- and seventeenth-century Paris. Its consistent application along the boulevards determined to a large extent the scale experienced by the pedestrian on the sidewalk; the combined height of ground floor and entresol could be used to enhance the shop's facades and to create high gateways leading into the courtyards. This made for a flexible facade zone at street level almost independent of the five or six residential floors above, with their standardized windows and cast-iron balconies.[22]

In Haussmann's Paris, as in Nash's London, the continuation of available patterns and types synergized the work of all parties involved, making it possible for them to cooperate without undue discussion as to what the built environment should be like. The ingredients of the new were familiar enough to channel all energies toward achieving it. To appreciate the efficiency and power of a shared image we must think of the inevitable proliferation of radically different proposals that would appear, indeed would be solicited, if an urban intervention of such scope were to be considered today. Different designers would come with totally different images of what the city should be about. That there is little evidence of such debates in the times of Haussmann and Nash cannot be explained by heavy-handed top-down decision-making

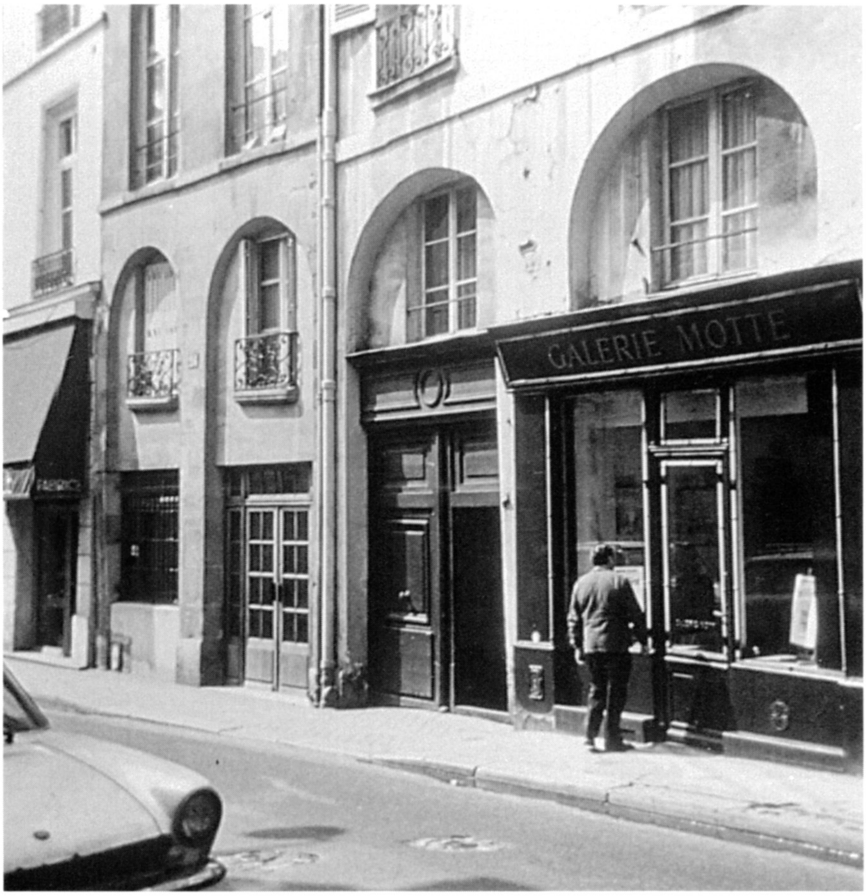


Figure 10.6 (A and B) Entresol, Paris. Historic examples from the Left Bank. (Photographs by the author.)

only, which, of course, did apply in both situations. The possibility of alternative worlds to be chosen from simply did not arise.

Nineteenth-century London and Paris fit into a long tradition of built environments in which a shared typology was a unifying force. Of course, we are familiar with the many older examples available to us: Venice, Amsterdam, Imperial Beijing, Medieval Cairo, Imperial Kyoto, and a host of other cities of consistent and well-knit urban fabrics come to mind. Indeed, we are familiar with whole families of environments each member of which shares similar characteristics: the porticoes of the north Italian medieval and Renaissance cities (such as Bologna and Padua), the Greek colonial towns, and the Middle Eastern urban fabric based on a variety of courtyard house forms, are obvious examples. In discussions about urban quality these environments have become

standard references. But the point still to be made is that their worth as models of environmental quality lies not primarily in the public spaces and monuments we have so diligently studied, but in the more anonymous urban fields that surround them and make them possible. These environments all show types and patterns by which we recognize them, in the same way we recognize the tree, first of all, and most certainly, by the shape of its leaves.

Classicism served for a long time as a unifying architectural system shared by architects and their clients. Types and patterns are also shared forms, but they are rooted more deeply and are more durable than architectural style. They evolve slowly over time, tending to persist while styles are applied to them. The Amsterdam canal houses of the Baroque and the classicist periods for example, in spite of their different facades, have a strong kinship in spatial organization. The same can be said, to give another example, of the Venetian "palaces" of the Gothic and Renaissance periods.[23]

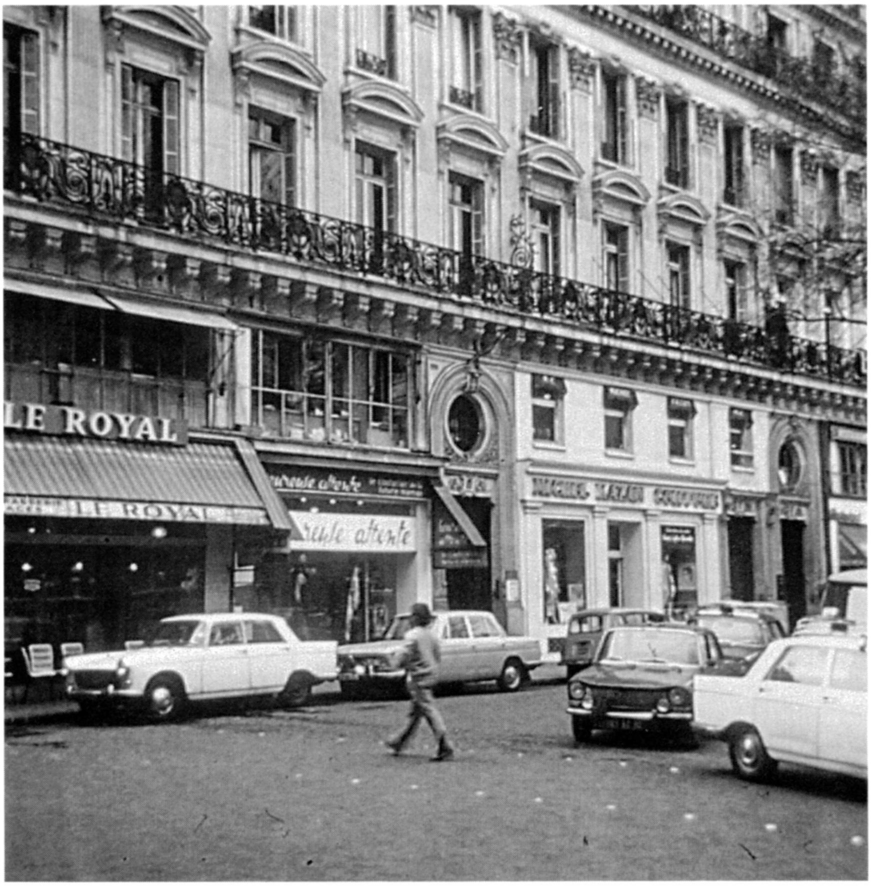


Figure 10.7 (A and B) Entresol, Paris, along Hausmann's boulevards. (Photographs by the author.)

This leads us back to the topic of knowledge. These constant forms—stylistic systems, types, and patterns—represent a deeply rooted, but largely implicit, knowledge of space and built form, shared by clients, builders, and architects, by which built environments always have lived. I will call this shared knowing of form "thematic knowledge," meaning knowledge of the built form to the extent that it reflects the agreements, tacit or otherwise, honored by those who act on it. Thematic knowledge is the knowledge of what is not to be different, what is to remain constant. It is "thematic" in the sense that it is recorded by the act of building itself: each instance built is an affirmation of the shared theme by which the actors identify themselves in contributing their personal interpretation of it.[24]

Now that we assume that our built environment, in its ordinary wholeness, is a professional product, thematic knowledge can no longer be taken for

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granted. We have lost the innocence that comes with the self-evident. The implicit way in which thematic knowledge presented itself in the past is no longer sufficient. It now must be understood and cultivated with deliberation to be effective again. We therefore would do well to study the impact its application, or lack thereof, can have on the health and quality of the environment. The purposeful study of what so far has been known only by doing, and subsequently has been rendered powerless by default, may well be the key to a renewal of the professional role.

Forms of Understanding

By way of arguing its role and importance I conclude this chapter with a few more words about thematic knowledge.

First of all, the difference between thematic knowledge and scientific knowledge should be appreciated. In nature we also find regularities like systems, types, and patterns, which we employ to explain what we are looking at, and with which we develop theories that must allow us to predict what happens when we intervene by experiment. If it turns out that nature's behavior cannot be accurately predicted, we have only one course to take: we must change our theories. The built environment, on the other hand, although it resembles in many ways a complex living organism, is, ultimately, an artifact. Any regularities, systems, patterns, and types we find in it are therefore not irreversible, but are subject to human agreement as expressed by our acts. Therefore, if discrepancies occur between the theory we hold of the built environment and the realities we observe, more than one way is open to us. We may change our theory, but we also may seek to change what happens. In fact, if something irregular is found, it may well be the beginning of a new pattern. Whether this will be the case is to be decided among participants and cannot be a result of objective investigation.

For this reason, thematic knowledge lives in a social body from which it cannot be separated. Our understanding of it must be gained by a study of the built environment not just as a form, but as a form representing agreement among the agents making it. When we seek its cultivation we want to understand, among other things, what social and physical conditions are beneficial to it, and what mechanisms can most effectively be employed in support of it.

Indeed, thematic knowledge does not depend on function, meaning, or techniques; it is a knowledge of built form to the extent that it is a shared form, and to that extent only. This becomes clear when we consider how agreement is reached in the built environment. For instance, people may agree to plant a tree. One of them will go along with that decision because he wants to sit in the tree's shadow. Another may value the fruits it will bear. Yet another expects to enjoy looking at it from her window. The form is what unites people, not necessarily its meaning or usefulness. Therefore, seeking agreement about meaning or function is not the way toward agreement about the form. The same function can always be met in another way and a given form can always convey different meanings to different people. Individual actors follow certain themes of form-making for their own, usually complex, reasons. These themes are joined, changed, or abandoned over time but, as we recognize them, we feel we "understand" the built environment. It is the form, and the form alone, that unites us as inhabitants.

Hence, when we speak of types, patterns, systems, and styles, we describe various ways in which a social body can share form. These can be called "forms of understanding" because it is by their acceptance that mutual understandings are reached among actors and all manner of agreements, rules, habits, conventions—tacit or explicit, formal or informal—are followed. The study of the occurrence of forms of understanding therefore entails the study of what is common and similar in contrast to the study of what is special and different to which we are now so much accustomed.

The forms of understanding we see in the built environment are closely linked to the names we give them. As already mentioned, the vocabulary we use to describe the forms we see indicates the extent to which we share knowledge of the built environment. Its name makes a form real. When observers recognize a type it is always, to a certain degree, their creation. With the best of intentions they can only assume that what they see is what the people who built the observed form saw as well. A pattern, likewise, is always, to a certain degree, a post hoc interpretation observers agree on. But when we find that there is already a name for what we observe, we know we are on firm ground. The name used is an irrefutable indication of understanding among those using it. Named forms support and legitimate thematic intervention. We may, for instance, have different opinions as to what exactly the Pompeiian house type is all about, but we do know, among other things, that a space called "atrium" was part of it. When we use that word we partake in thematic knowledge and a world of its own is evoked by it.

Let me describe how I think a Pompeiian citizen might "know" an atrium:

> A space, partly exposed to the sky, but shaped like a large room with the roof coming down to an opening in the center, below which is a basin to receive the rainwater. The rays of the sun diagonally penetrate the shaded space so that a spot of light travels across the floor, scanning tiles and mosaic pebbles. The walls of that space, standing back in the shade, have painted decorations and are pierced with dark holes for windows and doors of adjacent rooms, and for passages to other parts of the house; and at some places there are recessions offering a space to sit in. Beyond a dark portal is the gate to the outside, and when it opens the sun-drenched street is visible. On the other side, in the axis, is found the ancestor's shrine.

The description of a place is inevitably personal, but its name legitimates it in a society. Each culture had its particular names for architectural forms. There is the *iwan* in the traditional Arabian house, the *serambi* of the Malayan house, and the *zaguán* in the Latin-American tradition, to name only a few that come to mind.[25] We already discussed the entresol as another example. Closer to home and more modestly, we know of the attic, the basement, and the porch. These are all architectural forms in that they have clear identity but at the same time are technically and functionally indeterminate and open to interpretation. Typically such names are known by laypeople and builders alike.

The last century or two, as we have seen, have yielded little in terms of new names by which we may discuss an environment so dramatically different from those in the past. The "strip" and the "mall" come to mind as characteristic of the latter-day North American environment. These examples are more urban than architectural. Le Corbusier, with his unerring instinct for the built form's autonomy, proposed names for what he believed to be new generic forms: the *pilotis,* for example, and the *brise soleil.* Although these names do not denote space as much as shape and have functional origins, they evoke architectural images. But the invention of a single architect does not alone make an environmental understanding, and modernist individualism did not encourage the use of words introduced by a colleague, even if the forms themselves were emulated.

While thematic knowledge—as found in systems, styles, patterns, and types—resides within a social body, this body may or may not be located in one place. The thematic coherence we find in historic cities represents a knowledge congruent with a location. But, as with the neoclassicist way of building, thematic knowledge may reside within a social network as well, operating internationally and independently of any particular locale. The modernist idea of an "International Style" was not new; neoclassicism was there before. Modernism as a style, however, belonged to an artistic and intellectual elite recently denounced by its own children, while neoclassicism, by and large, tended to go with power and a certain education. Both were architectural systems residing in a network society.

The international acceptance of the skyscraper, to give another example, can also be seen as evidence of thematic knowledge, this time not stylistic but typological and loaded with symbolic significance, residing in a worldwide, predominantly commercial and bureaucratic network society. In this century the network mode has become increasingly dominant for a number of reasons, not the least of which is the increase of professionalism, itself essentially a network culture.

Thus there are at least two modes by which a social body can harbor thematic knowledge: by network and by location. There is evidence in abundance that local societies are not stagnant in developing their own environmental knowledge. Large parts of the fast-growing cities in the Third World and, in fact, much of the suburban culture of the first one, have yielded new patterns, systems, and types, revealing local coherences in ways not found elsewhere. This knowledge, however, is rarely valued by professional designers. Even when they happen to be involved in it they tend to be apologetic about it and to dismiss the forms as "vernacular" or "informal" or even worse, "suburban," because their involvement does not give them peer group recognition. But in extent and variety these newly emerged environments undoubtedly exceed the thematic knowledge accepted in the profession.[26] They are just not on record as being architecturally significant.

One of the most interesting aspects of environmental knowledge, once we bring ourselves to study it, will lie in the comparisons to be made along the two distinctions mentioned above: the one between the network and the local, and the other between the formal and the informal.

I have argued that thematic knowledge was always the source of architecture, that it is the soil in which architecture grows. If the whole of the built environment is to be architecture, this soil can only be our product, and must be cultivated intentionally. To that purpose we must now learn to appreciate the dialectic relation between the cultivation of "forms of understanding" on the one hand, and their transformation toward more specific architectural articulation on the other.

It is easy to see, however, that our present architectural culture, obsessed with originality and self-expression, will find no merit in an epistemology of the thematic, and that it cannot be expected to engage in its exploration. If such knowledge were made available, it would be reluctant to accept its findings, and much more so to openly use them.

On the other hand, as we all know, the architectural profession is already fully immersed in the everyday built environment, making every kind of building in it. This reality is a strong argument for the recognition of thematic knowledge, and the deliberate cultivation of it.

The difficulties we encounter when trying to reconcile the new reality with professional self-esteem come mainly from an outdated architectural ideology. Although postmodernism rejected correctly, albeit for the wrong reasons,[27] the modernist quest for a unifying style, it perpetuates, with a vengeance the avant-gardist tradition. We now suffer the consequences of this outdated position, useful as a means of professional survival in a time of transition, but a liability now that an architecture of the special is no longer of essence. Therefore postmodernism cannot be a harbinger of the future, but must remain, as its name indicates, an extension of the past. Our way of seeing ourselves as professionals is increasingly out of tune with our daily practice, creating problems of identity for both the practitioner and the student. As long as this discrepancy persists, we will remain a profession without a knowledge base.

An attempt to cultivate thematic knowledge could be supported by a historiography in which we look at the emergence of common forms—as opposed to just new forms—taking into account those who are sharing them. The main objective should be to understand our present environments, so radically different from those in the past, as the result of a collective search for new thematic knowledge. We should look at what, in an age of invention and revolution, eventually became commonly accepted and is now already taken for granted in practice. We should study modern architectural history as the slow but certain emergence of a new body of patterns and types. In doing so, we may find a rich sediment of already common forms and spaces—perhaps even the beginning of a new vocabulary—deposited over time by experiment and innovation. We should advance theories about the nature of such "forms of understanding" and their role in society, because it is by these forms that environments prosper and professional competence must be measured.

Notes

1. Donald A. Schön, *Educating the Reflective Practitioner* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1987).

2. Schön's reference: the protocols recorded by Roger Simmonds and others of a study on architectural education directed by William Porter of MIT and Maurice Kilbridge of Harvard in the late seventies.

3. John N. Summerson, "The Case for a Theory of 'Modern' Architecture," in *The Unromantic Castle* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1990).

4. Willard Connely, *Louis Sullivan as He Lived: The Shaping of American Architecture* (New York: Horizon Press, 1960).

5. According to Connely, Professor Ware suggested some changes in the facade and in the tower that were readily accepted by Sullivan and Adler.

6. Frank Lloyd Wright, *In the Cause of Architecture,* second paper, May 1914, as printed in the Wendingen book on Frank Lloyd Wright's work, consisting of seven issues of the magazine, edited by Wijdeveld, published by Mees, Santpoort, the Netherlands, 1925.

7. Take, as an extreme example, the popularity of Ayn Rand's *The Fountainhead.* But we all are familiar with more daily evidence of the tacit acceptance of the avant-garde position of the artist (including the architect) by the general public.

8. In spite of a good deal of responsible studies done to place innovative architecture in the context it grew out of, the emphasis is always on the individual oeuvre, or the attempt to identify a distinct "school." We still must wait for a more comprehensive attempt to explain the architecture of the last two centuries as a search for a new common ground to replace the older one, the search for a new vocabulary, and the emergence of new types of spatial organization among designers who consider themselves cultivating very different architectures; in short, stressing what was new and shared rather than what was new and different. This kind of study might explain the rise and fall of modernism against the background of the gradual emergence of new contemporary vernaculars. But we are probably still too close to it ourselves to be able to do that.

9. Georges Bataille, *Theory of Religion,* trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Zone Books) 1992.

10. Walter Horn and Ernest Born, *The Plan of St. Gall* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), as well as Lorna Price, *The Plan of St. Gall in Brief* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982). The authors, moreover, trace the development of the type back to the Germanic culture of the Iron Age.

11. Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown, and Steven Izenour, *Learning from Las Vegas* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1972).

12. The original introduction to the studio task as quoted from in the preface of the first edition of *Learning from Las Vegas* suggests a desire to really come to grips with the reality of the new environment: "Such a study will help to define a new type of urban form emerging in America and Europe, radically different from what we have known; one that we have been ill equipped to deal with and that, from ignorance, we define today as urban sprawl. An aim of this studio will be . . . to come to understand this new form and to begin to evolve new techniques for its handling." The emphasis on "the forgotten Symbolism of Architectural Form" given in the preface of the revised edition points in another direction.

13. Christopher Alexander et al., *A Pattern Language* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977).

14. Pierre Le Muet (1591–1669), *Manière de bien bâtir* (1664; reprint, Farnborough, England: Gregg International, 1972).

15. A. Placzek, J. S. Ackerman, and M. N. Rosenfeld, *Sebastino Serlio on Domestic Architecture: The Sixteenth-Century Manuscript of Book VI in the Avery Library of Columbia University* (New York: Architectural History Foundation; Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1978).

16. Egle Renata Trincanato, *Venezia Minore* (Venice: Filippi Editore, 1948). Trincanato's research on urban domestic residential forms for the ordinary people of Venice of between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries shows a variety of buildings holding small apartments of an amazing sophistication in arrangement.

17. This assumption may hold true for parts of Europe, but in the world at large the actual role of the architect is severely limited, Most residential construction is done without architectural design, and of that only a small part is done by professional builders and developers as we know them in formal processes. All the rest, now called "informal construction," is the result of a much older process, based on the involvement of craftsmen and small contractors as much as dwellers and their neighbors and relatives. However, my topic here is how architecture sees itself, and in that perspective, the everyday world is its product.

18. John Summerson, *Georgian London* (London: Peregrine Books, 1978). See, particularly, chapter 5, "The London House and Its Builders."

19. Stephan Muthesius, *The English Terraced House* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1982). "As the level of the ground floor was usually that of the street or footpath, the

front part of the basement was normally situated completely below ground. To make a separate front access possible for the basement, and also to give it a proper window, a space was created in front of it, about 1.50m to 3m wide, which was called 'the area.' Thus the front of the house was separated from the ground floor by a bridge. The door to the basement was usually fitted underneath that bridge, and a small, steep flight of stairs in the area led up to the footpath."

Nash deviates from this pattern in some places where he places the entrance of the houses at the back side to keep the uniformity of the facade. This allowed him (e.g., Carlton house terraces) to keep the basement area above ground forming a full-sized base for the giant columns.

20. Summerson, op. cit., chapter 13.

21. Marcel Proust, *The Guermantes Way,* trans. C. K. Scott-Montcrieff (New York: Random House, 1934).

22. Ordinances given out during Hausmann's time and before only regulated building, street width, building height, and access to air. Neither type nor pattern were subject to formal regulation. I rely on a study by Sabate Bell on the development of regulation in urbanism in Paris and Barcelona: Joaquin Sabate Bell, *El Proyecto de la Calle Sin Nombre. Los Reglamentos Urbanos de la Edificacion* (doctoral thesis, Universitat Polytechnica de Catalunya).

23. John McAndrew, *Venetian Architecture of the Early Renaissance* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1980), 195. "Renaissance palaces are no bigger or showier than the preceding late Gothic ones that are equally proclamations of the glory and wealth of a family. They look different mainly because their owners wanted them to look different, and the difference is only skin deep."

24. I use the term for both the knowledge shared and for its epistemology: our understanding of how it works, how it can be discussed, and how it can be cultivated.

25. The *iwan* is a vaulted niche facing a courtyard with a platform where one can sit. The *serambi* is a porchlike form in front of the wood and bamboo framed house raised a few feet above the grade level on whitewashed piers, originally with its palm leaf roof, but now under corrugated cement sheets: the *zaguán* is a passage from the street to the courtyard, usually closed on the street side with doors with glass panels. It is comparable in age to the Roman *fauces*.

26. It is the exceptional merit of the Aga Khan Foundation, by its publications and prizes, that it focuses on the link between professional architecture and thematic knowledge, however tentative and pragmatic its intellectual foundation may be. This reinforces my belief that the development of a truly thematic architecture, liberating us from modernism's obsession with the special and the individual, may occur more easily outside the Western tradition.

27. The wrong reason being that it hampered "self-expression" and was, itself, the expression of a former generation. This is too selfish a reason and of interest only to a professional body. A better reason would be that a single system of understanding is not sufficient in a world as large and complex as ours. There are different social bodies and social bodies tend to have their own forms of understanding, perhaps akin to one another, but not the same.

IV URBANISMS

11

LEARNING FROM "MENDICANT AMERICA": H. P. BERLAGE'S ENCOUNTER WITH THE AMERICAN CITY

Nancy Stieber

> This mendicant America, this curious, peering, itinerant, imitative America, studious of Greece and Rome, of England and Germany, will take off its dusty shoes, will take off its glazed traveller's cap, and sit at home with repose and deep joy on its face. The world has no such landscape, the aeons of history no such hour, the future no equal second opportunity. Now let poets sing! Now let arts unfold.
>
> —*Ralph Waldo Emerson*[1]

Hendrik Petrus Berlage (1856–1934) chose this evocative quotation as the epigraph for the published reminiscences of his 1911 American sojourn.[2] Its optimistic evaluation of American cultural potential reflected Berlage's own observations. He spent November and December of 1911 traveling through the East Coast and Midwest, for the most part under the guidance of architect William Gray Purcell who wanted Berlage to encounter "the sane thought that is taking form in this great country of ours."[3] Impressed by the cities and the architecture he encountered, Berlage took as the theme of his travel memoirs the notion that America was no longer the frontier boor, or the Europhile aping foreign manners, but rather was capable of establishing a modern, independent culture.

In the United States, Berlage had been most impressed by the works of an American architect whose modernism appeared in many ways to parallel his own: Frank Lloyd Wright. When he returned to Europe, Berlage shared his firsthand observations of Wright's buildings with his Dutch colleagues at a lecture that took place only a week after the arrival in the Netherlands of the cheaper Wasmuth edition of Wright's works, a propitious coincidence that thrust Wright into the attention of Dutch architects. Berlage followed with Dutch, Swiss, and German publications enthusiastically endorsing Wright.[4]

Studies of Berlage's visit and its influential aftermath have justifiably focused on his role in interpreting the work of Frank Lloyd Wright for European audiences.[5] But Berlage also took note of the American city. Indeed, that was the topic to which he immediately turned both in his first lecture to his Dutch colleagues and the first article he published relating his American impressions.[6] I shall argue here that Berlage's encounter with American cities not only crystallized his urbanism at a critical stage in its development but that an examination of his reaction to America discloses the highly imbricated assumptions that underlay that development.

Berlage's first lecture on America in the Netherlands took place a few weeks after his return, at the invitation of the three leading Dutch architectural societies. Eagerly awaited by the Dutch architectural community, which had been able to follow his journey in the Dutch newspapers,[7] Berlage expounded on his recent American adventure, including his evaluation of such cities as New York, Boston, Washington, and Chicago. Starting with the stunning harborside image of New York emerging from the morning mist, he quickly turned to urban subjects he knew to be of intense curiosity to his audience, or as he put it in his travel memoirs, "And now for that much disputed gridiron plan and that much disputed skyscraper."[8]

For the architectural community he was addressing, the gridiron plan and the tall building were American concepts as familiar as Wall Street and Fifth Avenue, even for those who had never crossed the Atlantic. Noting that photographs and film had taught him to anticipate accurately the way New York looked, Berlage commented that firsthand experience of a distant land was becoming less important.[9] This naive attribution of unmediated realism to photographic methods failed to acknowledge explicitly the role that myth played in shaping his own and others' perceptions of America in general and the American city in particular. Nonetheless, when it came to addressing his audience, Berlage confidently assumed that he knew his audience's preconceptions of the American city, not only their familiarity with its physical characteristics but, more particularly, their *idées reçus* of the gridiron plan and the skyscraper.

Dutch architectural journals and newspapers around the turn of the century frequently reported on the latest American efforts to build on a gigantic scale, a gigantism particularly fascinating to a country like the Netherlands where building occurred only on an intimate scale. Reports of American know-how in the form of tunnels, bridges, subways, and skyscrapers confirmed the belief that Americans were inventive. But that very expertise in machine technology was taken as confirmation that little could be expected from them culturally. For many Dutch and European observers a tension existed between the cultural and the technical, a tension here heightened by the presumed opposition between pure aestheticism on the one hand and materialism, in the form of the economically motivated skyscraper, on the other. While the skyscraper evoked awe, it also played a role in the European stereotype of America as a cultureless country.

For American Beaux-arts architects any tension between technology and culture in skyscraper design might be resolved by reference to European monuments. The exterior cladding of the skyscraper skeleton in historicist garb provided American cities with colossal equivalents to European architectural monuments. Most educated Americans, who measured cultural achievement by the degree to which it reflected lessons from Europe, viewed their skyscrapers with pride. But such a resolution was open to devastating criticism from modernists who found in it a lack of originality and honesty exactly where one might expect it most. Given their embrace of technology as the source of modern cultural expression, the historical cladding intended by Americans as a cultural warrant became a sign of cultural want. American reporters were shocked when their Dutch visitor Berlage, immediately upon his arrival, far from praising the New York skyscrapers, actually attacked the false pretensions of their historical styles. The architectural establishment of the Eastern seaboard responded to Berlage's charges indignantly, defending American culture.[10] But Berlage's supporters at home expected no less than pointed criticism from the outspoken exponent of modernism whose polemics against stylistic cladding of iron skeletons long preceded his trip to America.[11]

To the same degree as the skyscraper, the American gridiron city plan was also subject to received ideas. The gridiron or checkerboard plan had become a symbol of America's pioneer pragmatism and business sense, considered the result of the young nation's need to lay out its new settlements expediently so that order and shelter could be provided as quickly as possible. A number of European planners, leaders of the nascent urban planning movement, had castigated the American city plan. Its rectilinear form, they believed, was synonymous with the ugliness of mere function untouched by aesthetics and it confirmed the prejudicial view of Americans as philistines: practical and technical people, their motto "time is money."[12] One Dutch visitor to the United States wrote: "If you expect it will be interesting to visit the large cities, you'll be disappointed, because American cities are terribly ugly and uninteresting. The monotonously regular cities, which look from above like the squares of a chocolate bar, are anything but beautiful."[13] This critique of the American grid plan was embedded in a more general critique of laissez-faire capitalism in which the grid's perceived functionalism and commercialism became associated with the general failure of urban aesthetics in the industrial era.

Given these widespread preconceptions about the skyscraper and gridiron plan, those in his audience who were not conversant with the latest urbanistic debate must have been taken aback by Berlage's analysis of the American city on his return. Overturning what by then had become common wisdom, Berlage viewed the seemingly unaesthetic gridiron plan of New York in aesthetic terms. In fact, he declared the skyscraper and the gridiron to be as fully in harmony with each other as those benchmarks of civic beauty against which they were most frequently measured and found wanting: the buildings and plans of medieval and Renaissance Europe. "However aesthetically paradoxical it may seem, one arrives at the conclusion that the development of the city on a scale such as the American is in fact only possible with the application of a gridded street plan . . . ," he wrote in his travel memoirs.[14]

Berlage's positive assessment of the American city should be viewed in light of his unfolding urban theory. It gives us a significant insight into an important shift in his thinking, a shift also reflected in his planning practice, and particularly in the changes from 1900 to 1915 in the most important urban plan of his career, South Amsterdam. Examining the impact of his encounter with the American city also gives us the opportunity to look more closely at Berlage's relationship with other significant influences on his urbanism, specifically contemporary German and Austrian planning theory, aesthetics, and the historiography of art, with particular emphasis on the doctrine that architecture is the art of shaping space. Finally, it gives us a chance to look at one episode in the larger story of the European use of American imagery as part of its battery of modernist polemics. The polemical counterexample of the tasteless, artless American city plan, which at the end of the nineteenth century helped fuel arguments against "engineer's" planning in favor of "architect's" planning, eventually ceded authority to polemical models of primitive, unselfconscious American jazz, grain elevators, and gridirons, which made palpable a modern European aesthetic sensibility in the twentieth century. Berlage's positive aesthetic assessment of the American gridiron plan can be viewed as part of an emerging vision of modern city planning in which the American city becomes exemplary.

Reyner Banham, one of the first scholars to consider Berlage's voyage to America, made the argument that European modernists observed America through eyes prepared by their own polemic. Banham pointed out that Berlage and other Dutch architects misread Wright's message about the "Art and Craft of the Machine Age," overlooking Wright's relationship to the American landscape and nature. So too, in observing the American city, Berlage brought to bear a set of theoretical presumptions that affected what he saw. He viewed the American city through the lens of his own urban theory and learned in "mendicant America" to see the prototype of the modern city. Accordingly, it is perhaps less appropriate to speak of the impact of the American city on Berlage than of the impact of Berlage's theory on his vision of the American city. By examining his response we learn how he constructed the lens that transformed not only the image he received of the American city but also his vision of cities closer to home.

In 1883, Berlage published a comparison of Amsterdam and Venice that spelled out several themes that would appear repeatedly in his urban theory for the next fifty years. Particularly central is the distinction between picturesque and monumental beauty, a distinction applicable to all forms of art, he writes, but particularly to city planning. The picturesque is the product of nature, the monumental the product of man's highest expression. And since monumentality reflects the study of the laws of beauty as they have been discovered by man over time, it takes priority in importance over the picturesque; it represents a higher order. The monumental is "the result of the combination of parts into a single whole in harmonic regularity," the theme of harmonious unity in diversity which forms the most central aesthetic tenet in Berlage's oeuvre.[15]

Nature itself, he argues, is not monumental because it does not arrange its parts with regularity; rather it is picturesque because the parts are arranged in a most willful way, dependent on circumstance. The artist's highest aim is not to copy nature, but to make a (monumental) composition out of motifs provided by nature. But the picturesque should not be underestimated; it is appropriate for smaller buildings, which can be put in harmony with their natural surroundings. And the one great danger for monumentality is that regularity may lead to monotony. Such uniformity is a particular danger for urban design. "The eye involuntarily prefers for the picturesque movement of people a direction and frame which is not too strict and it is even inclined to give the picturesque the preference; nonetheless, the greatest satisfaction is to be found in the ingenious treatment of the monumental."[16]

The beauty of the oldest parts of Amsterdam is picturesque because there is no regularity in the grouping of the buildings or the plan of the canals, he demonstrates. Instead, we are treated to countless pictures, views, and glimpses formed by the irregular rows of houses reflected in the water. For monumentality we must turn to the great half-moon extension formed by the three canals, the Heren, Keizers, and Prinsengrachten, whose regular lines, curved to avoid monotony, are monumental. In Amsterdam, claims Berlage, the oldest part of the city has a picturesque beauty, but the geometric regularity of the seventeenth-century addition creates a monumentality far more worthwhile.

By contrast, the checkerboard plan of the American city, in particular New York with its regular, practical divisions, is too monotonous to be considered monumentally beautiful, says Berlage, although to some degree the monumental finds expression in the broad streets and gigantic buildings. For Berlage in 1883, Paris is the model; it is the most beautiful modern city because of its monumental axial perspectives. Thus in his first writing on the city, Berlage clearly states his appreciation for each of the two categories of urban aesthetics he has posited, but also declares his preference for the monumental, which results from geometric simplicity and long straight streets.

Berlage's treatment of the urban setting applies the terminology of aesthetics to the anonymous design of everyday objects. In this, he reflects the Semperian training he received in Zurich and possibly the new Viennese art history, both of which bring a scientific analysis to bear on the development of form, independent of genius or biography. Berlage adopts a historiographic narrative typical of Semper's interest in the study of vernacular crafts and folk art, that is, art without artists, while his discussion of urban aesthetic principles parallels contemporary efforts to examine the history of art as the development of autonomous forms through the analysis of their emergent aesthetic values. Urban design thus becomes the subject of art-historical analysis.

Furthermore, Berlage's two general categories of abstract aesthetic analysis each suggest the centrality of the viewer. The picturesque draws its power from the manipulation of visual effect for the creation of views. Its beauty cannot exist independent of the viewer's perceptions. While the monumental is dependent on regular geometries and "laws" of beauty that suggest an objectivity beyond personal preference and mere subjective taste, it too is subject to reception. The picturesque, Berlage says, is accessible to everyone but appreciation of the monumental requires long study. His analysis implies an interaction between the viewer, the viewer's sophistication, and independent, abstract aesthetic categories that is predicated on a presumed cultural history of urban form. Berlage's earliest urbanistic theory begins with an approach that already suggests and anticipates the kind of cultural analysis that he later elaborates.

In 1892 Berlage introduced the work of Camillo Sitte (1843–1903) to the Dutch architectural world with a cursory synopsis of the major tenets laid out in Sitte's 1889 publication *Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen.*[17] Berlage found much to admire in Sitte's urban aesthetics: the tactic of drawing lessons from the past for contemporary planning, the injunction for a close relationship between urban plan and building, the insistence on a closed city view, and most important, the implication that planning should develop as a spatial art. Sitte's art-historical methodology, rooted in the assumption of a culturally embedded analysis of aesthetic principles, was consistent with the approach Berlage had already worked out in 1883. If Berlage took the two types of beauty, monumental and picturesque, as essential properties that might be manifested under many different forms and at different epochs, but might serve as guides to current practice, so too did Sitte study the morphology of past urbanism to derive those constant principles that might be applied to the current urban problematic. Both approached urban theory as a subject of art history.

Berlage's 1892 version records the main tenets of Sitte's text, truncating and simplifying the arguments, while occasionally interjecting local comparisons. In Sitte he finds support for his own preference for Paris as a model of contemporary urban planning. The recent planning of Paris (by which is meant Haussmann's plans) is praiseworthy, he paraphrases Sitte, because it has strayed the least from Baroque principles of design. Sitte had argued that the Baroque is the most appropriate model for planning at the present, since it is the closest to the present time in comparison with earlier epochs; he indicates that there are forms of modern planning that are artistically effective and in the spirit of the Baroque, which achieved powerful and artistic effects with straight lines and right angles.[18] Still, Sitte notes that without some irregularities, the best plan is too stiff and as soon as a strictly geometric plan dominates, it eliminates the artistic. Sitte's position is consistent with the view of planning Berlage had expressed in 1883, which saw urban design as a visual and spatial art that favors monumentality.

Berlage's preference for monumentality becomes even clearer in his 1893 lecture, published in 1894, which reconfirms his 1883 commitments. Here Berlage underlines the necessity for large-scale housing construction in the modern city. Following Sitte, he acknowledges the attraction of picturesque old cities, but similarly discounts them as guides to modern construction. Berlage admits that the character we admire in historic cities is picturesque (*pittoreske*), but he admonishes that that romantic concept is now past; we cannot return to it, nor should be complain about what has been lost.[19] Instead, the architect must respond to the changing times characterized by increasing social equality and democratization. Berlage finds the lead in painting where impressionism, which reflects the subjective response of the artist's perception, suppresses detail for the sake of overall effect. Applied to mass housing design, the approach suggests treating the housing block as a whole: "How pithily beautiful and simply large as befits its character might a block of speculative housing arise impressionistically, silhouetted with a few simply varied details at the entries."[20]

With his endorsement of the simple and geometric, Berlage appears to have understood Sitte's message about modern urban design better than many of Sitte's followers who mistakenly took appreciation of the picturesque as a prescription and assumed that Sitte was proposing literal importation of medieval street patterns into the modern city.[21] But Sitte clearly stated that artistic planning can only achieve lasting success if it complies with modern living conditions and he inveighed against slavish copying. "Modern living," he wrote, "as well as modern building techniques no longer permit the faithful imitation of old townscapes, a fact which we cannot overlook without falling prey to barren fantasies."[22] Sitte was well aware of the issues of large-scale development posed by modern urban expansion; Berlage's 1892 synopsis of Sitte's treatise and his subsequent discussion of mass housing in 1894 indicate a parallel interest in uncovering a modern aesthetic that would reflect contemporary realities with the aesthetic effectiveness that cities of the past had reflected their societies.

Sitte had insisted on the central significance of the viewer in the city: "Only that which a spectator can hold in view, what can be seen, is of artistic importance."[23] Sitte's repeated emphasis on the psychology of the perception of the anonymous everyday spectator finds its parallel in Berlage's appreciation of the subjective impression and the democratic direction of social change. An urban design based on scientific study of the gaze of the ordinary citizen uses visual psychology to shape the city to benefit the masses. On this last aim, both Sitte and Berlage are in accord.[24]

Furthermore, Sitte identifies the art of city planning as a spatial art. He calls attention "to the act of seeing in general, to the physiological manner in which the perception of space, on which all architectonic effect is based, takes place."[25] Berlage takes up Sitte's argument that the urban square should be a shaped spatial entity rather than the unbuilt portion of a gridiron plan. Sitte had argued from the nature of sight:

> The eye is located at the apex of the visual pyramid: the objects observed are to be found on radii of which the eye is center, approximating more or less an arrangement which is concave with regard to the viewer. This is the perspective basis of the focused designs of Baroque masters, and it is the form by which strong effects can best be achieved naturally because in this way a maximum of objects in space can be perceived and appreciated at the same time.[26]

This reference to perspective, and Sitte's frequent mention of the *Stadtbild,* or cityscape, could be easily misinterpreted to suggest that Sitte's approach was primarily scenographic, thus obscuring the spatial orientation of his city planning theory. However, the enclosure of space, the molding of the continuous street wall to create a coherent definition of street and plaza, are what Sitte distills as principles from his observation of historic cities.[27] Berlage's earlier sharp distinction between the picturesque and monumental may have prepared him to read Sitte with particular insight into the spatial implications of his argument. The picturesque remains associated with a perception of the city in two dimensions, the flat surface of the canvas, whereas the monumental which Berlage promotes implies an aesthetic of spatial extension.[28]

Berlage also follows the historiographic implications of Sitte's spatial analysis, the notion that spatial structures emerged specific to ancient, medieval, Renaissance, Baroque, and modern periods, each associated with a distinctive cultural and social organization. Sitte argues, and in 1892 Berlage repeats, that it is no longer possible to build the space of the Acropolis since the idea that gave rise to it is no longer operative; the kind of social life that gave rise to the use of open space in the form of antiquity's functions of open market and forum no longer exists.[29] In their temporal determinism both Sitte and Berlage follow contemporary tropes of art-historical methodology, applying the psychology of vision, the extraction of constant aesthetic principles, and the observation of spatial practice contingent on social organization, all methods that were at that time emergent in the fledgling discipline, particularly in the work of Wölfflin and Riegl.

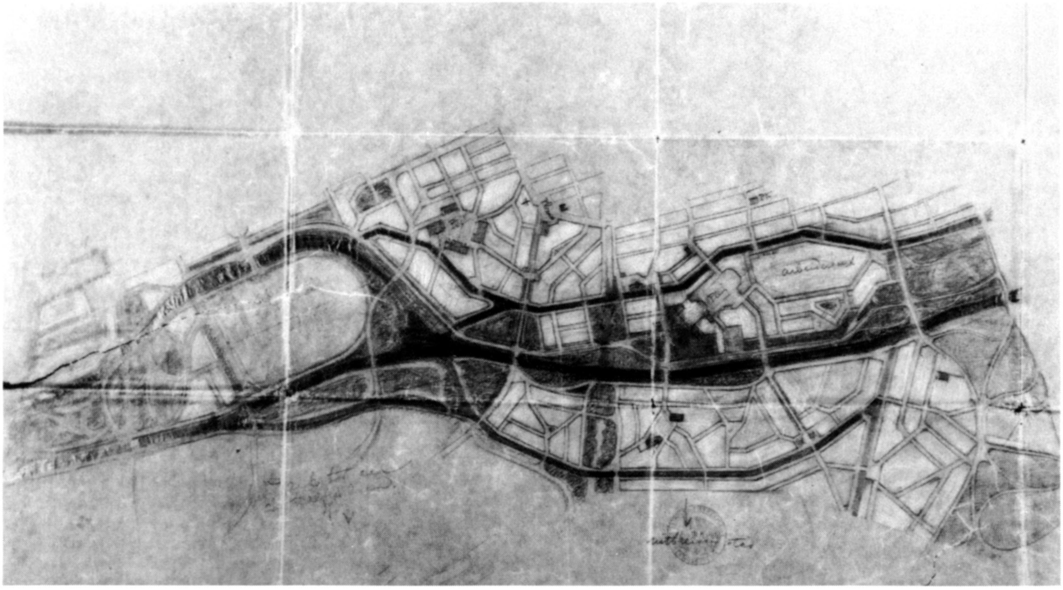
Within this framework of analysis, Berlage also concurred with Sitte's condemnation of the American city plan. Sitte had found that the American system of rectilinear land division resulted from the absence of history and the lack of any significance for civilization other than unopened territory: "Wherever people are concerned merely with colonizing land, live only for earning money, and early money only in order to live, it may be appropriate to pack people into blocks of buildings like herring in a barrel."[30] The gridiron plan offers no artistic interest, since the viewer's perception is central to the art of city planning, and the grid cannot be apprehended as a visual totality, Sitte argued.[31] Berlage found that in contrast with European cities, which at least have a history and can therefore reflect their past, American cities, with no old districts to speak of, were built directly according to the system of city blocks, "against which it would be fruitless to protest since they have never known anything else."[32] These objections to the gridiron plan, associated with American planning, point to the visual inadequacy, the absence of responsible public patronage, and the purely economic functionality that remove it from consideration as an aesthetic model. The critique is based on the psychology of vision and cultural-historical analysis that we have seen characterized Sitte's and Berlage's approach. Yet even Sitte admitted that under the proper conditions artistic effects might be wrested from the gridiron system.[33] And Berlage took the gridiron system of long straight streets crossing at right angles, the result of the modern requirements of time and money, as a harbinger of the aesthetic simplification he called for in 1894.[34]

Sitte helped Berlage formulate an urban theory that was spatial, that considered the viewpoint of the spectator, that valued the Baroque as an appropriate precedent, that sought to distill aesthetic principles from observation of historic forms, and that took the general population as the client to be served.

Nonetheless, Berlage's first major urban plan, the 1900 plan for the southern extension of Amsterdam (figure 11.1), follows the precedents already set by Sitte's followers. The streets avoid repetition of any pattern and meander through the neighborhoods, while the canals follow, in Berlage's terms, an "arbitrary" path.[35] In the 1904 lecture explaining the plan to critics who found it impractical, Berlage quotes Karl Henrici (1842–1922), prizewinning Sittesque designer of a plan for Munich, to the effect that street patterns must be constantly changing, never boring. Berlage points out that while this approach lacks the organization of a regular street pattern, nonetheless it avoids the barrenness of the American city plan.[36] As Sitte would recommend, the street plan focuses on two main squares, for each of which Berlage provides plans and perspective views much in the manner of the studies by Henrici for the Munich plan.[37] Although Berlage's perspectives are now lost, the accompanying sketch of the 1900 plan for Amsterdam indicates the way Berlage intended buildings to be positioned in the street wall enclosing the square, a studied example of conscious asymmetry.[38] Such visual exercises were a necessity once Berlage accepted Sitte's requirement that the third-dimensional buildup of the plan be considered with the plan itself.

The same kind of perspectival study accompanied Berlage's 1908 plan for The Hague in a series of stunning drawings. However, here, in contrast to the

Figure 11.1 H. P. Berlage. Plan for South Amsterdam, 1900. (Courtesy of the Historische Topografische Atlas, Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst Amsterdam, archive 5213, correspondence 1900, number 4169.)



Amsterdam plan, it is clear that a classical symmetry informs his vision. Presenting the main squares of the city to us always parallel to the picture plane and from only a slight elevation, it is as though Berlage conceives of each square as a stage set, even to the point of providing either a stagelike plinth or frame through which to view the squares. Still adhering in general to the aesthetic principles he had adopted from Sitte, Berlage has reemphasized here his original commitment to the monumental in planning. This position is most clearly enunciated in several lectures given in Delft, Düsseldorf, and Amsterdam, later published as an introduction to the plan of The Hague.[39] Here Berlage reiterates the preeminence of monumentality over the picturesque, and demonstrates the historical precedence for the regular plan, the geometric plan, in antiquity, the Renaissance, and the Baroque, in an explicit attempt to apply the determinist historiographic tendencies already apparent in his early urban theory. Berlage quotes extensively from German sources on architectural and planning history and theory—Sitte, Gurlitt, and Stübben. From A. E. Brinckmann, he absorbed a more refined chronological account of the historical trajectory of monumental urbanism; from Fritz Schumacher he assimilated a heightened sense of the modern city and the aesthetic conventions imperative to its proper expression of the *Zeitgeist.* These were ideas already immanent in his earlier writing, but now in the explanation for the plan of The Hague, more explicitly enunciated.

Combining the practicality of the German planner Stübben with the aesthetic sensibility of Sitte, Berlage slices through the old chestnut "crooked or straight streets" by reaffirming Baroque city planning. There he finds a planning model which allows for the urban squares with closure that he learned to appreciate from Sitte, while at the same time satisfying the practical necessity for broad straight avenues in contemporary society that meet the objections laid against his Amsterdam project.[40] His examples, such as the place Royale in Nancy and the place Louis XV in Rouen, are taken directly from A. E. Brinckmann's 1908 book *Platz und Monument,* the work of the young German art historian who similarly argued that the French eighteenth century should be the model for contemporary planning. Brinckmann articulated the position on the geometry of monumentality that Berlage had put forward in 1883 and 1894 and drew a more forceful conclusion: "Just as the straight line and the right angle remain the most ennobling elements of architecture, so the wide straight street and the regular architectural square will retain their value in the cityscape."[41] Berlage quickly absorbed the contents of Brinkmann's book into his urban theory, even accepting its exaggerated criticism of Sitte for overemphasizing the picturesque qualities of medieval towns.[42] While it might have been fairer to reproach some of Sitte's followers for that sin (as others of them were quick to point out, Sitte had also indicated the eighteenth century as a source), Berlage now rejected the self-conscious search for irregular street patterns in favor of the search for objective, regular geometry. Seven years before Le Corbusier did so, Berlage abandoned the donkey's way.[43]

However, Berlage's plan for The Hague followed only to a limited extent the models of Paris and the French Baroque planning he held in such esteem. His plan is fragmented, inconsistent, and lacking in organization. It cannot be said to have realized Berlage's vision of the modern city, nor to have satisfactorily manifested his urban theory. While the studies for discrete squares exhibit the qualities of monumentalism and classic repose which he sought, the plan in general was not animated with that spirit. When he left for the United States in 1911, Berlage was still in search of urban models.

His response to the American city in 1911 must be viewed in the light of the foregoing discussion. By the time he visited America, Berlage was convinced that only monumental regularity in planning was appropriate for modern cities. When he left for the United States in 1911, Berlage was prepared to look at the American city with a perception shaped by an urban theory of monumentality, spatiality, and human perception, influenced by Sitte, Brinckmann, and the new art history that analyzed the development of space as the product of historical determinism.

While a few decades before Berlage's trip to America, Dutch travelers arriving in the harbor of New York commented on the verdant natural setting, when Berlage arrived a skyline of tall buildings demanded response. Somewhat to his surprise, his immediate response was aesthetic. He found himself comparing New York to nature (cliffs and mountains) or to primitive architecture (San Geminiano, the tower of Babel, the Colossus of Rhodes).[44] Not satisfied with this impressionistic level of observation, Berlage began to analyze the aesthetic impact of New York. The ratio of skyscraper height to street width, he discovered, was similar to that of the Dutch city alley. Because of that ratio, the play of light and shadow gives the narrow New York streets the splendid murkiness of fissures between cliff walls.[45] Berlage then uses such Sittesque analysis of the aesthetic principles underlying the New York plan to attack the reductionist version of Sitte. The very mockery of the American city he had previously found so apt in Sitte is now shown to be ludicrous. The beauty of the New York grid plan will be apparent, Berlage says, to anyone not overwhelmed by the Middle Ages. In fact, it has a certain strength that is preferable to the conscious "picturesque" irregularity of recent plans. The ruthless consistency of the grid plan results in a specific spatial effect which can be appreciated aesthetically. Onto this grid the tall building fits perfectly, creating a great cityscape of barbaric beauty, worthy of being painted, that is, picturesque in a literal sense.[46] His firsthand encounter with the grid plan and skyscraper provided him with direct experience of the visual effect of that spatial relationship and he used the experiential evidence of visual perception, the basis of Sitte's urban analysis, to recast the much disputed American grid in a new light.

Thus Berlage establishes that New York exhibits the feeling for urban space and the fit between plan and building which are his own criteria for monumental planning. That there is a harmony between rectilinear plan and skyscraper becomes all the more clear when that harmony is disturbed, as he demonstrates with the intrusion of a diagonal street like Broadway or by the unruly impression of the tall buildings in the older, irregularly planned part of town (figure 11.2). The Flatiron Building represents the problem. Built on the sharp angle where Broadway meets Fifth Avenue, its form interrupts the otherwise consistent right angles of the city plan, for Berlage an absurdity. Most absurd of all to Berlage is the inconsistency of building height in New York. So convinced is he of the match between skyscraper and grid plan, that he is unhappy with the fact that the average building height in New York is lower than that in Paris. The answer is to be sought in the demolition of all the lower, older buildings which are surrounded by giants. First on his list is Upjohn's Trinity Church which is lost among its neighbors.[47] When office workers can look *down* on a church spire, the church has lost its function, its meaning is diminished, and the spiritual life has moved to the new, immense buildings which overshadow it: the offices and department stores. These are the building types from which a modern architecture will develop and which will have the greatest cultural value for the future, he claims.[48]

Berlage's experience of New York allowed him to imagine a modern geometric street plan which, like French eighteenth-century plans, creates a spatial order distinguishable from the thoughtlessness of engineers' ruler-drawn grids. The distinction between the nineteenth-century engineers' plans made with rulers, which Sitte had so convincingly castigated, and the eighteenth-century plans he and Brinckmann admired, lay in the way the latter were infused with a feeling for space. Similarly, gridiron plan and skyscraper could harmonize to create grand, geometric, and orderly urban spaces.

Berlage's 1900 foray into the irregular and arbitrary had been simply a minor episode in a career otherwise dedicated to the search for urban monumentality. Absorbing Sitte's lessons in the strict relation of plan to building and perspectival closure, he continued his interest in monumentality sustained by Sitte's lessons of abstraction, visuality, space, and society. What is important here is not Berlage's switch from curved to straight streets, but that what had previously been viewed as monotonous, linear design could now be seen as spatial. The grid plan is no longer viewed as simply a product of unthinking engineers' planning; when viewed in conjunction with the right architecture,

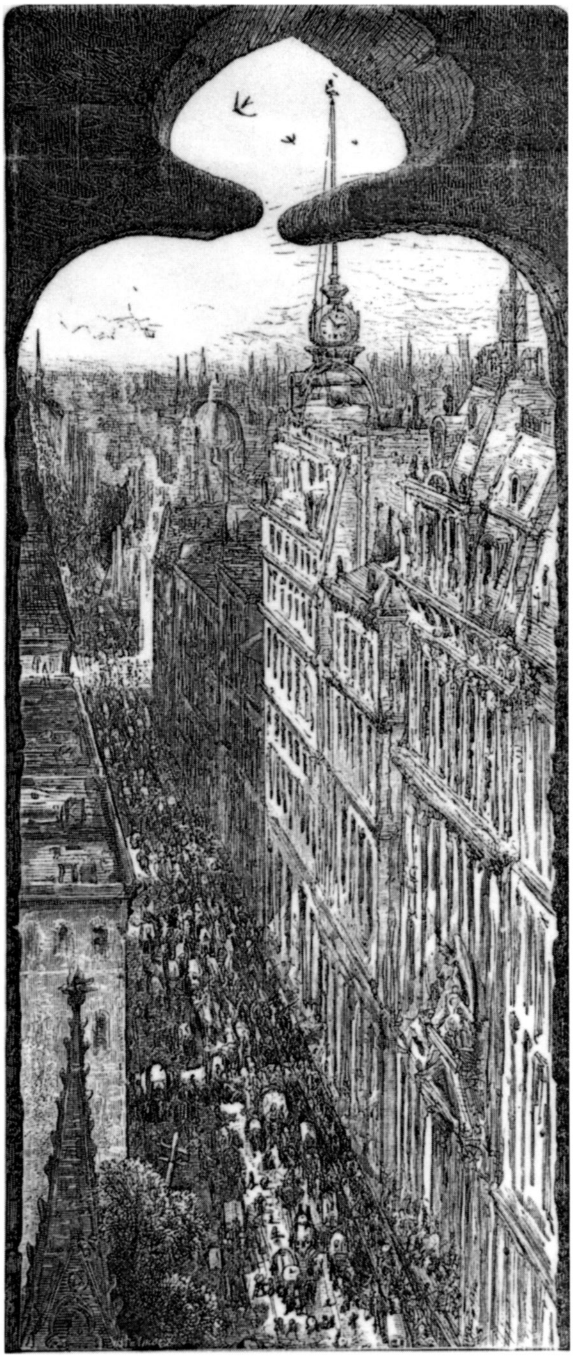


Figure 11.2 Broadway viewed from Trinity Church, 1886. (G. Keller, *Amerika in Beeld en Schrift,* vol. 1, *Tusschen New York en de meren* (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1886), page 9.)

the skyscraper, it takes on a specific spatial quality, albeit a primitive, perhaps even barbaric, one. Berlage recognizes the powerful character of this modern dynamic city form. In the relation of the skyscraper to the gridiron plan, Berlage perceived a spatial quality that corresponded to his requirement for monumentality. It is this reassessment of the grid, the valuing of the repeated and normalized, that signals the modernity of his planning position.

Berlage raises the question of whether the fit between skyscraper and plan is the result of conscious or unconscious effort.[49] Like the much-discussed question of whether the picturesque qualities of medieval cities were the product of conscious or unconscious design, Berlage sees the fit between the skyscraper and plan as the result of unconscious design sense. America, then, is capable of that pure aesthetic sensibility of the primitive, that "barbaric" quality to which he repeatedly refers and which suggests the ambivalence of the cultivated European uncertain how to evaluate the product of a culture at once less cultured yet more buoyant and daring. He is openly envious of the ease with which Americans can overlook niceties, of the bold daring that thumbs its nose at sensitivities. Despite his European aversion to crudity, he remains convinced that construction of cities on the vast scale of the American ones is aesthetically possible only by applying the gridiron plan. His firsthand encounter with the American grid and skyscraper, rather than confirming a stereotype, taught him to see the potential of an American model of urban design, a potential which the European might raise to the level of art through its self-conscious translation of the *Zeitgeist*.

From his travel memoirs emerges the image of a modern city of tall offices and department stores built to a consistent height of 10 stories on a perfect grid. To this, Berlage adds the preference that the city be absolutely flat. In fact, New York is too special a case to represent the type of the new city, he believes. He turns to Chicago, "a city without sentimentality," built on the flat prairie, for his example of the most American city.[50] Here he finds the true hope for American culture: not just the unconscious result of primitive aesthetic sensibilities, but the artistry to create consciously. Chicago can provide not only the new designers of buildings, in the shape of Sullivan, Wright, and the circle of Chicago school architects he met through Purcell, but it also has Burnham's plan, which signals to him that "no other country is doing as much to satisfy the many complex requirements of contemporary life."[51] Chicago, then, becomes a model for a modern city.

Burham's 1909 Chicago plan would certainly have been known to him well before his trip to the United States. Avid reader of the *Deutsche Bauzeitung*, he would have seen Hegemann's extensive report, lavishly illustrated with a selection of the Guérin watercolors (figure 11.3), in 1910.[52] He knew, perhaps

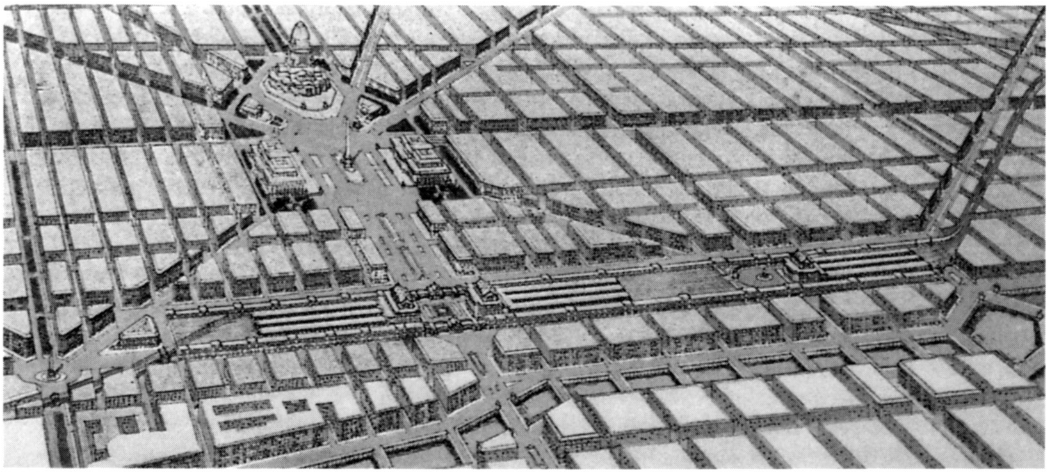


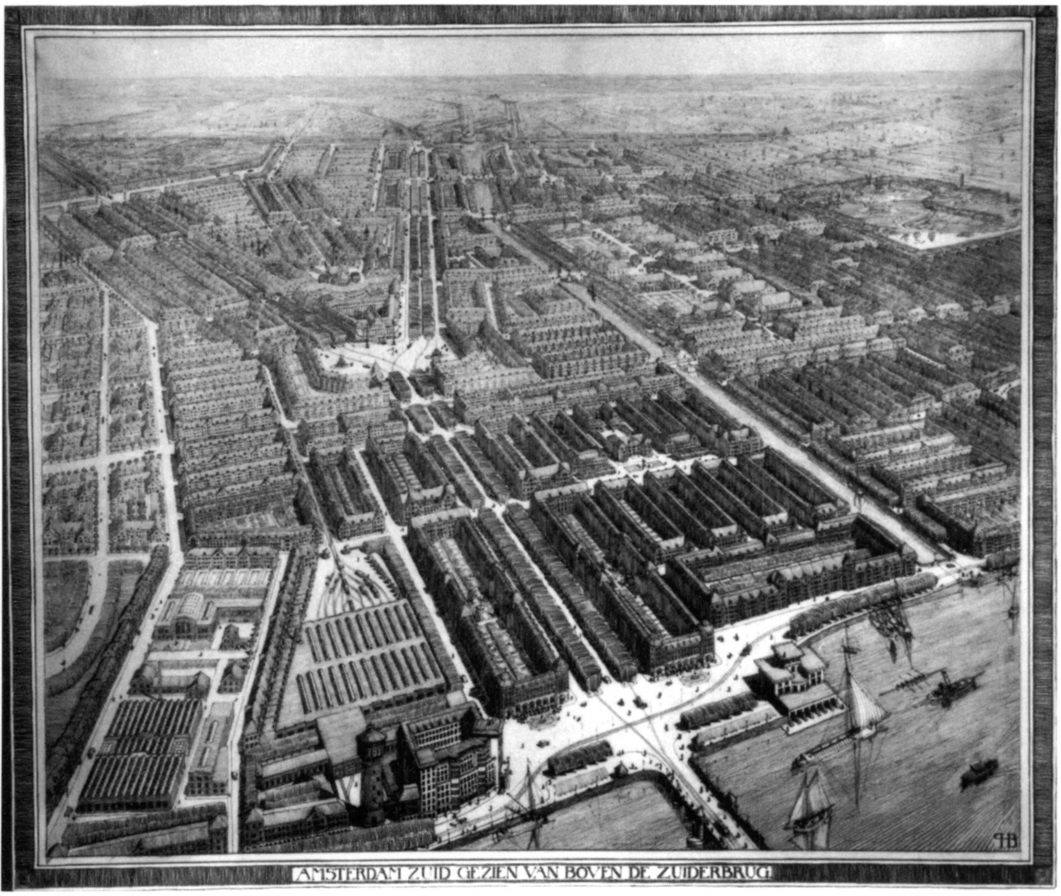
Figure 11.3 Jules Guérin. Perspective from the Chicago plan, 1909. (*Plan of Chicago prepared under the direction of the Commercial Club during the years MCMVI, MCMVII, and MCMVIII* (Chicago: The Commercial Club, 1909), Plate CXXII.)

firsthand, of the photographs shown in Berlin, and he would have received reports of the original drawings exhibited in Düsseldorf and London that year. Hegemann noted the power of these watercolors to inspire the interest of the public in planning.[53] The Dutch architect who reported on the London Town Planning Conference noted that the impression made by the Chicago images was so great that cities in the Ruhr area immediately commissioned the artist Thorn Prikker to whip up something similar.[54] The illustrations set new standards for planners and also established a new reputation for American planning. While Hegemann was probably the most outspoken German on this topic, it was Brinckmann who publicly drew attention to the plan in London, claiming for Burnham the distinction of continuing in the tradition of French eighteenth-century planning, and using that praise polemically against the Sitte school, whose lackluster Berlin competition entries paled before the evident riches of the Chicago presentation.[55]

Just as Brinckmann commented on the energy and will manifested in the Chicago plan, as well as its democratic origins, so too Berlage must have been impressed by its daring, its social meaning, and its application of French design principles.[56] After the relatively disappointing results of his plan for The Hague, it is difficult to imagine he was not taken aback by the scope of the Chicago plan. Here he could see applied the monumentality his urban theory required, and he must have been struck by the power of the images to speak not only to planners and architects but to convey the sense of the plan to the people of the city themselves.

In Berlage's 1915 revision of the plan for Amsterdam, his drive for monumentality in planning is at last put into practice (figure 11.4). The vision of the modern city, which he had espoused and refined from 1883 on, a vision of monumentality and simplification, of long, straight streets and geometric enclosed squares, of large-scale housing blocks rhythmically shaping urban space, is realized in this plan. While the plan for the extension of South Amsterdam reflects the continuity of Berlage's visually oriented, spatial theory of monumental modernity, his encounter with recent German planning theory had

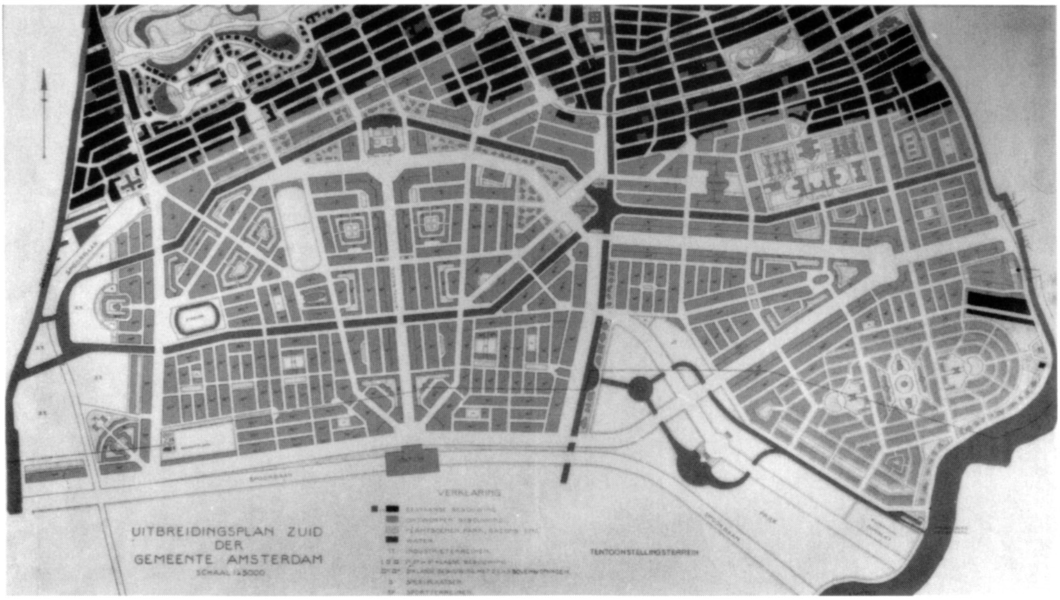
Figure 11.4 H. P. Berlage. Perspective of South Amsterdam, 1915. (Courtesy of the Historische Topografische Atlas, Gemeentelijke Archiefdienst Amsterdam, negative number E 4242.)


HB
AMSTERDAM ZUID GEZIEN VAN BOVEN DE ZUIDERBRUG

prepared him to see the American city with new eyes, and his encounter with the New York grid and Chicago had allowed him to articulate his vision of modernity more precisely.[57]

The Amsterdam plan of 1915 is a geometrized version of the 1900 plan, keeping a focus on two main squares, but now regularizing the major vehicular routes, and joining the train station to the planned Academy of Fine Arts with a grand axial boulevard (figure 11.5). Once again, Berlage presents perspectives anticipating the construction on the plan, but they have been lifted out of the narrow focus of his previous, Sitte-inspired studies to encompass the plan as a whole.[58] The response to these drawings was profound when they were displayed for the first time at the sixtieth anniversary exhibition of the architectural society Architectura et Amicitia. Placed in the room of honor along with others of his works, including the utopian Pantheon van Menschheid, they were repeatedly singled out by visitors. J. Gratama identified them as Berlage's most important entry in the show, noting their engagement instead of Berlage's usual coolness and intellectualism. The young J. B. van Loghem called them the most important work of Berlage he had ever seen, and commented on their idealism. Berlage himself referred to the drawings as "illustrated explanations" of the plan, and noted that they were meant to serve two purposes: to show architects how the plan might be executed in the third dimension and to

Figure 11.5 H. P. Berlage. Plan for South Amsterdam, 1915.



inspire the interest of the public. At this exhibition, Amsterdam was able to demonstrate for the first time that it was equipped to grow into the modern era: alongside Berlage's plan were displayed the work of the young Amsterdam architects who were to fill the plan with innovative housing design in the 1920s.[59]

Berlage's perspectives share a number of features with the magnificent perspectives of the Burnham plan. They present the city in a utopian light, ordered by the striking clarity of the plan's geometry. Their imagery is accessible and stirring. The sweep of vision is daring and bespeaks a new era. Surely, Berlage himself would accept the comparison to that extent. But a great deal separates the visions of society animating these plans. Berlage had more in common aesthetically and ideologically with Griffin, whose design of Canberra he admired while in Chicago, than with Burnham.[60] Purcell, Berlage's guide to America, the one American architect with whom he maintained a long correspondence and with whom he shared political and social values, identified Griffin as a figure opposed to Burnham and defended the embattled and progressive Prairie school against such establishment conservatives as Burnham.[61] While Berlage appreciated the role of private interests demonstrating civic responsibility, he was outspoken about public authorities taking the lead in guiding public aesthetics and social welfare. For Berlage, who made housing central to his 1915 Amsterdam plan, the urban plan was primarily a tool for improving the material and spiritual well-being of the working masses, not the means by which a coterie of businessmen might realize urban social order, as the Chicago plan promised. Berlage shaped space with housing; Burnham haussmannized Chicago.[62] The one brought an aesthetic sensibility to a task which implemented democratic change; the other offered visual order as a symbol of social stability. While both architects shared an abiding admiration for Paris, its lessons were absorbed by contrasting means. Burnham applied a planning method learned through the academy and dilletantish travel. Berlage's appreciation of Paris was embedded in an urban theory developed over thirty years in concert with the emerging German planning discipline. While Burnham's admiration for Paris must be seen as symptomatic of that American cultural inferiority complex that so annoyed Berlage that he claimed American planning would not develop until it cut itself loose from Europe, Berlage's own turn to eighteenth-century France was less imitative than abstractive, a distillation of principles reflecting his consistent striving for a monumental, modern simplicity.[63]

In the end, Berlage's firsthand encounter with American cities left him more impressed with the gridiron plan than with the City Beautiful movement as a model for modern planning. Yet he himself continued to explore the implications of the monumental classicism that had been his inspiration from the 1880s. Thus Berlage's urban plan incorporating a skyscraper, the 1921 Hofplein in Rotterdam, tames the tall building by placing it in a Sittesque manner, as the focal point of an urban square. Just as he was blind to the expressive scenographic implications of Burnham's Flatiron Building, his tall building in Rotterdam denies the vertical potential of the skyscraper in favor of a more staid calm. It was the younger generation of Oud, Duiker and Bijvoet, and Van Eesteren that finally followed through the implications of Berlage's American message, so shockingly delivered in 1911, and applied the lesson of the gridiron and skyscraper between the wars. Berlage had pointed to the possibility of taking out the chaos in the American city, and giving the great size and the regular geometry an opportunity to create monumental beauty, thus suggesting himself a way the prophecy at the start of his travel memoirs might be fulfilled: that no longer mendicant, America might give the world a new kind of beauty.

Notes

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1. Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Works and Days," *Society and Solitude,* in *Emerson's Works,* vol. 3 (London: Routledge, 1903), 172.

2. H. P. Berlage, *Amerikaansche Reisherinneringen* (Rotterdam: W. L. & J. Brusse, 1913), 5.

3. Letter from William Gray Purcell to H. P. Berlage, Christmas Eve, 1908, Berlage Archives, Nederlands Architectuur Instituut.

4. Berlage initially published his travel memoirs as "Amerikaansche Reisherinneringen," *De Beweging,* 8, no. 6 (June 1912): 295–300; no. 7 (July 1912): 47–56; no. 8 (August 1912): 105–21; no. 9 (September 1912): 278–87; no. 10 (October 1912): 46–61. He presented his observations of recent American architecture in "Neuere amerikanische Architektur," *Schweizerische Bauzeitung,* 60, no. 11 (14 September 1912): 148–50 and no. 12 (21 September 1912): 165–7.

5. Berlage's trip to America is discussed at length in Reyner Banham, *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age* (New York: Praeger, 1960), 139–47; Leonard Eaton, *American Architecture Comes of Age* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1972), 208–32; and Ton van Leeu-

wen, "De commerciele stijl," in A. L. L. M. Asselbergs, ed., *Americana* (Otterlo: Rijksmuseum Kroller-Muller, 1975), 78–80. Newspaper accounts of the trip include the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant,* 8 November and 21 November 1911.

6. The manuscript of the lecture given in February 1912 is in the Berlage Archives of the Nederlands Architectuur Instituut. Berlage's first publication on the American trip is "Amerikaansche Reisherinneringen," op. cit. This constitutes the first section of the complete published account, *Amerikaansche Reisherinneringen* (1913) op. cit.

7. An account of the evening is given in R., "Berlage's Voordracht over America," *Architectura,* 20, no. 5 (3 February 1912): 34–35.

8. Berlage, *Amerikaansche Reisherinneringen,* op. cit., 7. The text of this book follows closely the outline of the lecture given in February 1912.

9. Ibid., 7.

10. Accounts of the articles in the *New York Herald* are to be found in Leonard Eaton, op. cit., 210–11. Berlage had hoped to see "an architecture less traditional in detail, more symbolic of America." Angry responses appeared from architects Thomas Hastings, Benjamin W. Morris, J. O. Post, and W. S. Post.

11. *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* (8 November 1911). The Dutch and American reaction to Berlage's criticism of American architecture is discussed in Eaton, op. cit. For general discussion of the impact of America on modernity, see Jean-Louis Cohen and H. Damisch, eds., *Americanisme et modernité: L'idéal américain dans l'architecture* (Paris: Flammarion, 1993). For an example of Berlage's condemnation of American style copyists, see "IJzer en steen," *De Kroniek,* 46 (10 November 1895): 362, in which he attacks the New York Herald Building as a copy of a Verona palace, the New York City Hall as a Baroque Italian palace, and the New York Post Building as a copy of the new Louvre.

12. See, for example, Joseph Stübben, *Der Städtebau* in Josef Durm et al., *Handbuch der Architectur,* part 4 (Darmstadt: A. Bergstrosser, 1890) 192; Camillo Sitte, chapter 9 in *Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen* (Vienna: Verlag von Carl Graeser, 1889); T. Goecke, "Vom nordamerikanschen Städtebau," *Der Städtebau,* vol. 7, no. 1 (1910): 2–4; George R. Collins and Christiane Crasemann Collins, *Camillo Sitte: The Birth of Modern City Planning* (New York: Rizzoli, 1986), 345, note 34. American planners like Frederick Law Olmsted and H. S. Cleveland also criticized the grid plan. For an analysis of the New York gridiron, in particular its political and economic implications, see Peter Marcuse, "The Grid as City Plan: New York City and Laissez-Faire Planning in the Nineteenth Century," *Planning Perspectives,* 2 (1987): 287–310. A contrasting perspective which views the urban grid as a continuing factor in a city's historical course is given in Stanford Anderson, "Savannah and the Issue of Precedent: City Plan as Resource," in *Settlements in the Americas: Cross-Cultural Perspectives,* ed. Ralph Bennett (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1993), 110–44.

13. These are the remarks of Dr. M. C. van Mourik Brockman in the *Nieuwe Amsterdammer* 26 (26 June 1915): 6: "Wie ter gelegenheid der Panama-tentoonstelling Amerika bezoekt, en belangstelling heeft voor land en volkerenkunde, zal goed doen zich van tevoren eenigszins op de hoogte te stellen. Voor een ding zou ik willen waarschuwen. Als men meent dat het interessant zal zijn de groote steden te bezoeken, zal men bedrozen uitkomen, want de Amerikaansche steden zijn schrikbarend lelijk en oninteressant. Wanneer men te New-York aankomt en de Hudson opvaart, moge men een grootschen indruk krijgen door de hoog oprijzenden huizen blokken, in een dag is men er al gewend verdiepingen bij tientallen te tellen. Overigens zijn de eentonig regelmating gebouwde steden, in vogelvlucht gezien als blokjes verdeelde chocolade plakken, allesbehalve mooi."

14. Berlage, *Amerikaansche Reisherinneringen,* op. cit., 9–10.

15. H. P. Berlage, "Amsterdam and Venetie. Schets in verband met de tegenwoordige veranderingen van Amsterdam," *Bouwkundig Weekblad,* 3, no. 34 (23 August 1883): 217–19; no. 36 (6 September 1883): 226–28, no. 37 (13 September 1883): 232–34.

16. Ibid., 219.

17. H. P. Berlage, "De Kunst in stedebouw," *Bouwkundig Weekblad,* 12, no. 15 (9 April 1892): 87–91; no. 17 (23 April 1892): 101–102; no. 20 (14 May 1892): 121–24; no. 21 (21 May 1892): 126–27. The text, which is based on a lecture first given in Rotterdam (10 December 1891), and later in The Hague (28 December) and Amsterdam (25 March 1892), follows closely the argument in Camillo Sitte, *Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen,* op. cit. The best introduction to Sitte's work is Collins and Collins, *Camillo Sitte,* op. cit. All quotations from Sitte are taken from the translation of "City Planning According to Artistic Principles" presented in that volume.

18. Collins and Collins, *Camillo Sitte,* 142, 219, 221, 224, 269, 272, 280.

19. H. P. Berlage, "Bouwkunst en impressionisme," *Architectura,* 2, no. 22 (2 June 1894): 93–95; no. 23 (9 June 1894): 98–100; no. 25 (23 June 1894): 109–10. This point echoes Sitte's enjoinder not to copy the past; see Collins, op. cit., 249.

20. "Hoe kernachtig mooi en eenvoudig groot, volkomen bij het karakter passend, zou een bouwblok van speculatiehuizen kunnen verrijzen impressionistisch kantig, gesilhouetteerd met enkele eenvoudige varieerende details van de verschillende ingangsdeuren." Berlage, "Bouwkunst en impressionisme," 98.

21. Many of Sitte's followers paid selective attention to Sitte's castigation of clumsy geometric design with T-square and compass (Collins and Collins, op. cit., 158–9), and his use of medieval examples to argue that the irregularities of a square enhance its naturalness, stimulate interest, and augment the picturesque quality of the tableau (Collins, 185–86). This was due to a failure to distinguish between Sitte's objections to mechanical, unthinkingly applied

geometries and the artistic application of geometry that he admired in Baroque urban design.

22. Collins and Collins, op. cit., 249.

23. Ibid., 229–30. Sitte speaks of this elsewhere in his text, for instance, on the size and shape of plazas: "What counts in this is the position of the spectator and the direction in which he is looking," 177.

24. Sitte states, "One must keep in mind that city planning in particular must allow full and complete participation to art, because it is this type of artistic endeavor, above all, that affects formatively every day and every hour the great mass of the population, whereas the theater and concerts are available only to the wealthier classes," Collins and Collins, 249–50.

25. Ibid., 271. Collins and Collins draw attention to Sitte's insistence on city planning as a spatial art (*Raumkunst*), 14, 66.

26. Ibid., 271.

27. Sitte discusses the continuity of the street wall as important for the creation of a coherent effect and the enclosure of space, in contrast to the current practice of conceptualizing the city as a set of isolated blocks (Collins and Collins, *Camillo Sitte,* 225, 241). Berlage takes up this position in 1894 when summarizing the principles that can be distilled from the planning history of the Greek, Roman, medieval, and Renaissance city: "One did not only try to create a concentration of works of art but rather a visual concentration by making a closed space, like a room," "Bouwkunst en Impressionisme," 94.

28. The implications of Berlage's distinction between the picturesque and the monumental need further study. The apparent conflict between the picturesque conception of the city as scenographic and the spatial conception implied by monumentality is embedded in a discourse about the visualization of the city in general and the perspectival view in particular. See Harry Francis Mallgrave and Eleftherios Ikonomou, *Empathy, Form, and Space: Problems in German Aesthetics, 1873–1893* (Santa Monica, Calif.: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1994), and Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1990).

29. Collins and Collins, *Camillo Sitte,* 143; Berlage, "De Kunst in Stedebouw," 123.

30. Collins and Collins, *Camillo Sitte,* 264.

31. Ibid., 229, 230, 270.

32. Berlage, "De Kunst in Stedebouw," 127.

33. Collins and Collins, *Camillo Sitte,* 230.

34. Berlage, "Bouwkunst en impressionism," 105.

35. H. P. Berlage, "Architectonische Toelichting tot het plan van uitbreiding der stad Amsterdam tusschen Amstel en Schinkel," *Gemeenteblad,* pt. 1 (1904): 1721.

36. The lecture was given in Amsterdam at 't Koggeschip on 14 November 1904. Berlage's handwritten notes for this lecture are now missing from the Berlage Archives of the Nederlands Architectuur Instituut. W. Kromhout wrote a careful report of the lecture based on Berlage's notes, published in the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* on 20 November, 23 November, and 26 November 1904. A briefer account is given by H. J. M. Walenkamp, "Voordracht Berlage over het Nieuwe Uitbreidingsplan van Amsterdam," *Architectura,* 12, no. 47 (19 November 1904): 384.

37. Some of these are published in K. Henrici, "Langweilige und kurzweilige Strassen," *Deutsche Bauzeitung,* 27, no. 44 (3 June 1893): 271–74 and "Einiges zur Beachtung bei Anlage von Strassen, Plätzen und Gebäuden auf unebenem Gelände," *Deutsche Bauzeitung,* 28, no. 81 (10 October 1894): 501–3; no. 82 (13 October 1894): 506–9.

38. In his "Architectonische Toelichting," 1724, Berlage notes "Ter verduidelijking zijn twee teekeningen op groote schaal bijgevoegd, bevattende beide pleinen met hunne omgeving, benevens twee perspectivische schetsen, een beeld gevende der bovenbedoelde ombouwing, zooals ze ongeveer zou kunnen zijn." I have been able to locate the original dossier in which the director of public works presented the drawings to the alderman of public works in the Amsterdam Municipal Archives. Of the five drawings accompanying the plan as Berlage presented it in September 1900, only the plan drawing remains. It shows an early version of the plan as it was finally passed by the municipal council in January 1905. The other four drawings were still in the office of the director of public works as of January 1901. Berlage showed lantern slides of the perspectives at his 1904 lecture, but I have found no later trace of either the drawings or the slides.

39. The manuscripts for these lectures are now missing from the Berlage Archives of the Nederlands Architectuur Instituut; only a few notes remain. A published version of the text appeared in H. P. Berlage, "Het uitbreidingsplan van 'sGravenhage," *Bouwkunst,* 1 (1909): 97–144.

40. Berlage, "Het Uitbreidingsplan van 'sGravenhage," 105–6, 110.

41. A. E. Brinckmann, *Platz und Monument als Künstlerisches Formproblem* (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1908), 165, quoted in August Sarnitz, "Realism versus *Verniedlichung:* The Design of the Great City," in *Otto Wagner, Reflections on the Raiment of Modernity* ed. Harry Francis Mallgrave (Santa Monica, Calif.: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1993), 100. Vincent van Rossem claims Berlage came across this work while he was repeating his Delft planning lecture at Düsseldorf: Vincent van Rossem, "Berlage and the Culture of City Planning," in *Hendrik Petrus Berlage, Complete Works,* ed. Sergio Polano (New York: Rizzoli, 1987), 57. A number of illustrations that Berlage uses to explain his plan of The Hague correspond precisely with those Stübben chose from Brinckmann for his review of *Platz und Monument,* Stübben, "Der Städtebau in der Kunstgeschichte," *Deutsche Bauzeitung,* 43 no. 16 (24 February 1909): 102–05. References to Brinckmann's book appear in the notes

to Berlage's lecture "Het Haagsche Uitbreidingsplan. Voordracht Delft en Dusseldorf," undated manuscript in the Berlage Archives, which would appear to indicate knowledge of the book before his trip to Germany. A brief introduction to Brinckmann's life and thought can be found in W. Oeschlin, "Einleitung," in A. E. Brinckmann, *Deutsche Stadtbaukunst in der Vergangenheit* (Brounschweig: Frieschich Vieweg & Sohw, 1985), v–xvi. Another strong influence on Berlage was the criticism of architect J. H. W. Leliman who led a campaign against the 1900 plan for South Amsterdam. Leliman objected to the "arbitrary" and "unnatural" street plan, its lack of monumentality, simplicity, and logic, and its failure to respond to modern traffic requirements. He pointed out that Berlage had only allowed himself to be influenced by the medieval and early Renaissance examples from Sitte, although Sitte offered far more. In particular, Leliman recommended modern application of the closed but monumental planning of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. A complete review of the contemporary criticism of Berlage's plan may be found in J. H. W. Leliman, "Het plan tot uitbreiding van het Zuidelijk deel van Amsterdam," *De Amsterdammer* no. 1436 (1 January 1905) and no. 1437 (8 January 1905).

42. Collins and Collins argue convincingly that Brinckmann's work on the history of German planning is "essentially a Sittesque analysis," and that Brinckmann "made out the man whose teachings he had preempted to be somewhat of a fool." Collins and Collins, *Camillo Sitte,* 96–97.

43. H. Allen Brooks, "Jeanneret and Sitte: Le Corbusier's Earliest Ideas on Urban Design," in *In Search of Modern Architecture, A Tribute to Henry-Russell Hitchcock* ed. H. Searing (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1982), 293. In 1910 Le Corbusier condemned the gridiron "à l'américaine" [his phrase] for its monotony and absence of visual appeal, its impracticality in terms of either vehicular or pedestrian circulation, and its lack of respect for the landscape" (Brooks, op. cit., 283).

44. Berlage, *Amerikaansche Reisherinneringen,* 6. Berlage is both repelled and inspired by the "barbaric" freedoms of American culture. An attraction to the primal nature of primitive culture characterizes the emergent modernist sensibility, which values the natural and unselfconscious. Henry James, returning to New York in 1904, notes "the appeal of a particular type of dauntless power" in New York, which is some "monstrous organism." Like Berlage and many others, James also compares skyscrapers to towers: "The 'tall buildings,' which have so promptly usurped a glory that affects you as rather surprised, as yet, at itself, the multitudinous skyscrapers standing up to the view, from the water, like extravagant pins in a cushion already overplanted, and stuck in as in the dark, anywhere and anyhow, have at least the felicity of carrying out the fairness of tone, of taking the sun and the shade in the matter of towers of marble." But he notes their economic expediency with more stereotypic anti-Americanism: "Crowned not only with no history, and consecrated by no uses save the commercial at any cost, they are simply the most piercing notes in that concert of the expressively provisional into which your supreme sense of New York resolves itself. They never begin to speak to you, in the manner of the builded majesties of the world as we have heretofore known such—towers or temples or fortresses or palaces—with the authority of things of permanence or even of things of long duration." In "New York

Revisited," in *The American Scene* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1968), 74–77.

45. Berlage, *Amerikaansche Reisherinneringen,* 9.

46. Ibid., 9–10.

47. Henry James also notes that Trinity Church is "so cruelly overtopped and so barely distinguishable." "It aches and throbs, this smothered visibility, we easily feel, in its caged and dishonoured condition, supported only by the consciousness that the dishonour is no fault of its own." James, op. cit., 78.

48. Berlage, *Amerikaansche Reisherinneringen,* 9, 14. Berlage had read Karl Scheffler before his voyage to America and quoted extensively from Scheffler in his essay "Kunst en Gemeenschap," *De Beweging* 7, no. 12 (December 1911): 225–38. This is the text of a lecture he presented in America, "Art and Community," *Western Architect,* 18, no. 8 (August 1912): 85–89. Berlage's reading of the American skyscraper as an icon of modernity was certainly influenced by Scheffler's identification of modern business life as the source of the conventions necessary for modern culture to develop.

49. Berlage, *Amerikaansche Reisherinneringen,* 9.

50. Ibid., 10.

51. Ibid., 11.

52. Werner Hegemann, "Der neue Bebauungsplan für Chicago," *Deutsche Bauzeitung,* 44, no. 40 (18 May 1910): 303–07; no. 41 (21 May 1910): 313–15; no. 44 (1 June 1910): 337–40; no. 45 (4 June 1910): 345–47; this report was also published separately by Wasmuth in 1910. Anthony Sutcliffe discusses international participation of American planners in the period before the First World War in *Towards the Planned City, Germany, Britain, the United States, and France, 1780–1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), 182–98. Hegemann was the organizer of the great exhibitions of urban planning in Boston (1909), Berlin (1910), and Düsseldorf (1911).

53. Hegemann, op. cit., 347.

54. A. H. Wegerif, "Verslag van de Town Planning Conference van 10–15 October te London gehouden door het R.I.B.A.," *Architectura,* 18, no. 42 (22 October 1910): 346–49. The architect J. B. van Loghem also attended the conference.

55. A. E. Brinckmann, "Entwicklung des Städtebau-Ideals seit der Renaissance," *Transactions of the Town Planning Conference, London, 10–15 Oct. 1910* (London: RIBA, 1911), 166. The competition entries for the Berlin planning competition were amply illustrated in the *Deutsche Bauzeitung* during 1910. On the power of the Chicago plan images, see Robert Bruegmann, "Burnham, Guérin and the City as Image," in *The Plan of Chicago: 1909–1979* (catalog of the Art Institute of Chicago, 1979), 16–28.

56. Berlage, *Amerikaansche Reisherinneringen,* 10–11.

57. Mention should also be made here of the further influence on Berlage of the writings of Karl Scheffler. Scheffler's book *Die Architektur der Grossstadt* (Berlin: B. Cassirer, 1913) had a strong impact on Berlage's conception of the nature of the contemporary city. In his 1914 lectures to the student society "Practische Studie," Berlage quotes at length from Scheffler on the large industrial city as the characteristic type of modernity, "Het aesthetische gedeelte van stedebouw," *Bouwkundig Weekblad,* 34, no. 11 (14 March 1914): 139, transcription by C. H. Schwagermann of the lecture given by Berlage at Delft on 2 March 1914. The 1915 plan of South Amsterdam was also influenced by Berlage's reading of Walter Curt Behrendt, *Die einheitliche Blockfront als Raumelement im Stadtbau* (Berlin: Bruno Cassirer, 1911).

58. The two perspectives accompanied Berlage's 1915 "Memorie van Toelichting behoorende bij het Ontwerp van het Uitbreidingsplan der Gemeente Amsterdam," *Gemeenteblad,* pt. 1 (1917): 901. The drawings, first displayed at the Stedelijk Museum from 13 November to 13 December 1915, are now stored at the Amsterdam Municipal Archives.

59. J. B. van Loghem, "Tentoonstelling van Architectura et Amicitia in het Stedelijk Museum te Amsterdam," *De Nieuwe Amsterdammer,* no. 50 (11 December 1915): 6; J. Gratama, "Kroniek LXIX," *Bouwkundig Weekblad,* 36, no. 32 (4 December 1915): 235–36; H. P. Berlage, "Bij de Afbeeldingen Amsterdam Zuid," *De Nieuwe Amsterdammer,* no. 47 (20 November 1915): 6. The significance of this exhibition for the Amsterdam School is also discussed extensively in H. Searing, "Housing in Holland and the Amsterdam School" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1971).

60. Berlage, *Amerikaansche Reisherinneringen,* 27.

61. William Gray Purcell, "Walter Burley Griffin, Progressive," *The Western Architect,* 17 (September 1912): 93–94. Purcell discusses Berlage's work in similar terms in "H. P. Berlage, A Creator of Democratic Architecture in Holland," *The Craftsman,* 21, no. 4 (January 1912): 413. His opinion is similar to the objections to the Chicago plan made by Raymond Unwin, "The City Development Plan," in *Transactions of the Town Planning Conference, London, 10–15 Oct. 1910* (London: RIBA, 1911), 257–59. This objection was also clearly articulated in one of the first English reviews of the plan: P. Abercrombie, "The Plan of Chicago," *Town Planning Review,* 1, no. 1 (1910): 58.

62. In a number of his writings on urban planning, notably his plan for the Hague, Berlage quotes Brinckmann's phrase "Städte bauen heisst: mit dem Hausmaterial Raum gestalten!," in *Platz und Monument* (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1908), 170.

63. On Burnham's use of Paris as a model, see Joan E. Draper, "Paris by the Lake. Sources of Burnham's Plan of Chicago," in *Chicago Architecture 1892–1922. Birth of a Metropolis* ed. John Zukowsky (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1987), 106–19. It is not clear that Berlage knew that the Flatiron Building was designed by Burnham.

12

SURVEILLANCE AND SPECTACLE IN FASCIST FERRARA

Diane Yvonne Ghirardo

In Fascist Italy, much of the battle for the hearts and minds of Italians took place in the public arena, in the streets and squares of the peninsula's cities. From the episodic urban violence of the post–World War I period to the mass demonstrations and rallies of the twenties and thirties, the Partito Nazionale Fascista (PNF) and Mussolini brought Fascism's messages to the streets in a concerted effort to win and maintain public support. Propaganda campaigns directed toward this end and carried out in newspapers, books, conferences, and parliamentary speeches, and even in radio broadcasts paled in comparison to fascist activities in the streets.[1] Mass civic events became a fascist trope, a means of forging a new, postdemocratic collectivity and of inscribing the public character of the new political formation into the urban realm.

Antonio Gramsci astutely recognized the importance of obtaining the spontaneous consent of the masses through noncoercive activities in order to maintain hegemony, but while he theorized it, Mussolini instinctively realized it and developed a broad range of activities and interventions designed to insure consent and consensus.[2] Gramsci recognized that for Mussolini to maintain hegemony, organic intellectuals would be necessary to produce the means for achieving consensus. How they did so has not been subjected to scholarly analysis, particularly where their activities intersected with architecture and the arts. In this chapter, I explore how intellectuals developed urban programs for the city of Ferrara that advanced the views of history and society espoused by Mussolini. Activities such as those I describe represented two fundamental dimensions of fascist policy in the public realm: surveillance and spectacle. The dual tactics of surveillance and spectacle combined ideally in urban propaganda displays for the 1932 plebiscite, in which the oversized head of Mussolini loomed over and symbolically surveyed the street, reminding Italians to vote yes (*sì*), but at the same time embodying an ephemeral but grand urban spectacle (figure 12.1).

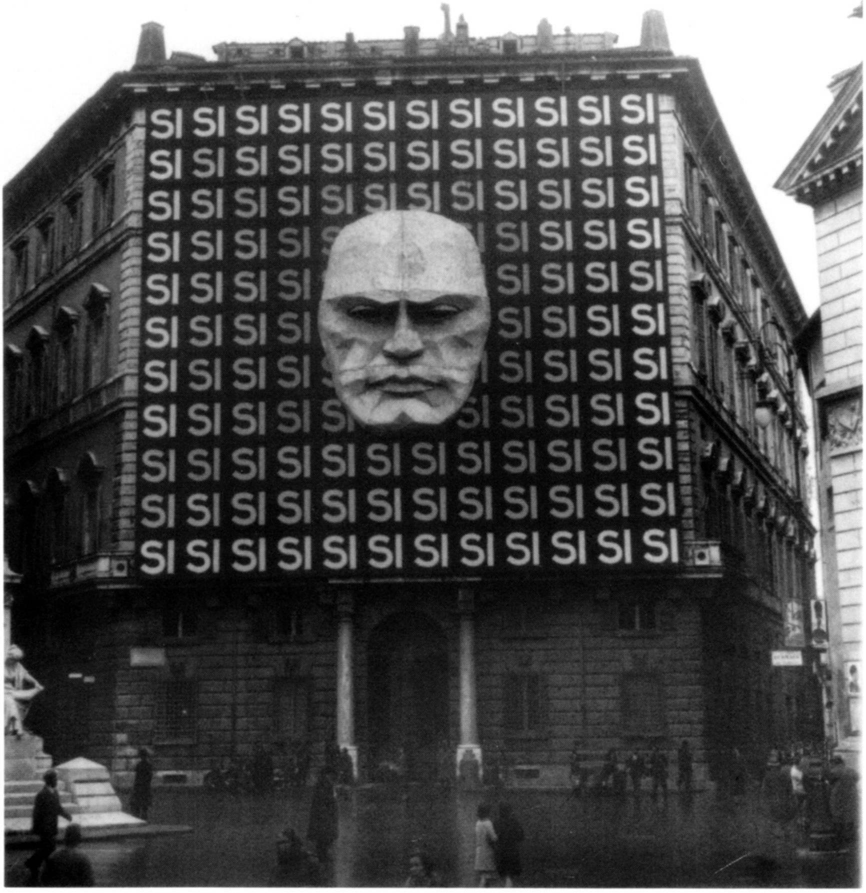


Figure 12.1 Propaganda in the street for the 1932 plebiscite. (Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Rome.)

Fascism and Organic Intellectuals

Gramsci proposed a somewhat confused distinction between what he referred to as organic intellectuals and traditional intellectuals, although they were always linked to class distinctions. The former, created by social groups in the world of economic production, have the double function of constructing homogeneity and of developing awareness of the groups' social and political functions beyond the specific economic ones. Traditional intellectuals already exist in a given society, and represent historical continuity, while presenting themselves as autonomous of the dominant social group. For our purposes, Gramsci's important point is that both types of intellectual are defined by their activities *within* the system of social and class relations. The traditional intellectual operates within historically formed categories which become most complex and elaborate in connection with the dominant social group. In Gramsci's view, a new social group advancing toward dominance, such as Fascism, makes one of its chief aims the assimilation of traditional intellectuals, but also speeds up this process by producing its own organic intellectuals. In general, intellectuals serve as deputies with the function of allowing the dominant social group to maintain hegemony through the spontaneous consent of the masses. The process whereby organic intellectuals work at achieving hegemony is an uneven one which leaves room for diverse cultural expressions, as Walter Adamson has noted.[3] Although cultural activities can help subvert the dominant group, in the case of Fascist Italy most of the cultural activities helped sustain Fascism's power. This study is an assessment of such cultural expressions in one Italian city, Ferrara, during the regime's first decade, activities in the public realm that originated not in the highest reaches of the party, or even in Rome, but rather directly from within the ranks of local organic intellectuals in Ferrara.

Fascists employed many tools to achieve their goals, including censorship and control of the media, mandatory enrollment in the party to be eligible for many types of employment, the establishment of Fascist organizations for Italians of all ages, assuming control of a wide variety of existing organizations in order to bring them under the umbrella of Fascism, and persistent propaganda campaigns, among others.[4] Two related strategies for the control of the public realm are of particular interest: one entailed the construction of new buildings, the refashioning of old ones, and the reconfiguration of urban fabrics through modifications, additions, and enlargements of the existing street network; and the other, an ever-increasing series of small-scale and ephemeral interventions.[5] Innumerable examples of the former enterprises dot Italian cities, often components of larger complexes or urban interventions, such as the Casa del Fascio in Trieste, the urban core of Genoa with the Istituto Nazionale per la Previdenza Sociale, the new communal offices in the city of L'Aquila, and the buildings erected for E '42, or EUR (Esposizione Universale di Roma).[6]

Few of the new or refashioned streets acquired such notoriety as the new Via dei Fori Imperiali, ex Via dell'Impero, in Rome, and the massive reconfiguration of the area around the tomb of Augustus, also in Rome.[7] In each case the artful reconstructions and new buildings, almost always conceived at least in part for their potential effectiveness as backdrops for parades and ceremonies celebrating Fascism, revealed a deliberately theatrical inspiration. It is no accident that the most prominent military parades and state processions wound their way down the Via dell'Impero, surrounded by the newly excavated ruins of the Roman and Imperial fora, with the statues of Caesar carefully sited to emphasize the connection between imperial predecessor and contemporary Duce. On the occasion of the inauguration of the Mostra Augustea della Romanità in 1938, Mussolini presided over the parade of Black Shirts on the Via Nazionale, followed by the inauguration of the newly reconstructed Ara Pacis, with the refashioned Piazza dell'Augusteo offering a suggestive setting in which to evoke parallels between ancient and modern empires.[8]

These new or reconfigured complexes ineluctably linked the fortunes of Fascism with its new building projects through annual contemporaneous inaugurations on 28 October, the anniversary of the March on Rome, with Mussolini either present or virtually present through the figure of a *gerarca* standing in for him. On these occasions the Duce could be photographed against a backdrop of sleek modern buildings, reclamation and irrigation projects, or a new highway, thereby giving spatial expression to temporal achievements: the March on Rome in 1922 became the benchmark against which subsequent achievements were measured, the ground zero of the new era. The spatiotemporal moment of these accomplishments also received permanence in stone, in the form of dates rendered in roman numerals followed by the letters EF (*era fascista*). But even ground zero had antecedents widely understood to be the progenitors of the Fascist city.

Ephemeral Events

Beyond the major public building projects, a second strategy entailed the projection of Fascism into the city fabric by means of shrewd ephemeral interventions and by smaller permanent installations. Many of the ephemeral events occurred on the occasion of Mussolini's state visits throughout the peninsula during the twenty-one years of Fascist rule, with his ceremonial entrances following precisely in line with a long tradition of ceremonial visits by secular and ecclesiastical dignitaries.[9] Since the Renaissance, such ceremonial occasions were recorded in precise detail in separately published pamphlets, which also included enumerations of the dignitaries present, as well as detailed descriptions of the movement of the procession through the city streets, the *apparati* constructed in honor of the occasion, and the various ceremonies and entertainments held in honor of the visitors. Mussolini too passed beneath temporary triumphal arches exactly in the manner of the victorious generals of antiquity or Renaissance nobles and clerics, and his visits were recorded in nearly identical fashion in newspapers and pamphlets, with detailed itineraries, names of dignitaries, and an account of each stage of the visit.[10]

The most frequent and surely the most famous ephemeral events whose memory lingered long after the fall of Fascism remained the mass rallies. Familiar images of Mussolini addressing crowds of Black Shirts in locations from Piazza Venezia to the Colosseum in Rome, and from piazzas, ports, and buildings throughout the country were repeated endlessly in film and graphics. Mussolini placed himself in front of major urban monuments from different eras, such as the Duomo in Milan, thereby inserting himself into the historical trajectory of a particular city. Milan's history, from medieval commune to seignorial duchy (as emphasized in the transformation of the town hall to a school for bureaucrats) and from episcopal seat to modern industrial and bourgeois urban center, is fully legible in the buildings and spaces around the Duomo. Positioning himself here allowed Mussolini to ally himself at once with the deepest traditions and with the most forward-looking, modernizing impulses as emphasized in the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele, the crowning nineteenth-century achievement of bourgeois culture with its spacious arcades catering to conspicuous consumption.

But the Galleria presented a mixed image to the Fascists: on the one hand, it drew attention as a showpiece at the heart of modern Milan, and was the favored area for strolling Milanese. When the Fascists mounted propaganda here in favor of the plebiscite in 1935, they could be sure of broad visibility by placing it in the Galleria. On the other hand, like other public spaces the Galleria was precisely a place where uncontrolled activities could and did take place, a potential site of rebellion and revolution. This second aspect of the public sphere threw into high relief the conflicts that concerned the Fascists: while they sought to promote fascism through the selective appropriation of public space on behalf of party activities, they could not ignore the fact that casual, often oppositional public interaction—the other side of the programmed rally—also took place in the very same public realm. Rallies could be controlled, casual interactions could not. The Fascist state, then, pursued two strategies, with activities that represented two fundamental dimensions of fascist policy in the public realm: surveillance and spectacle. Through party and police surveillance, Fascists could contain the most blatant manifestations of dissent, and indeed, the archives testify eloquently to policies designed to control the public domain.[11] Through spectacle, they could hope to summon the support of the masses and engender support for and loyalty to the regime. Through spectacles, Fascism offered diverse activities with multivalent meanings but which nonetheless served to reinforce Fascism, either by celebrating the accomplishments of Mussolini and Fascism, or, less directly, by emphasizing specific themes, figures, or eras from the past.

The anonymous spies of the interior ministry therefore made spaces such as the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele a required stop in their wanderings through the city. There, "sotto i portici della Galleria," one could find

> the old socialist carcass and enemies of Mussolini . . . a reasonably numerous group of people which, except for a few, having enjoyed the benefits of the Fascist Party or of the Duce himself, do not fail to participate with a group of loafers living who knows how, spending their lives in the Galleria making pronouncements and predicting the most catastrophic misfortunes . . ."[12]

Such comments point to the obvious fact that although Mussolini enjoyed wide support, lingering opposition remained a thorn in the side of the regime. Control of dissent was a fundamental feature of Fascism even before the rise to power, in everything from the press to public and even private realms. Ferrarese communist Ilio Bosi testified eloquently to this in his memoirs of more than twenty-five years spent in opposition to Fascism, describing both the ruthless and efficient systems of the twin arms of control, party and police, and his efforts and those of his comrades to "hold the street" against Fascist control before 1922.[13] The earliest battles conducted by Fascists took place spectacularly in the streets, and here they needed to maintain control; but constant repression would only breed more dissent, and therefore Fascism would need to appropriate public space in other ways.

The public displays orchestrated by the PNF carried significant propaganda weight, repeated as they were in newspapers, books, and postcards, each time emphasizing the twin accomplishments of Mussolini and Fascism. Theatrical in inspiration, organization, and operation, these public displays were not intended to accomplish any business, let alone to open a dialogue between Mussolini and the masses; rather they reinforced the shared values and ideals of the new Fascist society, maintained a high level of enthusiasm, and emphasized the role of Mussolini in carrying these values and ideals forward. But however grand they looked in photographs and on news broadcasts at the movie theater, public assemblies were not unambiguous successes. Participation often depended on degrees of coercion, for the local party offices demanded verified reasons to excuse members from weekly demonstrations parades, meetings, or from special assemblies called to greet Mussolini or some other *gerarca*.[14]

Some Fascists even began to question whether such gatherings indeed allowed the party to penetrate to the mass of people, or whether participation represented nothing more than superficial adherence to dictates rather than enthusiastic involvement. By 1932 observers detected an increasingly apathetic response to "speeches," precisely because participation was coerced, in one way or another. So numerous were the events requiring mass attendance that some critics charged that the *dirigenti* had abused what could in principle be a positive tool. One spy commented in 1932 that the Duce's motto, *andare verso il popolo* (go to the people), had thus far been interpreted in only two ways: the usual parades and the usual speeches lasting a couple of hours.[15] By implication, neither had much chance of sparking enthusiasm for Fascism.

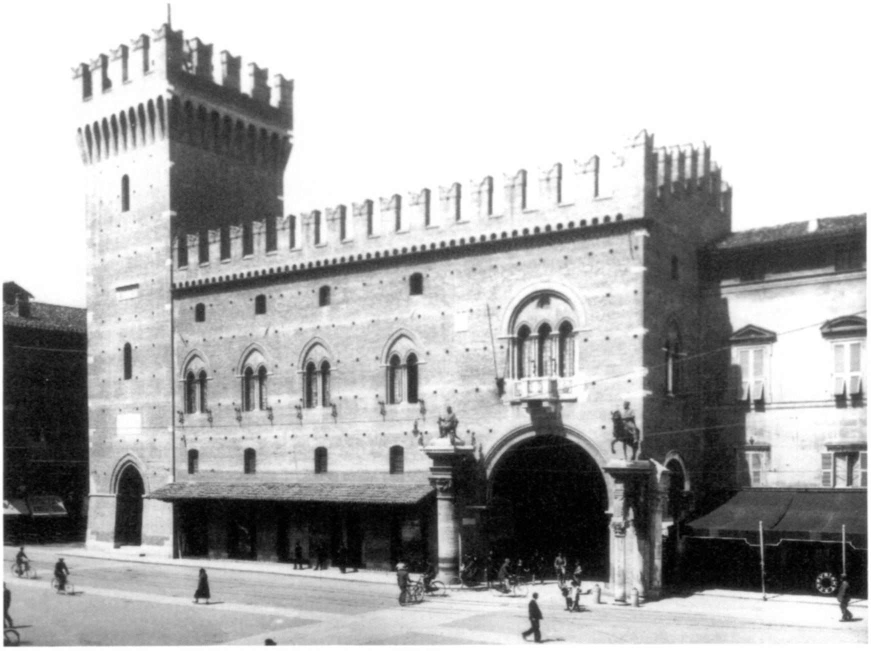
How, then, to bring Italians together en masse, in the public realm, and promote support for the regime? How to fix the public realm as an undeniably Fascist one, without resorting only to draconian repression? Without entirely abandoning the mass rally—and indeed, inventing new occasions for it, such as at youth camps and sporting events—the Fascists had to develop other types of activities, less directly propagandistic and less boring, other ways of inscribing hierarchies of power in the urban realm and for summoning masses to activities that ultimately paid obeisance to Fascism.[16] Politics proceed according to images of reality, as Mussolini well knew, therefore the *perception* of that reality is all-important and dependent on its staging, for events and interventions needed to be staged so as to offer clear, if mediated, messages. The participation of non-party intellectuals—organic intellectuals, in Gramsci's term—ended up being an essential component of the construction of these images of reality. Party officials alone could hardly have dreamed up the full array of cultural enterprises in the 1920s and 1930s; they needed the collaboration of local functionaries, organic intellectuals, for fresh ideas in the form of local initiatives that could then be loosely gathered under the umbrella of Fascism.

Historicizing Interventions in Ferrara

The interventions in Ferrara under Fascism were entirely typical of accomplishments elsewhere in other Italian cities, with new buildings erected on the Viale Cavour for the Casa del Fascio and post office, and a new quarter being developed in the area of Viale Vittorio Veneto.[17] But as with most Italian cities, beyond erecting a few new buildings, signs of the Fascist presence were necessarily limited by historic centers dense with their own accumulations of centuries-old displays of power. In 1926 and in 1933, Ferrarese city officials, with the collaboration of the state, undertook two interventions in which the government and indeed, Mussolini personally, played direct and significant roles: the reconstruction of fifteenth-century statues of Niccolò d'Este and Borso d'Este, and the reintroduction of the Ferrarese Palio as one of a series of events in celebration of the four-hundredth anniversary of the death of favorite son and Ferrarese poet, Ludovico Ariosto.[18] These two fairly modest undertakings yield a surprisingly rich body of information about the use of urban space and about the role of tradition in the modern Fascist state.

Let me begin with the statues of Niccolò and Borso d'Este (figure 12.2). The Este family took control of Ferrara at the end of the twelfth century, as a victorious Guelph family in the ongoing battle between Guelphs and Ghibellines. As Guelphs, the Este family pledged their support to the Papacy and therefore owed fealty to the Pope.[19] Marquis Niccolò III d'Este (1383–1441) owed his prominence to his feats as a soldier, whereas Borso gained recognition for more cultivated pursuits in the arts and letters and in public administration. Historians described both in superlatives; indeed, Niccolò, wrote one, "was a wise, prudent, magnanimous man of great ingenuity who lacked nothing but letters."[20] Following Niccolò's death, his heir Leonello summoned the famous Renaissance architectural theorist Leon Battista Alberti to Ferrara in 1443 to judge a competition for a gilded, bronze equestrian statue of Niccolò, initially placed in front of the cathedral in 1451, and then erected in 1472 on one side of the Volto del Cavallo, opening into the courtyard of the original palace of the Este family, now the Palazzo Comunale.[21] When Leonello died in 1450, it was left to Borso d'Este, another son, to complete the project and to inaugurate

Figure 12.2 Palazzo Comunale of Ferrara, with statues of Niccolò and Borso d'Este on either side of the Volto del Cavallo. (Alinari.)



it in 1451. Borso promptly commissioned his own portrait in 1452, a bronze representation of himself seated on a column, initially located in front of the Palazzo della Ragione in 1454 but placed opposite the Niccolò portrait, on the other side of the Volto del Cavallo, in 1472.

From the standpoint of architectural history, one other significant point needs to be made about the Niccolò statute: the base upon which it stood, presumably designed by Leon Battista Alberti himself, incorporated an antique column and took the form of a triumphal arch, thereby joining imperial imagery, antique architectural element, and contemporary political imperatives (figure 12.3). The Niccolò statue was also the earliest example of a realized project for the re-creation of a bronze statue of this type since antiquity. This fusion of current political objectives with the legitimating force of antique aesthetic and political symbols was one of the chief hallmarks of Renaissance architecture, both as set out in Alberti's theory and in the practice of quattrocento architects, notably that of Alberti himself.[22] Connections with the antique served important legitimating functions, and brought contemporary architecture closer to the ideal of the antique—precisely the goals and strategies that underlay the revival of the antique under Fascism. In neither case, however, were the aesthetic programs of antiquity to be slavishly imitated; rather the goal was to imitate, to interpret, but also to improve upon the antique prototypes, thereby placing contemporary accomplishments securely on a par with the acknowledged mastery of antiquity.[23] Nothing so evidences the urban significance of the two statues as their larger-than-life presence in maps of Ferrara throughout the years of Este dominance (figures 12.4 and 12.5).

There the statues sat, for over 300 years, until 1796, when the French troops arrived in Ferrara during Napoleon's Lombard campaign. In an outburst of republican fervor, French troops tore down the two statues as emblems of aristocratic domination and shipped them to Modena, where they were melted down into cannon, leaving only the pedestals behind[24] (figure 12.6). Surprisingly, given the significance of the statues and the cultural prominence of Ferrara, only a few sketches survived in maps or manuscripts (figures 12.7 and 12.8). Subsequent guidebooks invariably mentioned the two columns and the missing statues, but only in the twentieth century did the stalwart Ferrarese librarian Giuseppe Agnelli decide that the time had come to reconstruct the two statues. In a booklet published in 1918, Agnelli recounted the history of the bronze figures and offered a plan for their reconstruction. Once he had located a donor and named Giacomo Zilocchi sculptor, the project slowly wound its way through the local and national bureaucracy.[25] In 1927, when the proposal finally came before a panel of experts regularly convened by the Ministry of Public Instruction to give advice on a wide range of technical and

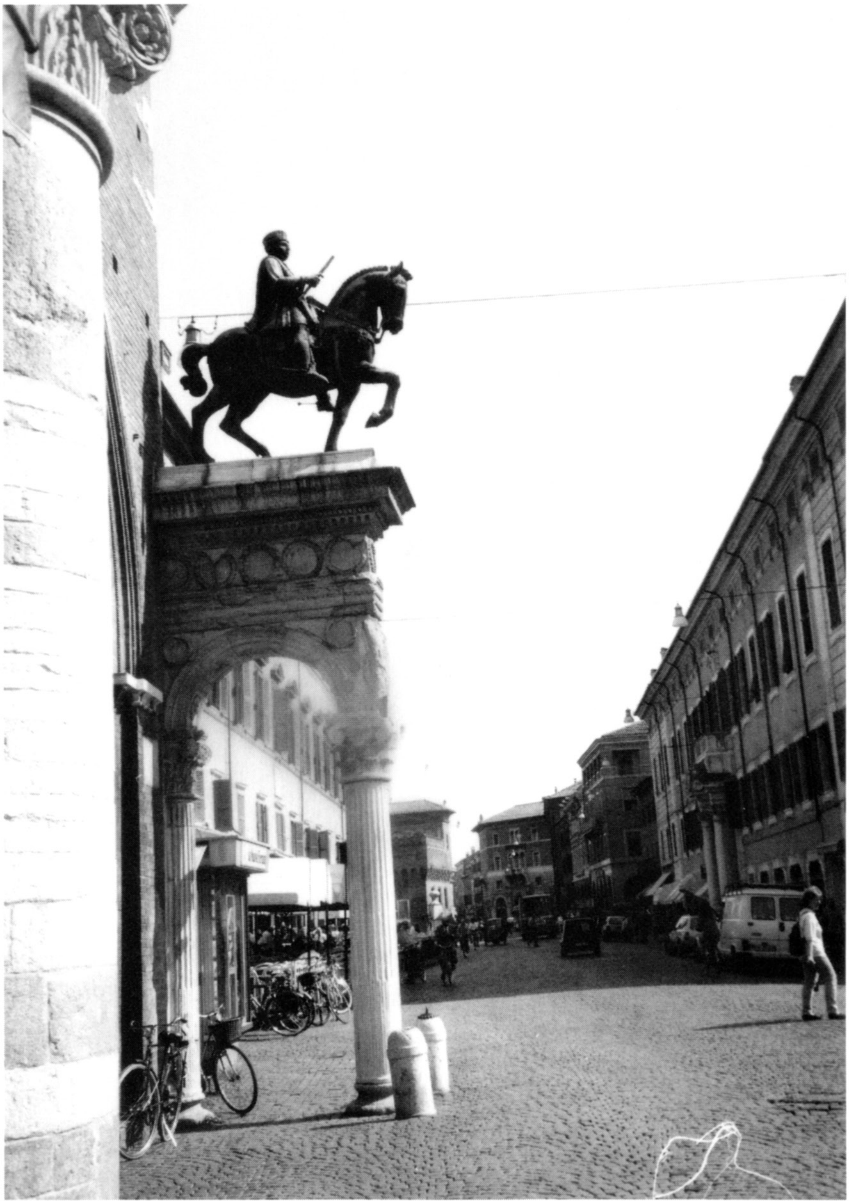


Figure 12.3 Leon Battista Alberti. Pedestal for Statue of Niccolò d'Este, Ferrara. Detail. (Photograph by the author.)

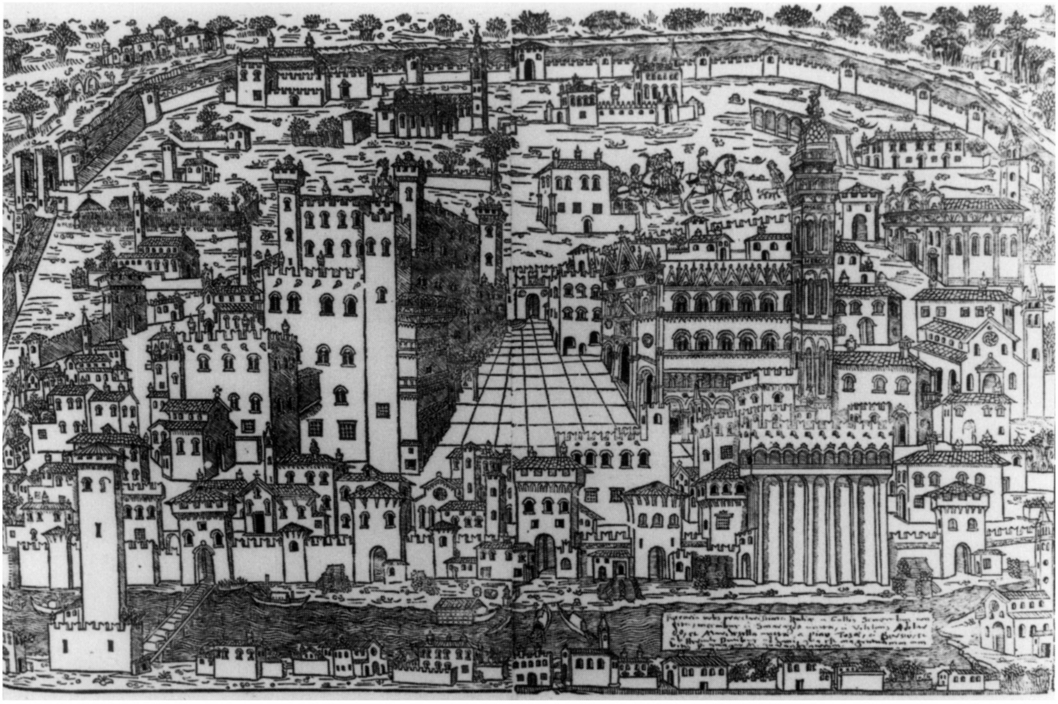


Figure 12.4 Anonymous. View of Ferrara in 1490 showing the arched pedestal in front of the Palazzo del Comune. (Gabinetto Fotografico del Comune di Ferrara.)

artistic projects, the committee brusquely rejected Agnelli's proposal on the grounds that the absence of sufficient visual sources did not permit a precise reconstruction, and in any case, the ones proposed by Agnelli stood in direct opposition to contemporary criteria for restoration. Furthermore, the statutes as designed were "neither faithful antique reproductions nor did they represent a genuine and sincere expression of modern art."[26]

Clearly frustrated with this response, Mayor Renzo Ravenna skipped the ministry altogether and appealed directly to Mussolini. In a passionate telegram to the Duce, he reiterated the unanimous and overwhelming support of Ferrarese deputies, senators, local authorities, and provincial fine arts representatives for the reconstruction of the two statues, and pleaded for Mussolini to intervene and reexamine the issue.[27] Less than a month later, word came back to Ferrara through the Ministry of Public Instruction that Mussolini had personally approved the project.[28] The records are silent on which *gerarca* might have intervened on behalf of Agnelli's project, but any of Ferrara's famous Fascists,

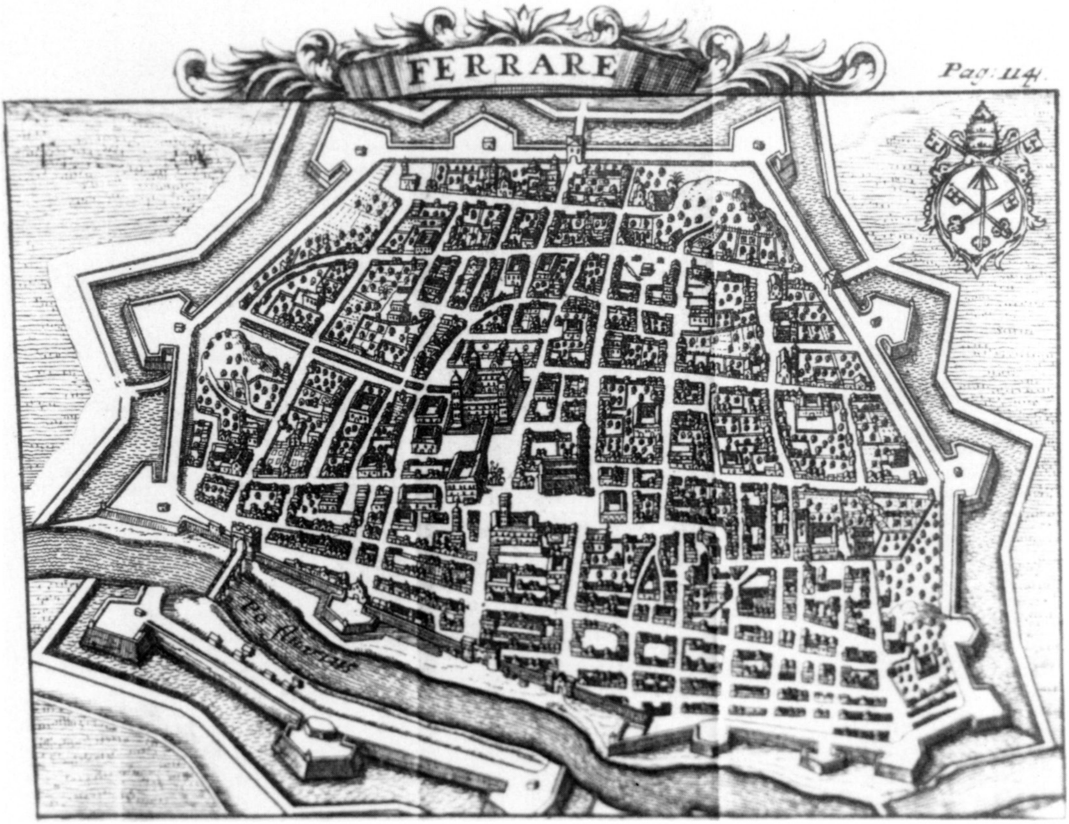


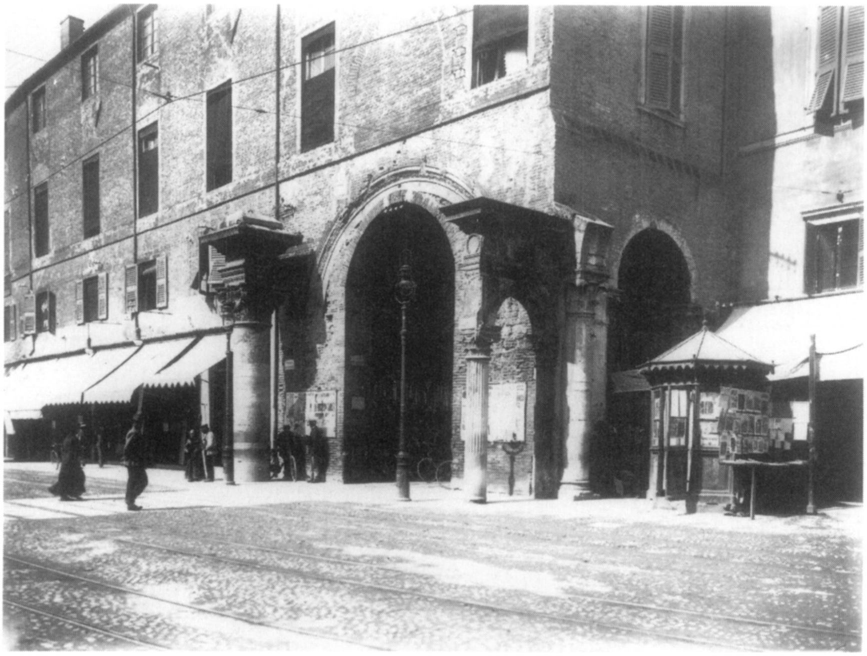
Figure 12.5 De Rocissali. Map of Ferrara in 1706. The statue is visible between the castle, the cathedral, and the town hall in the center. (Author's collection.)

including Italo Balbo, a popular aviator and former air force minister, could easily have put in a favorable word.

Even without such intervention, however, the project would have been appealing to Mussolini, for it selected out of Ferrara's long history references to the days of patrician one-man rule rather than to republican or ecclesiastical control. The two statues—signorial warrior and cultivated prince—perfectly captured the twin images Mussolini sought to convey of himself as Fascist Duce. The equestrian motif itself dates back to Hellenistic times, and was invariably associated with rulers, esteemed warriors or, with the advent of Christianity, saints. It is no coincidence that St. George, who, mounted on his trusty steed, slew the dragon, happens to be the chief patron saint of Ferrara and, indeed, St. George is represented repeatedly in Ferrara, including a bas-relief across from the Niccolò statue in the lunette of the Porta Maggiore of the Duomo. When the Niccolò portrait was first completed, a small bronze equestrian portrait of St. George also topped the central *frontone* of the cathedral; damaged in the 1570 earthquake, it was subsequently replaced by a cross.[29] While the dense layers of historic meaning that have accrued to the equestrian portrait range so broadly as to defy the significance of individual variations, here it simply conveys majesty grounded in imperial rule as transformed by a Renaissance prince.[30]

Imperial imagery was the primary source of the equestrian portrait as an emblem of majesty, although only two comparable antique statues were extant in fifteenth-century Italy: the statue of Marcus Aurelius in Rome (then still located at the Lateran when the Niccolò monument was commissioned in 1443) and the Regisole in front of the Duomo in Pavia (figure 12.9). Medieval captains and *podestà,* such as Cangrande della Scala, were also represented on horseback, often as part of funerary monuments.[31] Niccolò's portrait ideally combines civic and religious motifs, Niccolò as the representative and vassal of the church as well as the local secular leader. In combination with the fact that the column forming part of its base is itself an antique, and that the pedestal is

Figure 12.6 Volto del Cavallo, Palazzo Comunale of Ferrara, prior to reconstruction of the two statues. (Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Rome.)



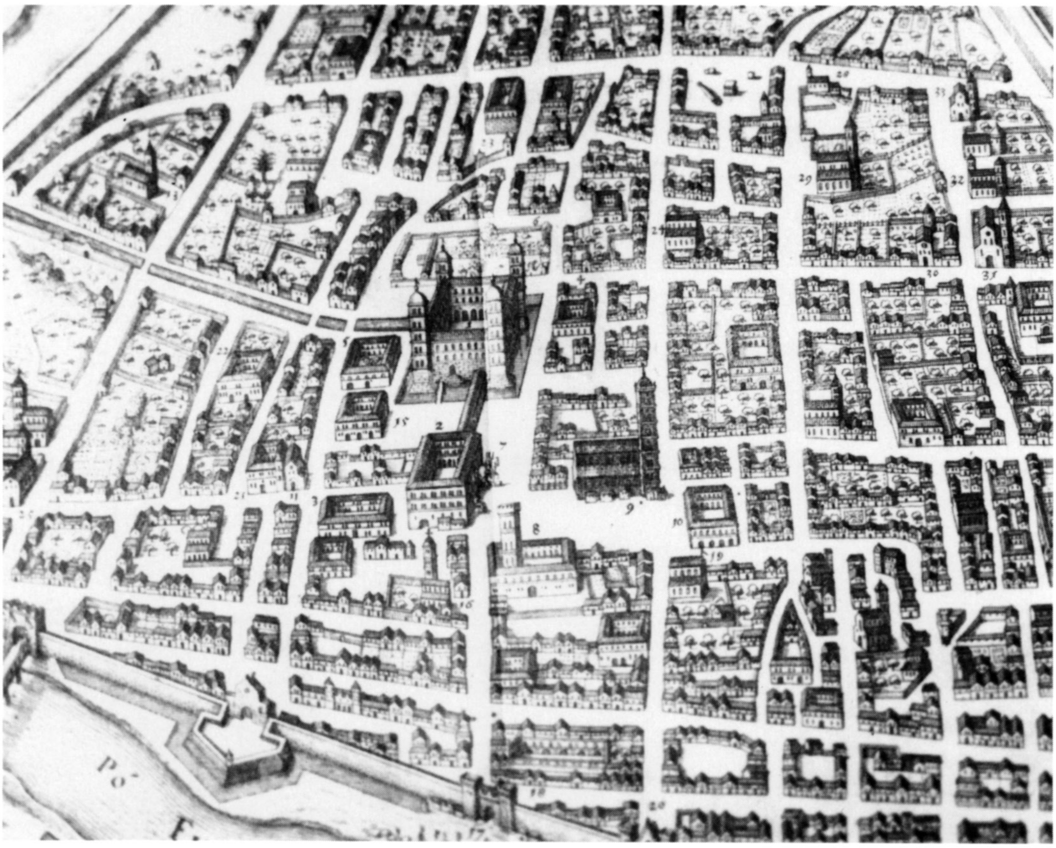


Figure 12.7 M. Merian. Ferrara in 1640. Detail of center. (Author's collection.)

configured as a triumphal arch, the connections between imperial, spiritual, and civic past, present and future are compellingly conveyed. Sited in the most public, most central, and most significant section of the city, the monument commemorates not death but the living presence of the Este in the city—and that Borso's own portrait was initiated almost as soon as he came to power only underscores the monument's emphasis on that presence. The location of the Niccolò portrait drew instant parallels with antiquity, for as a triumphal arch situated in what Alberti referred to by its antique name, the forum, or main square of Ferrara, the monument responded to Alberti's requirement that a triumphal arch be located where a principal thoroughfare joins the forum.[32]

Such imagery ideally conveyed the finely nuanced messages that Mussolini also sought to convey: the beloved ruler prepared to take up arms, but a man of letters as well; the present rooted in the past, but resolutely facing the future; the conflation of the civic, spiritual, and private under Fascism.[33] It should come as no surprise that artists also represented Mussolini in equestrian por-

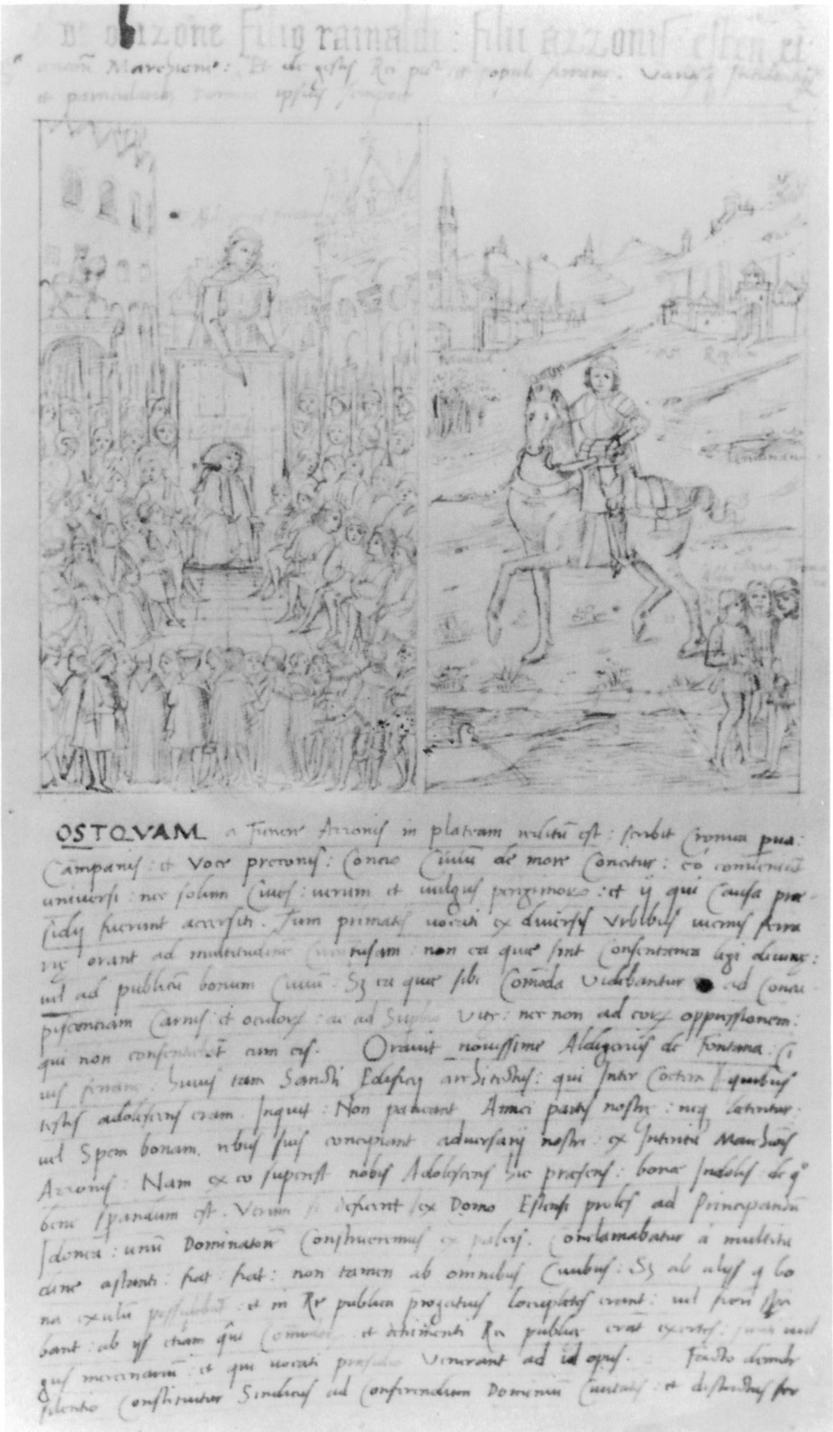


Figure 12.8 Pellegrino Prisciani, *Historiarum Ferrariae.* Manuscript page showing equestrian portrait of Niccolò d'Este. (Archivio di Stato di Modena.)

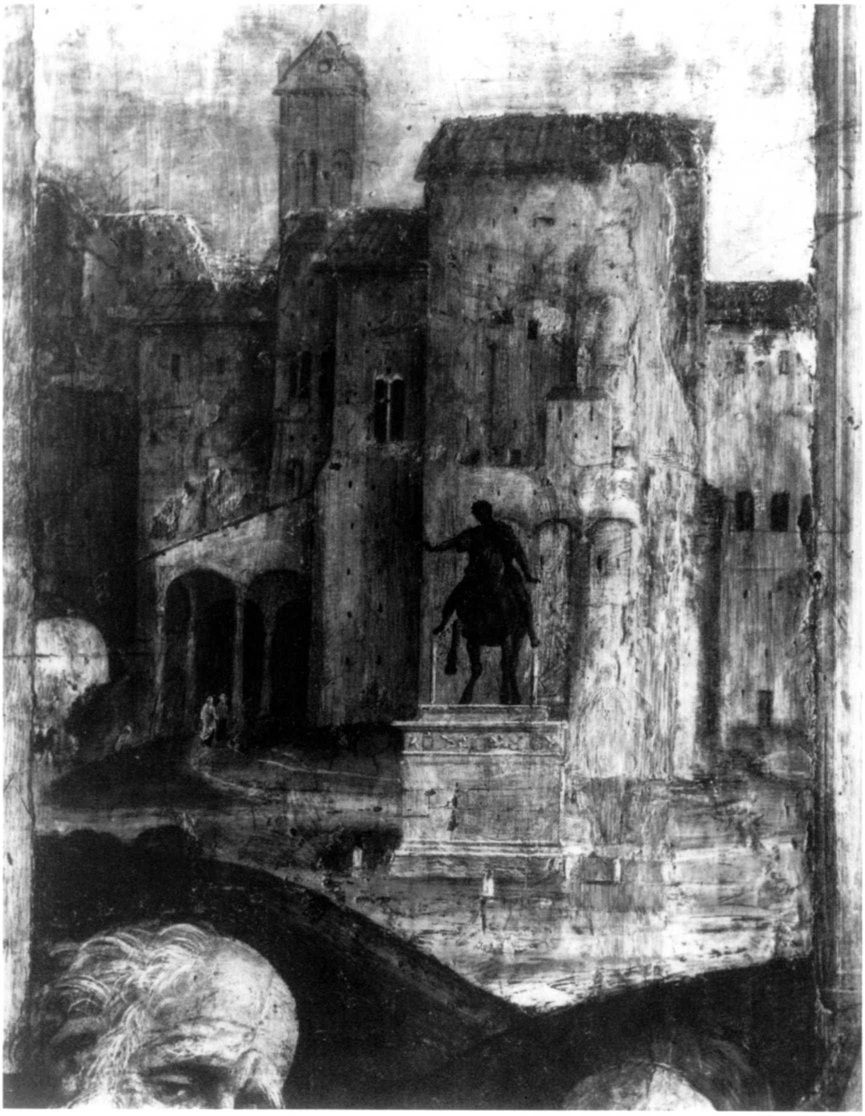


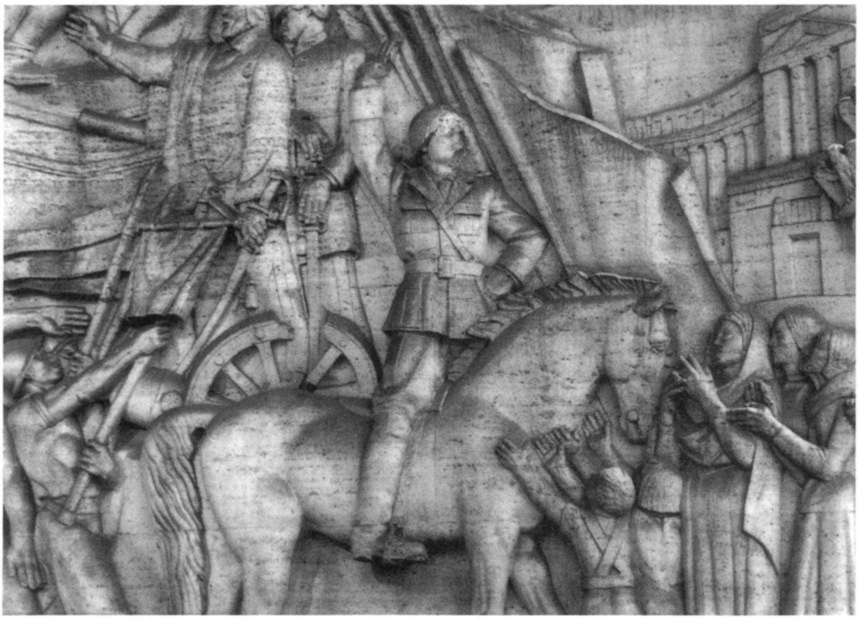
Figure 12.9 Filippino Lippi. Triumph of St. Thomas Aquinas over Error, Carafa Chapel, Santa Maria sopra Minerva, Rome, 1488–93. Fresco detail showing bronze equestrian portrait of Marcus Aurelius located at S. Giovanni Laterano, Rome. (Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Rome.)

traits deliberately evoking imperial connections, such as the damaged relief at EUR, or even in photographs as he rode down the Via Appia (figure 12.10). Resplendent in bronze, Niccolò symbolically overlooked his urban domain just as surely as Mussolini did from the balcony of Piazza Venezia, or indeed, from any one of hundreds of others throughout Italy. But at the same time, the Niccolò portrait participated in the Renaissance tradition of public spectacles sponsored by rulers to enhance personal glory and awe the masses, but also entertain them. Moreover, the Niccolò portrait, invariably depicted as much larger than life in printed maps of the city, ideally imaged the twin pillars of Fascist urban programs: surveillance and spectacle.[35]

Public Spectacle in Fascist Ferrara

The second great moment of restoration of the ducal past in Ferrara came just 5 years later in 1933. *Podestà* Renzo Ravenna submitted a project to the Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri in 1932 for a series of cultural events as part of the festivities celebrating the 400th anniversary of the death of one of the city's favorite sons, Ludovico Ariosto, author of *Orlando Furioso* and one of the

Figure 12.10 Mussolini on horseback. Bas-relief showing history of architectural accomplishments in Italy. Publio Morbiducci, Ente EUR Building, Rome, 1937. (Photograph by the author.)



greatest Italian poets and dramatists of the Renaissance.[36] The project was the fruit of several years' labor by a citizens committee named "Ottava d'Oro," established in order to "celebrate the greatest poet with a series of cultural, artistic and folk manifestations that will summon the attention of scholars, artists and the people to the sum of the great poet's work and to the city that receives glory and splendor from his fame."[37] During the preceding years the group had organized a series of lectures and conferences "held in suggestive sites in our city, so rich with works of art and precious rooms that recall the bright period of Este domination."[38] Now, *podestà* Ravenna urged, Ferrara should demonstrate both its power and how its current beauty dovetailed with ancient glories.[39]

On the anniversary of Ariosto's death, 6 July 1933, the city planned an official commemoration of Ariosto with major figures in Italian and international culture in attendance. Around this event were to be organized other cultural, artistic, and popular exhibitions and events. In the cultural sphere they intended to publish two volumes of *Annali Ariostei,* edited by the city's librarian Giuseppe Agnelli; to reprint a critical edition of one of Ariosto's comedies; to mount an exhibition of the manuscripts and prints of Ariosto; another one of portraits and medals of Ariosto; and an exhibition of small bronzes from Ariosto's time. The most important artistic event was to be a major exhibition of Ferrarese painting from the Renaissance, scheduled to be open from May to October in the Palazzo dei Diamanti and composed of works of art gathered from throughout the world. A second, smaller exhibition of contemporary art from the Ferrara region was also planned, along with the presentation of one of Ariosto's comedies and musical performances.

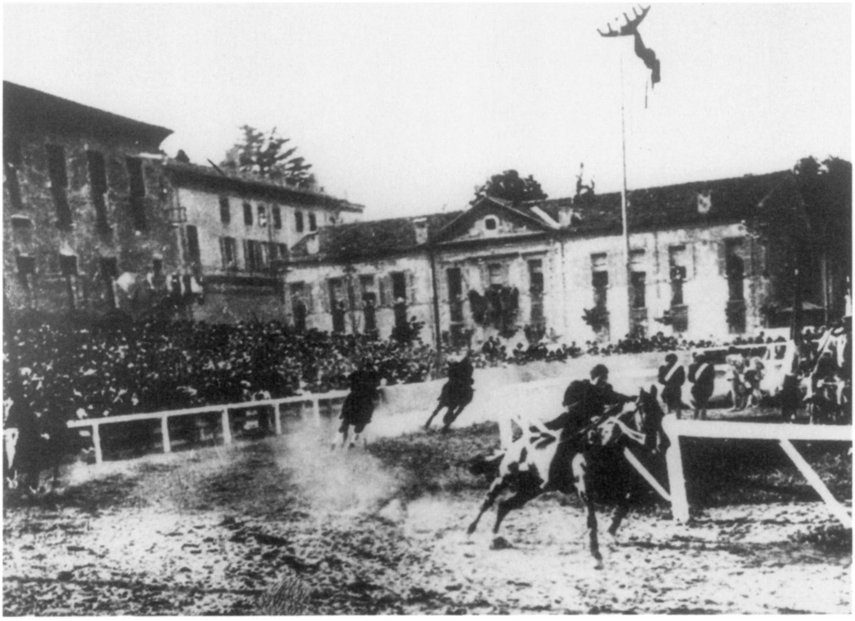
Part of the celebration would also emphasize the technical and architectural accomplishments of Fascism: an exhibit of hydraulic engineering in Emilia-Romagna, another on regional land reclamation projects, another on industries working with reclamation machinery, yet another on agricultural products and electrotechnical industries applied to agriculture, to be followed by a major national exhibition and congress on the cultivation of fruit and fruit trees. Finally, the *podestà* mentioned in passing the prospect of other events described as "Manifestazioni folkloristiche popolari sportive," and the possible renewal of the traditional Palio of San Giorgio.[40]

In response to the proposal from Ferrara, Mussolini personally took two immediate actions: he shifted control of the Ariosto centenary to the Accademia d'Italia in collaboration with Ferrara, no doubt with the idea of making sure that rural bumpkins did not make a mess of things and that the celebrations occurred with the requisite academic authority, and with bold red strokes he crossed off all of the technical and architectural exhibitions.[41] This decision focused the entire cycle of celebrations on historical events rather than on the accomplishments of contemporary fascism. Because the enormous *Mostra della Rivoluzione Fascista* was mounted in the fall of 1932, perhaps yet another exhibition with the same themes but rendered in sober and pedagogic tones was not deemed necessary, for the exhibit planned for Ferrara certainly would never excite enthusiasm, nor would any of the events planned for Ferrara engage the urban masses—clearly not what the Duce had in mind for the public in the summer of 1932.[42] But perhaps equally important, the celebration of a history that could now be seen through the light of Fascism was itself a sufficient accomplishment in no need of further embellishment.

When the city subsequently submitted a revised proposal, it clearly defined the "Manifestazioni folkloristiche popolari sportive" as including tennis and soccer matches, fencing, and a national choral competition, but the reestablishment of the Palio now became the centerpiece of these "manifestazioni folkloristiche"[43] (figure 12.11).

Celebrating important feast days with a competition between *borghi* or *contrade* in urban horseraces was an old medieval custom in Italy and could be found in cities such as Florence, Siena, Rome, and Asti, as well as Ferrara, where they were also called the *corso dei cavalli barberi,* for the horses came from Muslim countries such as Morocco.[44] The Palio in Ferrara was first mentioned

Figure 12.11 Palio in Ferrara, 1933. (Gabinetto Fotografico del Comune di Ferrara.)



in municipal records in 1259, and the Palio of St. George (San Zorzo) in 1279 in the municipal statues, although it clearly had a much longer folk tradition, probably descended from races run to celebrate a successful siege and to taunt the enemy.[45] From the beginning, the Palio combined the religious and civil realms: although sponsored by the Este in the thirteenth century, the Palio nonetheless honored the saints. In addition to the feast of S. Giorgio, the Palio was also run on Ferragosto during the fifteenth century (15 August), on the feast of St. Peter (29 June), and on the occasion of illustrious visits, princely weddings, and exceptional festivals.[46] During the seventeenth century it was also held on Fat Tuesday and the feast of the conversion of St. Paul.[47]

The running of the Palio pitted different *borghi* and *contrade* against one another, with the first prize being a richly decorated and precious length of cloth (the palio), second prize a pig, and third prize a rooster; on other occasions, the winners of the various races were awarded lengths of wool or brocade.[48] Although initiated as the popularly organized *corso dei cavalli barberi,* donkey races and races for women and for youngsters often supplemented the main horserace. The Palio in fact became a major event in Ferrara each year, and as Cittadella wrote in 1864, "In those times in which every princely court vied with the others for the most luxurious and rich public festivals, the Este family distinguished itself for grandiosity, magnificence and good taste."[49] By the fifteenth century, under Niccolò and Borso, palios were also held in most of the towns controlled by the Este.[50]

The race had no fixed location in the streets of Ferrara. Over the centuries, the routes of the Palio rendered Ferrara's temporal dimension congruent with the spatial, as the routes followed the city's growth and thereby emphasized its most modern aspects. Initially, in the thirteenth century, the route followed Via Ripa Grande, beginning near the church of Ss. Peter and Paul in the most ancient section of the city, the castrum, and running from Borgo della Pioppa to Castel Tedaldo (figure 12.12). By the fifteenth century, the site had shifted to the street from the Porta di Sotto to the church of St. Peter; another course ran from the church of St. Peter to that of St. Domenic; from St. Anthony (behind St. Gregory) to the Via Nuova delle Botteghe behind the Palazzo Ducale, and in the piazza itself, from Torre di Rigobello to the Torre dei Leoni. Donkey races went from the Porta di Sotto to the Porta di Gusmaria. In the sixteenth century, the location changed again from the older part of the city to the wider streets of the newer districts, Via Giovecca, a street fashioned over the site of the city's primary ditch, and Via degli Angeli, and in the seventeenth century the race relocated again, to Via di San Benedetto.[51] When the Este family lost Ferrara in 1598 and the Papacy took over direct control of the city, the church still sponsored many local festivals, including masked balls at

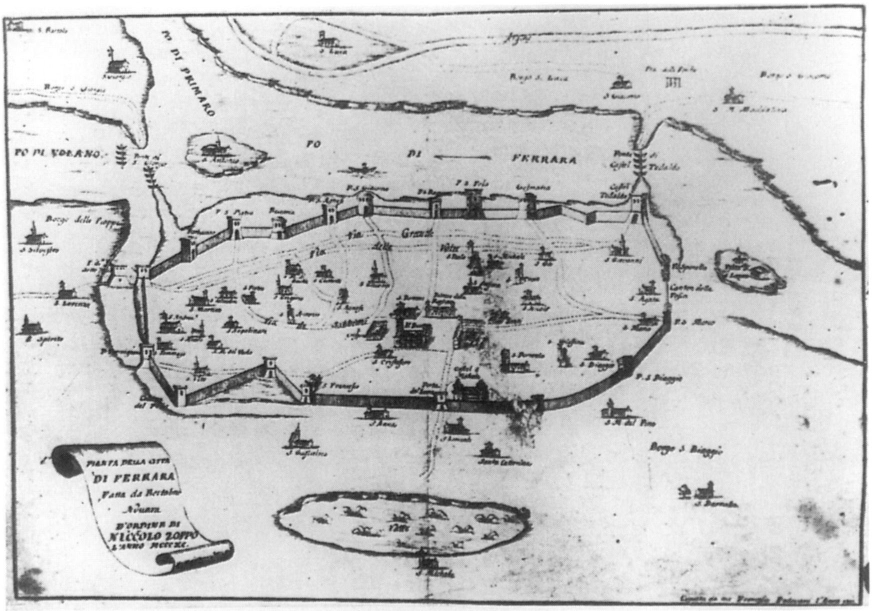


Figure 12.12 Tipografia Padovana. Map of Ferrara after that of Bartolino da Novara, 1390. The map is oriented south to north, with Castel Tedaldo on the upper right. Via Grande (Ripa Grande) extends along the upper walls, with the Porta di Sotto and Porta di S. Pietro (near the church of S. Pietro) the first and third gates on the upper left. (Gabinetto Fotografico del Comune di Ferrara.)

Carnevale and the Palio, but with diminishing vigor, less variety, and less regularity; the last Palio was run in 1860.[52]

The 1933 program intended to revive the Palio in all of its accoutrements, including all of the traditional figures—the *console,* the *massaro,* the *giudice di campo*—in traditional costume, for a total of 272 officials on the field, all of whom had been listed in the Ferrarese municipal statutes of 1479 under Borso d'Este.[53] Eight *contrade* and *borghi* were pitted against one another, so that instead of the passive spectacles Fascists provided with activities such as the Thespian Cars, for example, the Ferrarese themselves starred in the Palio[54] (figure 12.13). From the first event in 1933, the Palio continued until 1939, subsequently under the sponsorship of the Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro, and with a name change to "Torneo delle Contrade," to pacify Siennese claims of exclusive rights to the term *Palio.*[55]

From its medieval beginnings, the Palio intertwined civic and religious realms, such that it was always a generic festival useful for celebrating other

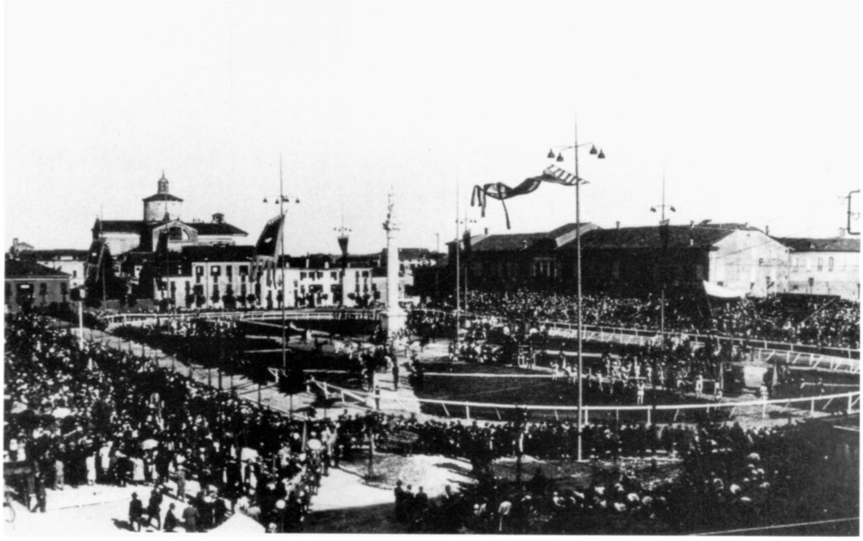


Figure 12.13 Palio in Ferrara, 1933. (Gabinetto Fotografico del Comune di Ferrara.)

feast days or important state occasions.[56] The Fascists chose to run the race in June to link it more closely with the Ariosto celebrations. As in the past, the site of the race shifted gradually from the oldest to the newest sections of the city, so under the Fascists the racecourse also shifted once again, this time to Piazza Ariostea in the so-called Addizione Ercolano where, appropriately enough, an obelisk summoned references to the exploits of imperial antiquity, and even to Napoleon's short-lived control over Ferrara, since his likeness (with laurel crown and Roman toga) topped a tall column in the piazza from 1810 to 1814.[57] This also meant that the new race took place within the sharply delimited space of a piazza, although a vast one dedicated to Ariosto, but which also allowed large numbers of spectators to be massed in one confined space, the better to draw them together as a coherent group. The notable example of such a race being held within a piazza is, of course, Siena; Ferrara lacked an adequate piazza in the center, so the Piazza Ariostea was the closest alternative.[58]

Regardless of the historical origins, however, in its new, twentieth-century version, the Palio was intended to emphasize the new Fascist city—not new in physical structure, although there were certainly new buildings and new districts, but new as a site reborn for the enactment of civic ritual. Ferrara, the *podestà* announced, had been "renewed and regenerated under the guidance of the Duce,"[59] exactly as had been the case under the domination of the Este.

As they marched toward the new Italy, city officials wanted to demonstrate just how far Ferrara had come and how rich was its glorious but distant past; then the world would see that united Italy had but one great soul. In emphasizing the connections between *Ferrara estense* and *Ferrara fascista,* the *podestà* also conveniently rewrote the Palio's history, claiming that it had not been run for three hundred years.[60] He thus affirmed in writing the conceptual telescoping of historical time between contemporary and Renaissance Ferrara that underlay both the reconstruction of the two portrait statues and the revival of the Palio.

With the Ariosto festival, the Palio was revived for a very specific reason consistent with my earlier observations about the fabrication of consensus. I quote from the *podestà*'s report, under the heading "Ripresa del Palio di San Giorgio,"

> Having arranged the foregoing cultural and artistic events for the spiritual elevation of the cultivated and lovers of art, it seemed necessary to the Committee to insert into the festivities events having a folk character, but which nonetheless are linked with the era in which Ariosto lived. Thus was born the proposal to run the Palio again.[61]

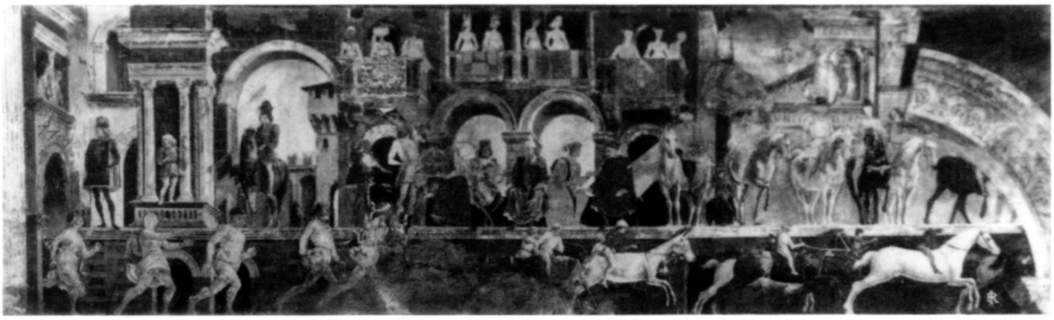
And this particular festival was chosen because it was "the most original of the celebrations that cheered and exalted Ferrara during the period of Este domination."[62] The reading of history the *podestà* offered was a highly selective one, for however glorious those times had been for the aristocracy and the ecclesiastics, the laboring masses lived under more onerous conditions.[63] At the same time the Este family was hosting lavish public spectacles such as the Palio, it also returned its holdings to a feudal condition and exacted higher feudal dues and taxes than elsewhere in Italy. Even Antonio Frizzi, normally adulatory about the Este dominion, noted that in the late fifteenth century the Estense "had accumulated so much wealth that they were, as usual, hated by the people."[64] This was not the image of the Este that hagiographers recorded, nor was it the one recalled by the Fascist administration: Ferrara under the Este was treated as if the benefits of feudal hierarchies were enjoyed by all.

The depiction of the Palio in Francesco da Cossa's April panel in the fresco cycle for the Sala dei Mesi in the Palazzo Schifanoia perhaps renders the Renaissance conception of social and political hierarchy in Ferrara most clearly, but it also reminds us of the urban spatial significance embodied in the race and highlights the differences in the version launched in 1933. Commissioned by Borso d'Este for his pleasure palace to celebrate his dominion over the city, the frescoes portray Borso enacting his public responsibilities and enjoying his private life in the context of the scheme of the entire world, with deities and planets ruling their spheres, and Borso ruling his. One small band in da Cossa's

April panel conflates space and time by including the running of the Palio in all of its versions—horses, donkeys, and footraces for women and men (figure 12.14). The aristocracy stands above and apart from the racers in attitudes of solemn watchfulness as they view a display that can only be described as vulgar, with scantily clad men and women (one woman even displays her genitals) racing below them (figure 12.15). Since the race was run during Borso's rule on Via Sabbioni, the men depicted may have been Jews, as was also customary elsewhere, and the women appear to have been prostitutes.[65] The link between these two groups is not casual: in several Italian cities, at various times, both groups were required to wear an identifying "badge" of some sort, pay special taxes, and live and work in areas determined by the city.[66]

Borso and Ercole Este repeatedly attempted to banish prostitutes from the races as they sought to upgrade and refine the Palio for Este ceremonial functions, apparently with little success.[67] Indirect evidence also suggests that the streets set aside for each of these races were linked to these two subordinate groups. The Palio run in 1475 had the Jews racing on Via Sabbioni (a street inhabited by Jews that later became Via Mazzini, the center of Ferrara's ghetto) and had the women running from the church of St. Gregory along the Via Gusmaria and Via Ripagrande. St. Maria di Gusmaria originally stood far from the center of Ferrara, on the other side of the St. Stefano canal to the far west. In the late Middle Ages, prostitutes were confined outside of the inhabited center, and this may well have been one of these areas. By the late fifteenth century, when da Cossa painted his fresco, *le meretrici* were confined to the areas around St. Gregory and St. Clement (which faced one another), and near the church of St. Agnese; their races were run precisely adjacent to these

Figure 12.14 Francesco da Cossa. The Palio: detail of the month of April. Fresco cycle in the Sala dei Mesi, Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara, circa 1480. (Alinari.)



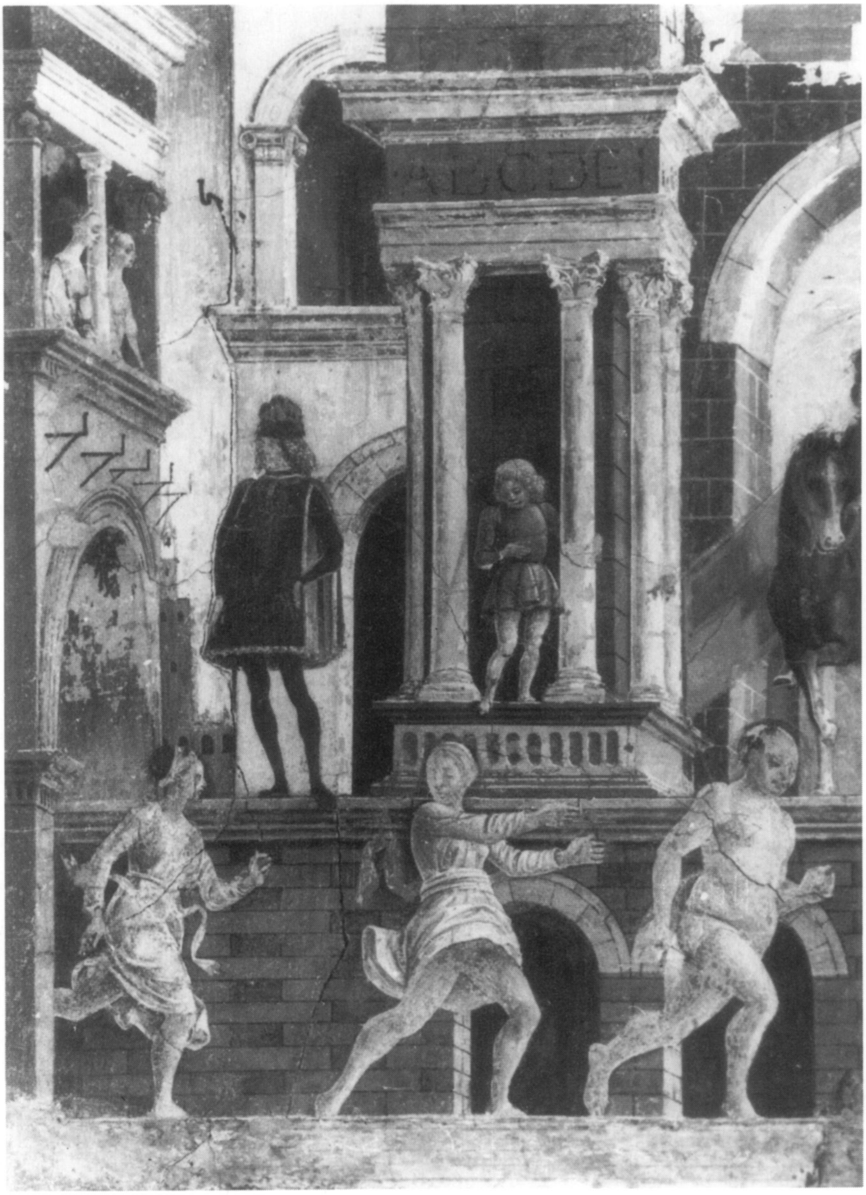


Figure 12.15 Francesco da Cossa. Detail of the Palio showing races, from right to left, of horses, asses, boys, Jews, and prostitutes. (Gabinetto Fotografico del Comune di Ferrara.)

churches.[68] Elsewhere, in Milan, Florence, and Venice, prostitutes were also confined to specific streets or bordellos, all of which tended to be associated with them.[69]

While the evidence is only circumstantial, places and streets were embodied with spatial significance in Renaissance Ferrara—precisely as with the pedestal for the Niccolò portrait, which dignified the street and the particular site in front of the Palazzo del Comune by marking it with an emblem at once of antiquity and of aristocratic control. So too did the association of people or groups, including prostitutes and Jews, with certain areas of the city ineluctably define them in the eyes of contemporaries. This has hardly changed: the popular press in Italy routinely refers to political parties with the names of the streets where their headquarters are located: Botteghe Oscure (PDS), Via del Corso (PSI), Piazza del Gesù (DC). To the mounted cavalieri, then, were reserved the most prestigious routes near the castle, the Palazzo della Ragione, Via Giovecca, and the Torri dei Leoni and di Rigobello, while the others ran on secondary and less important routes.

Although Jews and prostitutes figured prominently in the races under Borso's rule, no mention of either surfaces in any of the correspondence between Ferrara's city officials and Rome during the 1930s, nor, indeed, in subsequent publications on the Palio.[70] Just as the twentieth-century version of the race proposed an uncomplicated, inaccurate but adulatory account of Este dominion and Ferrara in the fifteenth century, so the new Palio expunged the ribald past of the race in deference to modern sensibilities. Indeed, in the Palio of 1938 in Ferrara, instead of a race for prostitutes the sponsors organized a parade of rural housewives (*massaie rurali*).[71]

Surveillance and Spectacle

The clear attempt to involve the urban masses in the centennial celebrations and, by extension, in the activities of the Fascists and Fascist city administrations, was hardly an accident. The reports that Mussolini received from anonymous spies for the Ministry of the Interior and for the PNF repeatedly emphasized that the working class was the most disdainful of Fascism, the most skeptical about its promises, and the most critical and rebellious. "[The Party] tells us that the worker should not be inferior, his rights must be respected and cared for, but in practice the rights vanish and only the illusion remains," wrote one of the anonymous spies in 1937.[72] Moreover, the lists of subversives diligently maintained by the prefects of the various cities reveal an overwhelming preponderance of workers—ushers, masons, mechanics, bricklayers, marble cutters, drivers, farmers, typographers, railroad workers, bookbinders—and only rarely an intellectual, a journalist, a scholar, or a professional.[73] The impressions of anti-Fascists such as Ilio Bosi reinforce this view, for he repeatedly noted working-class dissent but mentioned only a few intellectuals or upper-middle-class opponents—a few attorneys, teachers, a physician.[74] Working-class districts of cities, such as San Lorenzo or the new *borgate* such as Primavalle and Trullo in Rome, remained hotbeds of dissent and anti-Fascism, despite repeated roundups of suspected subversives.[75] As a group, intellectuals, professionals, businessmen, and industrialists were well situated under Fascism, for only rarely did accounts of serious discontent in these groups emerge from the regime's spies until World War II broke out. But the working class required special attention, for suppression could only contain the most outspoken opposition. Instead, the Fascists had to combine seduction with coercion, the carrot with the stick.

The consensus of intellectuals in general and the skepticism of the working class emerge not only in the documents of the interior ministry and the PNF but also in the way cultural debates were played out under Fascism. For the most part, intellectuals either supported the regime or tacitly consented to it; the relatively few opponents found themselves either sent to prison, internal exile, or forced to emigrate "voluntarily."[76] As the documentation on the bronze portrait statues and the Ariosto centenary reveal, a wide spectrum of intellectuals inside and outside of local and state bureaucracies participated in the major cultural events of the era. With the marked increase in the pace and tempo of everything from exhibitions to restorations of old buildings or artworks under Fascism, it comes as no surprise that librarians, architects, artists, bureaucrats, historians, critics, art historians, curators, and others would be eager to participate.

These "organic intellectuals" were, as Antonio Gramsci astutely realized, essential to the functioning of the regime and to constructing a consensus for Fascism.[77] But in this they differed little from intellectuals, artists, and other organic intellectuals who were operating on behalf of left-wing causes in Germany during the 1920s, Russia in the 1920s and 1930s, and on behalf of the New Deal in the United States during the 1930s.[78] In each case, participation represented a break from pre-World War I idealist traditions, a rejection of the "l'art pour l'art" platform of the preceding generation, and the fulfillment of a new historic role for intellectuals, outside of the ivory tower and directly engaged with the people. The excesses of the specific governments excited little, if any public comment from most intellectuals, who instead sought to give shape to their own vision of what the political system represented: such was the case most notably with Giuseppe Terragni (architect), Mario Sironi (painter), and Massimo Bontempelli (writer), but it was equally true of less well-known figures such as Giorgio Cavaglieri (architect), Ugo Betti (writer), and P. M. Bardi (critic).[79] Only the worsening fate of the war stimulated widespread opposition from the middle and upper classes.

On the other hand, members of the working class, long familiar with the weight of oppression, were as skeptical of Fascism as they were of other political parties. The easy transfer from socialism to Fascism that Paul Corner documented in Ferrara testifies to the thinness of working-class attachments to larger political formations in early twentieth-century Italy.[80] Mussolini's own family background in the small town of Predappio made him acutely aware of working-class attitudes and of the need, reinforced by the anonymous reports gathered by the party and by the Ministry of the Interior, to stimulate working-class support for the party. Inevitably, the arena in which their efforts took shape was the public spaces of cities.

The highly public character of initiatives such as the two I have described in Ferrara typifies the Fascist strategy and the participation of local "organic intellectuals" in cities and towns throughout Italy, whether in groups of schoolgirls, afterwork leisure groups, in the PNF itself, or in apparently apolitical activities. The integrative force of traditions such as the replaced statues or reintroducing the Palio could not operate *except* in the public realm, in effect, in the center of the city, where the twin pillars of Fascist urbanism—surveillance and spectacle—could be given full expression. The point was not just the spectacle itself, but the attempts to domesticate fascism and to emphasize its local character, to affirm it as a political movement as forward-looking as local lore claimed the Este family to have been in the fifteenth century, but as rooted in the past as the Este likewise claimed to be, and in both cases by means of public display.

As is common to those in authority, Mussolini's perception of tradition was as a collective organizing force to sharpen Fascism's identity and serve as a mediating agent for mass understanding of Fascism. In this, as we have seen, he simply gave voice to the broadly held views of a wide spectrum of intellectuals. As in the fifteenth century, the appeal to such traditions was intended to bind the aesthetic and political realms of the community together as a cohesive unit and to insure continuity and legitimacy for the government based upon that newly unified community. The past was not meant to be embraced merely on its own terms but, although apparently paradoxical, to evoke the past was a means of enhancing the movement toward a modern (and of course, Fascist) state. The challenge that the Ferrarese Fascists confronted was to appropriate the authority attached to the Este, but to follow up on their accomplishments by surpassing them, as the Este themselves believed they had done with the legacy of the Roman Empire.

Notes

I owe a debt of gratitude to a number of people who have helped in different ways with this project. The staff at the Archivio Centrale dello Stato located hard-to-find material; I am especially grateful to Dottoressa Giovanna Tosati and Leonardo Capobianchi for going beyond the call of duty to assist me. Luigi Oggianù of Istituto Luce helped with illustrations, as did Signora Bigoni of the Gabinetto Fotografico of Ferrara, and the staff of the Gabinetto Fotografico Nazionale, Rome. Ruth BenGhiat of Fordham University, Denise Bratton of Cornell University, and Deanna Shemek of the University of California, Santa Cruz, read and commented on earlier versions of this chapter, and shared their own research with me. I presented versions of the chapter at the joint Stanford University–Italian Cultural Institute Conference, "Fascinating Fascism," in October 1993; at the ETH-Honggerberg, Zurich, in December 1993; and at a seminar at the Graduate School of Design, Harvard University, in April 1994. A shorter version appeared in *Journal of Contemporary History* 31 no. 2 (April 1996): 347–72.

1. I have written about the Fascist appropriation of the street in "Architecture and Theater: The Street in Fascist Italy," in *"Event" Arts and Art Events,* ed. Stephen Foster (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Research Press, 1990), 231–52; and "City and Theater: The Rhetoric of Fascist Architecture," *Stanford Italian Review,* 8 (1989): 165–94. See also Jeffrey Schnapp, "18 BL: Fascist Mass Spectacle," *Representations,* 43 (Summer 1993): 89–125.

2. Antonio Gramsci, *Quaderni dal carcere,* 6 vols. (Rome: Editori Riuniti 1977), especially vol. 2, *Gli intellettualli;* in the English version, *Selections from Prison Notebooks* trans. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith (New York: International Publishers, 1979), 3–23. When I broached this and a related argument about the role of intellectuals and artists in Gramsci to Emilio Gentile recently, he responded by proposing that Gramsci's whole notion of hegemony, and hence the role and function of intellectuals, derived from his observations of how fascism managed to maintain control. A good English discussion of Gramsci's concept of hegemony is in T. J. Jackson Lears, "The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities," *The American Historical Review,* 90, no. 3 (June 1985): 567–93.

3. Walter L. Adamson, *Hegemony and Revolution: A Study of Antonio Gramsci's Political and Cultural Theory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 174.

4. Victoria Di Grazia, *The Culture of Consent: Mass Organization of Leisure in Fascist Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Philip Cannistraro, *La fabbrica del consenso, fascismo e mass media* (Rome-Bari: Laterza, 1975). See also the unpublished Ph.D. dissertation of Libero Andreotti, "Art and Politics in Fascist Italy," MIT, 1988, for a solid discussion of some propaganda strategies; and Diane Ghirardo, ed. "Architecture and Culture in Fascist Italy," special issue of the *Journal of Architectural Education,* 45, no. 2 (February 1992), with articles by Libero Andreotti, Jeffrey Schnapp, and Brian McLaren.

5. The best outline of such a program remains Spiro Kostof, "The Emperor and The Duce: The Planning of Piazzale Augusto Imperatore in Rome," in *Art and Architecture in the Service of Politics,* eds. H. Millon and L. Nochlin (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1978), 270–325.

6. The bibliography on this subject is extensive, if frequently repetitive and of uneven quality. Among the recent general studies are Giorgio Ciucci, *Gli Architetti e il fascismo* (Turin: Einaudi, 1989); Dennis Doordan, *Building Modern Italy. Italian Architecture 1914–1936* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1989); Giulio Ernesti, ed. *La Costruzione dell'utopia. Architetti urbanisti nell'Italia fascista* (Rome: Edizioni del Lavoro, 1988); Richard Etlin, *Modernism in Italian Architecture 1890–1940* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1991).

7. Spiro Kostof, *The Third Rome: Traffic and Glory)* (Berkeley, Calif.: University Art Museum, 1973).

8. Capo di Gabinetto, Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri. "Appunto per l'On. Segreteria particolare del D U C E," 22 September 1938. Archivio Centrale dello Stato (ACS), Segreteria Particolare del Duce, Carteggio Ordinario (SPD.CO), fascicolo 135.015.

9. See "Narratione della Partenza del Serenissimo Sig. D. Cesare da Este, Duca di Modena & di Reggio & c, con le feste et trionfi fatte nell'ntrata dell'illustrissi. et Reuerendifs. Cardinale Aldobrandino Legato, Nella Città di Ferrara, il dì 29 di Genaro, M.D.XCVIII," facsimile reproduced in Bonner Mitchell, *1598. A Year of Pageantry in Late Renaissance Ferrara* (Binghamton, N.Y.: State University of New York at Binghamton, 1990), 77–83.

10. Such was the case with a brochure published on the occasion of Mussolini's visit to the Agro-Pontino in July 1934, complete with an account of every 15 minutes of his trip.

11. Police and party spies chased youthful protesters who scrawled graffiti on walls, but they also recorded the names, addresses, occupations, and views of suspected subversives in detail, dividing them into categories to indicate degrees of danger to the state. These records are located in two principal record groups at the Archivio Centrale dello Stato in Rome: Partito Nazionale Fascista, Situazione Politica ed Economica delle Province, and Ministero dell'Interno, Casellario Politico.

12. ". . . vecchia carcassa socialista e nemici di Mussolini . . . un gruppo abbastanza numeroso di persone che oltre qualcuno dopo di aver anche goduto dei benefici dal Partito Fascista o dal Duce stesso non manca di far parte al gruppo di sfaccendati che non si sa come vivono e che la loro vita la passano in Galleria a dettar sentenze e predicare le più catastrofiche burrasche . . . ." Anonymous report, 18 July 1931, ACS PNF Situazione politica ed economica della province, busta 7, "Politica, attività varia. Milano situazione."

13. "Noi continuammo communque per tutto il 1921 i tentativi di tenere la strada, recandoci con puntate improvvise nei quartieri, fra critiche e disapprovazioni, ma anche qualche incoraggiamento . . . ." Ilio Bosi, *Il bastone e la galera* (Ferrara: Gabriele Corbo Editore, 1995), 58.

14. Anonymous Report, Milan, 3 April 1931. ACS PNF Situazione Politica Economica delle Province (hereinafter Sit. Pol. Econ. Prov.), busta 7, sottofascicolo 86, "Ufficio voci."

15. Anonymous report, Rome, 6 July 1932. ACS PNF Sit. Pol. Econ. Prov., Busta 19.

16. Most of these types of activities have been examined by historians. But there were other activities undertaken with the support of local party officials and with the blessing of the state, its various institutions, and the national party. A wide range of cultural institutions took on a Fascist aura, as part of the broad campaign to endow the PNF and the Fascist state with intellectual and cultural credentials, such as the venerable Accademia dei Lincei, the Accademia d'Italia, and so forth.

17. The Casa del Fascio, inaugurated 23 February 1931 by Italo Balbo, was designed by Ing. Giorgio Gandini; the Palazzo delle Poste e Telegrafi by Angelo Mazzoni was completed in 1930. For a contemporary view of these two buildings, see Gualtiero Medri, *Ferrara: Brevemente illustrata nei suoi principali monumenti* (Ferrara: Lunghini ed. Bianchini, 1933), 139–43.

18. The bibliography on the two statues extends back to the fifteenth century, but the most complete recent account is Denise Bratton, "Dynastic Image, Prospettiva, and Urban Signification: The Equestrian Portrait of Niccolò d'Este in Ferrara, 1443–1451," Unpublished master's thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1993. I am grateful to her for discussing the Niccolò statue at length and sharing her research with me. See also Charles M. Rosenberg, "Art in Ferrara During the Reign of Borso d'Este (1450–1471)," Unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1974.

19. The story is well told in Ermanno Lanzoni, *Ferrara. Una città nella storia* (Ferrara: Belriguardo, 1984), and Ella Noyes, *The Story of Ferrara* (London: J. M. Dent & Co., 1904).

20. "Fu [ ] huomo saggio, prudente, magnanimo, e di grand'ingegno. A cui altra cosa non mi pareva mancare eccetto le lettere. . . ." Giuseppe Antenore Scalabrini. *Memoire Storiche delle Chiese di Ferrara e de' suoi Borghi* (Ferrara, 1773). See also Leandro Alberti, *Descrittione di Tutta Italia di F. Leandro Alberti Bolognese, Nella quale si contiene il Sito di essa, l'Origine, & le Signorie delle Città, & delle Castella, col i Nomi Antichi & Moderni, i costumi de Popoli, le condicioni de paesi: et piu qli Huomini Famosi che l'Hanno Illustrata, i Monti, i laghi, i Fiumi, le Fontane, i Bagni, le Minere, con tutte l'Opere meravigliose in lei dalla Natura prodotte* (Bologna, 1550), 309.

21. Noyes, *The Story of Ferrara,* 278.

22. Leon Baptista Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books,* trans. Joseph Rykwert, Neil Leach, and Robert Tavernor (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1988).

23. In recent years several articles have appeared that assess the Fascist cult of *romanità* and related issues: most recently, Emilio Gentile, "Il fascismo come religione politica," *Storia Contemporanea,* 21, no. 6 (December 1990): 1079–1106; see also M. Cagnetta, *Antichisti e Impero Fascista* (Bari: Laterza, 1979); Dino Cofrancesco, "Appunti per un'analasi del mito romano nell'ideologia fascista," *Storia Contemporanea,* 11, no. 3 (June 1980): 383–411; Romke Visser, "Fascist Doctrine and the Cult of the Romanità," *Journal of Contemporary History,* 27 (1992): 5–22. Little has been published on the relation of architecture: the best

is still William MacDonald, "Excavation, Restoration and Italian Architecture of the 1930s," in *In Search of Modern Architecture,* ed. H. Searing (New York: Architectural History Foundation, 1982), 298–320.

24. Giuseppe Agnelli, *Ferrara e Pomposa* (Bergamo: Istituto Italiano d'arti Grafiche, n.d.), 121–23. Agnelli also wrote a separate book about the two statues, as part of his campaign to have them reconstructed. Agnelli, *I Monumenti di Niccolò III e Borso d'Este in Ferrara. Atti e Memorie della Deputazione Ferrarese di Storia Patria* (Ferrara: Deputazione Ferrarese di Storia Patria, 1918). References to the statues appear frequently in earlier guides and histories of the city; see Antonio Frizzi, *Guida del Forestiere* (Ferrara: Francesco Pomatelli, 1787), 45.

25. Memorandum from the Commissione Speciale Riunita dal Ministero per dar Parere su Progetti Tecnici Artistici, 18 October 1926. ACS Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione, Direzione Generale. AA.BB.AA. Div. 1924–27. Busta 381 (Consiglio Superiore).

26. "*non sono . . . fedeli riproduzioni dell'antico, non rappresentano neppure l'espressione sincera e genuina d'arte moderna.*" Memorandum 18, October 1926.

27. Renzo Ravenna to Prime Minister Mussolini, 28 February 1927. ACS Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri (PCM) 1927, fascicolo 5.2.984.

28. "Mi reco a dovere di assicurare codesto Superiore Ufficio che, in ossequio all'ordine di S.E. il Capo del Governo, sono state date disposizioni alla Soprintendenza all'art Medioevale e Moderna di Bologna nel senso di considerare accolto il voto dell'assemblea ferrarese per la collocazione delle statue di Niccolò III e di Borso d'Este sulle antiche basi dinanzi al Palazzo Comunale." Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione to Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri, 4 March 1927. ACS PCM 1927, fascicolo 5.2.984.

29. Gerolamo Melchiorri, *Nomenclature ed etimologia della piazze e strade di Ferrara* (Ferrara: Arnaldo Forni Editore, 1918), 55.

30. Bratton, 77–92.

31. Ibid., 21.

32. Alberti, *On the Art of Building,* 265.

33. Diane Ghirardo, "Italian Architects and Fascist Politics: The Rationalists' Role in Regime Building," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* 34, no. 2 (May 1980): 109–27.

34. The relief of the building of Rome by Publio Morbiducci (1937) is located on the Ente EUR building designed by Gaetano Minucci.

35. The literature on spectacle during the Renaissance is extensive; among the key sources are Richard Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (New York: Academic Press, 1980); Roy Strong, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals 1450–1650* (Suffolk, England: Saint Edmun-

dsbury Press, 1984); Richard Ingersoll, "The Ritual Use of Public Space in Renaissance Rome," unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1985; for information on the Palio in Ferrara over the years, see Pellegrino Prisciano, *Historiarum Ferrariae* (1498), Archivio di Stato di Modena, ms. 130; anonymous treatise, *Cronaca che dal 1239 perviene al 1496,* transcribed by A. Sardi, Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea, Ferrara, ms. Antonelli n. 489 a/IV.

36. "Celebrazione del 4 Centenario della Morte di Lodovico Ariosto. Schema di Programma." Renzo Ravenna to Mussolini, July 1932, forwarded by Mussolini to Guglielmo Marconi, Accademia d'Italia, and returned with letter from Mussolini, 16 July 1932. ACS PCM 1931–33 fascicolo 14.2/3237.

37. ". . . celebrare il [ ]maggior poeta con una serie di manifestazioni culturali, artistiche e popolari che valgono a richiamare l'attenzione degli studiosi, degli artisti e del popolo sull'opera somma dell'alto poeta e sulla città che dalla Sua fama riceve gloria e splendore." Renzo Ravenna to S.E. Capo del Governo, Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri, 10 November 1932. ACS PCM 1931–3 fascicolo 14.2/3237, 1.

38. ". . . tenute in suggestivi luoghi della nostra città, così ricca di opere d'arte e di sale preziose, ricordanti il chiaro periodo di dominazione estense." Ravenna to Capo del Governo, 10 November 1932, 1–2.

39. ". . . odierna bellezza congiunta alle antiche glorie." Ravenna to Capo del Governo, 10 November 1932, 2.

40. ". . . Ripresa del tradizionale Palio di San Giorgio," "Celebrazione," July 1932, 2.

41. "Celebrazione," July 1932, 3; Mussolini to Marconi, 16 July 1932. ACS PCM 1931–33, fascicolo 14.2.3237.

42. After decades, a few articles have begun to appear about the Mostra della Rivoluzione Fascista: See Diane Ghirardo, ed. "Architecture and Culture in Fascist Italy," *Journal of Architectural Education,* 45, no. 2 (February 1992), special issue with articles by Libero Andreotti, Diane Ghirardo, Jeffrey Schnapp, Brian McLaren; Jeffrey Schnapp, "Epic Demonstrations: Fascist Modernity and the 1932 Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution," in *Fascism, Aesthetics and Culture,* ed. R. Golsan (Hanover, N.H.: University Presses of New England, 1992); Marla Stone, "Staging Fascism: The Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution," *Journal of Contemporary History,* 28 (1993), 215–43.

43. Ravenna to Capo del Governo, 10 November 1932, 9–10. The exhibition of Ferrarese art from the Renaissance was the most costly of the events planned for the centennial, and the Palio one of the least expensive: the exhibition was estimated at 800,000 lire, and the Palio at 70,000, although they expected to recover all but 30,000 from paid admissions. Indeed, out of a total anticipated expense of 1,015,000 lire, only 100,000 was to be spent

on the "manifestazioni popolari," from fencing and sharpshooting competitions, tennis, and the Palio, of which they expected to recover 40,000.

44. Alan Dundes and Alessandro Falassi, *La Terra in Piazza: An Interpretation of the Palio of Siena* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975), 2–4. Luciano Artusi and Silvano Gabbrielli, *Le feste di Firenze Dalla Candelora a Berlingaccio, dal Palio di San Giovanni al Calcio fiorentino, dallo Scoppio del Carro al Calendimaggio, un viaggio pittoresco attraverso i giochi, le festività, le riccorenze tradizionali di questa bellissima città* (Rome: Newton Compton, 1991), 184–89. The Palio in Asti, for example, was mentioned first in chronicles in 1275, and was run around the walls of the city of Alba, perhaps as a sign of victory. See *Il Palio di Asti,* 13 May 1933, in PCM 1934–1936, 14.1.696. A *corso dei cavalli barbari* in Rome was run typically on Via del Corso, named such in 1466 precisely to indicate the races held there until the end of the nineteenth century when they were suppressed by the monarchy. Sergio Delli, *Le strade di Roma* (Rome: Newton Compton, 1983), 323. A seventeenth-century Roman chronicler reported in February 1632, a "pallio corso nel carnevale per allegreza di Urbino ritornato alla chiesa." The race was run on Via della Croce and the Via del Corso, near the church of S. Carlo. Giacinto Gigli reported that a Palio had also been run in 1598 when Pope Clement VIII wanted to celebrate the return of Ferrara to the Pope and the departure of the Este family. Giacinto Gigli, *Diario di Roma, V. I, 1608–44,* edited and annotated by Manlio Barberito (Rome: Editori Colombo, 1994), 219.

45. Luigi Napoleone Cittadella, *Notizie Relative a Ferrara per la naggior Parte Inedite Ricavate da Documenti* (Ferrara: Domenico Taddei, 1864), 210–12; Nino Franco Visentini, *Il Palio di Ferrara* (Rovigo: Istituto Pagano di Arti Grafiche, 1968), 12.

46. Visentini, *Il Palio di Ferrara,* 14.

47. Ibid., 39.

48. B. Zambotto, *Diario Ferrarese 1476–1504,* Archivio Comunale di Ferrara, 24 April 1478.

49. "In quei tempi nei quali ogni corte sovrana gareggiava colle altre per lusso e ricchezza di pubblice feste, gli Estensi ebbero a distinguersi fra tutti per grandiosità, magnificenza e buon gusto." Cittadella, *Notizie relative a Ferrara,* 210. It is worth noting that there were many different types of competitions, races, and other spectacles sponsored by the Este and also with their roots in antiquity, such as tournaments with battles between mounted cavaliers and simple horseraces.

50. Ibid., 215.

51. Visentini, *Il Palio di Ferrara,* 14, 31, 37–38.

52. Ibid., 43–44.

53. Ravenna to Capo del Governo, 10 November 1932, 9; Statuti Municipali Ferraresi, book X, rubrica 41, 284.

54. The Thespian Cars were traveling theatricals that traveled even to small villages. See Victoria De Grazia, *The Culture of Consent.*

55. See the brochure for the 1936 race, *Ferrara: Torneo delle Contrade,* at the offices of the Ente Palio, Ferrara. Likewise, Asti's Palio underwent a name change; by 1937, it had been changed to "Certame Cavalleresco." Appunto per il Duce, 23 April 1937. ACS PCM 1937–1939, 14.4.1190.

56. Cittadella, *Notizie relative a Ferrara,* 210–12.

57. Four rioni participated: S. Paolo, S. Benedetto, S. Spirito, and S. Maria in Vado; and four borghi: S. Giorgio, S. Luca, S. Giacomo, and S. Giovanni. The rules and regulations for the renewed Palio have been published in Visentini, *Il Palio di Ferrara,* 113–31. The statue was erected on a tall column of marble originally intended to hold an equestrian portrait of Ercole I in the piazza. The column arrived in Ferrara in 1501, but was not erected until 1675; when the French tore down the statues of Borso and Niccolò, they also destroyed the statue of Pope Alexander VII that had been placed on the column. The enormous representation of Napoleon in its turn was torn down by Austrian troops in 1814.

58. Siena was not the only city in Italy to hold a race within the confines of a piazza; on a much smaller scale, Civita di Bagnoregio has held a traditional donkey race, dating from the Middle Ages, within a much smaller piazza.

59. ". . . rinnovata e rigenerata nella guida del Duce." Ravenna to Capo del Governo, 10 November 1932, 2.

60. When Renzo Ravenna presented his plan for the renewed Palio, he claimed that it had not been run for over 300 years. The date he was referring to was the last Palio sponsored by the Este family rather than the last Palio altogether. Ravenna to Capo del Governo, 10 November 1932, 9.

61. "Predisposte le manifestazioni culturali ed artistiche su descritte, che vogliono essere un richiamo spirituale per le persone colte ed amanti dell'arte, è sembrato necessario, al Comitato, di inserire nel programma dei festeggiamenti, una manifestazione a carattere popolare, ma che pure si allacciasse all'epoca in cui visse l'Ariosto. Sorse così il proposito di far correre nuovamente il Palio." Ravenna to Capo del Governo, 10 November 1932, 9.

62. ". . . la più originale tra le feste che allietavano ed esaltavano Ferrara nel periodo della dominazione estense." Ravenna to Capo del Governo, 10 November 1932, 9.

63. Lino Martini, *Lo stato Estense* (Turin: UTET, 1987), 18–34.

64. Antonio Frizzi, *Memorie per la storia di Ferrara,* vol. 4, 2nd ed. (Ferrara, 1850), 118–33.

65. For example, the footrace for men on 24 April 1475 was run partly on via Sabbioni, the main street in the Jewish section of town (although this area was not enclosed as a ghetto

until 1624). The relevant section from the *Statuta Ferrariae* is reprinted in Dino Tebaldi, "Una lunga storia da raccontare," in *Ferrara e il Palio,* eds. D. Tebaldi, Luigi Vincenzi, and Stefano Lolli (Ferrara: Giovanni Vincenti Editore, 1992), 13–14.

66. In Rome, for example, prostitutes were confined to certain buildings or to areas such as the "Ortaccio" in Campo Marzio, the area between Piazza S. Lorenzo in Lucina to Piazza del Popolo with the exception of the large streets such as those leading to Trinità del Monte. L. Pastor, *Storia dei papi dalla fine del Medioevo,* vol. 8 (Rome: Desclée e Ci, 1951), 600–601. In Milan at the end of the fourteenth century, for example, *le meretrici* were required to wear a white mantle about 14 inches long when walking in the city or suburbs; when they were working inns, they had to wear a hood; in the fifteenth century, the mantle had to have buttons at the neck and cover shoulders, breast, and back. In Venice in 1421, prostitutes were required to wear a yellow kerchief at their necks; E. Verga, "Le leggi suntuarie milanesi," *Archivio storico lombardo* (Milan: 1898), 41–42; Archivio di Stato del Comune di Milano, *Provisionum,* register 16, 1416–1450; Archivio di Stato di Venezia, register 53, Misti Senato, 1419–1421, C. 328, 23 May 1421.

67. Deanna Schemek, "Circular Definitions: Configuring Gender in Italian Renaissance Festival," *Renaissance Quarterly* (Spring 1994). Shemek proposes an equally political reading of the Renaissance Palio, but she also undertakes a provocative analysis of gender relations through her study of the Palio. I am grateful to her for allowing me to review her unpublished manuscript while I was completing this paper, and for providing me with some new documentation.

68. Melchiorri, *Nomenclatura ed etimologia,* 19–20.

69. M. S. Mazzi, "Il mondo della prostituzione nella Firenze tardo medievale," *Ricerche Storiche* (1984), 340; R. C. Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (New York: Academic Press, 1980), 379; *Antiqua Ducum Mediolani Decreta,* (Milan: Malatesta Stampatori, 1654), 130 ff.; G. Lorenzi, *Leggi e memorie venete sulla prostituzione fino alla caduta della Repubblica* (Venice: 1870–2), 31.

70. Tebaldi et al., eds. *Ferrara e il palio.*

71. Memo, "Ferrara, torneo delle contrade," Prefect of Ferrara di Suni to Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri, 19 May 1938. ACS PCM 1934–1936, fascicolo 14.2.1598.

72. "Ci dicono che il lavoratore non deve essere inferiore, i suoi diritti devono essere rispettati e tutelati, ma in practica i suoi diritti scompaiono e resta solo l'illusione." Anonymous report, Milan, 12 January 1937. ACS PNF Sit. Pol. Econ. Prov., busta 7, "Politica—attività varia." See other anonymous reports from Milan, 28 March 1939, 20 November 1938, in the same fascicolo; also anonymous reports from Rome, 5 January 1932, 19 May 1932, 29 September 1936, 13 October 1936. ACS PNF Sit. Pol. Econ. Prov., Busta 19. Unfortunately, all of the files for provinces whose names begin with the letter A up to G (Genova)

are missing from the Archivio Centrale dello Stato; therefore there are no records on Ferrara.

73. "Proposta di assegnazione al confino di sovversivi pericolosi," Questura di Roma to Ministry of Interior, 5 September 1939, ACS Ministero dell'Interno, Casellario Politico, busta S13-ABis, fascicolo 2; also Prefect of Milan to Ministry of Interior, List of Subversives, 15 November 1933, ACS Ministero dell'Interno. S13/Pacco 2, Milano, protocollo 040916.

74. Ilio Bosi, *Il bastone e la galera,* passim.

75. See anonymous report, Rome, 5 October 1936 and 5 January 1932 ACS PNF Sit.Pol.Econ.Prov., busta 19, for accounts of sentiments at San Lorenzo, and of sentiments in general among the working class.

76. On the participation of intellectuals in the Fascist regime, see Philip Cannistraro, *La fabbrica del consenso: fascismo e mass media* (Bari: Laterza, 1975); Victoria De Grazia, *The Culture of Consent* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Emilio Gentile, *Gli origini dell'ideologia fascista 1918–25* (Bari: Laterza, 1975); Mario Isnenghi, *Intellettuali militanti e intellettuali funzionari* (Turin: Einaudi, 1979); Gabriele Turi, *Il fascismo e il consenso degli intellettuali* (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1980).

77. Gramsci, *Gli intellettuali.* I have argued elsewhere that Gramsci's program for rupturing idealist traditions and engaging intellectuals and artists directly with the people was as much on the agenda of the left as the right. Ghirardo, "Architects, Exhibitions and the Politics of Culture in Fascist Italy," *Journal of Architectural Education,* 45, no. 2 (February 1992): 67–75.

78. For a discussion of how architects participated in aspects of popular culture, see Ghirardo, "Architects, Exhibitions," 67–68.

79. Ghirardo, "Politics of a Masterpiece: The Vicenda of the Facade Decoration of the Casa del Fascio, Como 1936–39," *Art Bulletin,* 52, no. 3 (September 1980): 466–78; Emily Braun, "Mario Sironi and a Fascist Art," in *Italian Art in the Twentieth Century* (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1989), 173–80; Massimo Bontempelli, "Principii," *Quadrante,* 3 (May 1933); see also Ruth BenGhiat's provocative discussion of realism in cinema, literature, and philosophy, "Fascism, Writing and Memory: The Realist Aesthetic in Italy, 1930–50," *The Journal of Modern History,* 67, no. 3 (September 1995): 627–66.

80. Paul Corner, *Fascism in Ferrara 1915–1925* (London: Oxford University Press, 1975).

13

THE FORMATION OF THE NEO-MAMLUK STYLE IN MODERN EGYPT

Nasser Rabbat

The pretext that the "lure of the Orient" lay behind the interest Europeans took in the lands and cultures that lie east and south of Europe was critically challenged by Edward Said in his seminal book *Orientalism.*[1] He, and subsequent authors who took up his arguments, assert that innocent curiosity and pure, detached scholarly exploration do not suffice to explain all of the vast enterprise of collecting, processing, and interpreting data on the non-European world that has come to be referred to as "Orientalism." Cultural, political, and economic dominance, or the justification of it in a new world order, largely loom in the background as other motives for the surge in Orientalist activities in late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe.[2]

The nineteenth century began with the first European military interventions in the East and ended with most of it under colonial rule. The infiltration began in India by several European powers and culminated in the British elimination of the Mughal empire in 1857 and the establishment of colonial rule in the subcontinent. The expedition of Napoleon Bonaparte to Egypt in 1789–1801, though brief, ushered in the age of westernization and modernization and opened the eyes of Europeans to the riches of the "Near" East as well as to its relative political weakness.[3] The French occupation of Algeria in 1831 introduced the practice of appropriating the land and denying the country its national identity. It was followed by the gradual occupation of the whole of North Africa by France, Italy, and Spain. Egypt's turn came in 1882, when it was seized by Britain after decades of maneuvering and machination. Finally, the last surviving Oriental power and Europe's "sick man" for a century, the Ottoman Empire, collapsed at the end of the First World War, and in the 1920s most of its Arab provinces were divided up among the victorious European powers and placed under mandates.

Architecture, like all institutionalized and socially informed disciplines, was affected by these new political realities. Not only were European powers invading the East and colonizing it but European building styles were cropping up in its cities and shaping their appearance. European and European-trained architects created new images for a new East and informed the tastes of its dominant classes. Some of them also began to act as the interpreters of the architectural heritage of the countries in which they worked. They documented, analyzed, and classified the structures they encountered, which permitted them to introduce these formerly unexplored architectural traditions to Europe, America, and the East itself. Consequently, hybrid styles of building and decoration were produced in both East and West that borrowed freely and imaginatively from the varied repertories of non-Western architecture and blended them with European structural, constructional, functional, and decorative conventions.[4]

But to see the East-West discourse in architecture, as well as in any other domain, as only a reflection or an expression of a power relationship—that is, as a unilateral exchange in which the East passively received the imprint of the West and, at the same time, unveiled its structures to its probing gaze—is a one-dimensional and incomplete interpretation. Although such an assessment is probably justified to the extent that imbalance governed the entire intercultural modern project, it nonetheless overlooks the specifics both of the history of the various disciplines and of each instance of interchange. The result is that almost any inquiry is critical, but never really fully demonstrated historically or constructive methodologically, although even a cursory examination of the various shifts and turns through which European ways were imposed on the various cultures of the East, and the ensuing reactions of these cultures, would reveal the complexities and intricacies informing the nature and range of interrelations between the two sides.[5]

An example taken from nineteenth-century Egypt can be used to illustrate the working of multiple internal and external programs in an East-West architectural exchange and to affirm its grounding in an operative historiography of architecture. This example is the neo-Mamluk style, also known as "Islamic revival," "neo-Islamic," or, in one appropriately deferential article penned by a statesman, "the Fu'ad I style" after King Fu'ad of Egypt (r. 1917–36),[6] which in the early twentieth century was regarded as a national Egyptian style.[7]

The neo-Mamluk style owed its creation to the confluence of various intellectual, architectural, and political currents which developed over the course of the nineteenth century. The first stage of its formation was the arrival of Napoleon and his French expedition in Egypt and the investigations into everything Egyptian, including architecture, carried out by the Commission des sciences et arts. This effort continued with the documentation and design projects of the French architect Pascal Coste (1787–1879) who worked between 1817 and 1827 under the patronage of Muhammad ʿAli Pasha (r. 1805–48), the independent-minded ruler of the country. These early and inconclusive steps finally led to the blossoming of the neo-Mamluk style 60 years after Coste, when architects began to search for representations of an Egyptian identity for the twentieth century. One of the earliest and most monumental examples to adopt the neo-Mamluk style is al-Rifaʿi Mosque, constructed in two stages between 1869 and 1880 and 1906 and 1911, that is, preceding and following the British occupation of the country in 1882. The first stage was designed and supervised by the Egyptian Hussein Fahmi, the second by the Austro-Hungarian Max Herz, with others who were hired as consultants and interior designers for shorter periods.

Cairo is incredibly rich in architecture. Its architectural legacy encompasses the entire gamut of styles referred to collectively as Islamic. The most spectacular date from the Mamluk period (1250–1517), when the city first assumed an imperial status and produced a wealth of religious, palatial, and commemorative monuments that synthesized the achievements of earlier times and symbolized the image of the city for centuries to come. Cairene Mamluk structures are distinguished by their ingeniously negotiated volumes and façades that simultaneously accommodate and dominate their urban surroundings; by their emphasis on verticality, which they achieved through attenuated portals, tall minarets, and high and slender domes, and by their use of polychromatic surface articulation, especially the ubiquitous *ablaq,* consisting of alternate courses of black and white stone.

In 1517, Egypt lost its independence and was incorporated into the Ottoman Empire until the end of the eighteenth century. The three intervening centuries of subordinate status were not conducive to grand architectural achievements. Institutional and religious structures were still built, albeit less frequently and on a smaller scale and with an uncertain architectural character made up of an uneasy blend of local Mamluk forms with imperial Ottoman ones. Consequently, no new predominant image emerged from the Ottoman presence in Cairo, and it was essentially a Mamluk city that the French army under Napoleon Bonaparte entered on July 25, 1798.[8]

With his expedition to Egypt, Napoleon was embarking on a grand imperial enterprise carefully and imaginatively planned and executed. Along with the army, he had recruited more than 150 scientists, scholars, artists, engineers, and students, many of whom were to form the Commission des sciences et arts and later the Institut d'Égypte.[9] Housed in the sumptuous palace of Hasan Kashef in Cairo appropriated for the purpose, the Institut d'Égypte was quickly organized and assigned its principal tasks. According to Napoleon's decree, the institute had two main objectives: first, to propagate the ideals of progress and enlightenment in Egypt, and second, to study and publish the natural, industrial, and historical facts pertaining to Egypt's past and present.[10] The first aim translated into the defensive, administrative, and public work installed by the new authorities primarily to secure French control over the country. To fulfill the second objective, the savants attached to the institute systematically collected, studied, classified, and represented all the available material on the history, geography, and culture of the country. They ultimately produced the monumental *Description de l'Égypte,* which was published after many difficulties in Paris between 1809 and 1828 in nine folio volumes of text and 14 grand folio volumes of illustrations.[11] This was a catalogue raisonné of sorts that formed the basis of the modern understanding of Egypt, its geography and topography, its flora and fauna, its Pharaonic and Islamic patrimony, as well as its contemporary condition. The two volumes of plates on modern Egypt (published in 1809 and 1817) contain a selection of measured plans, perspective drawings, and analytic details of important Islamic monuments that offered the first visually comprehensive and typologically codified analysis of this architectural tradition to Europe (figure 13.1).

Yet, the *Description de l'Égypte* cannot be seen as the result solely of a vast project of appropriation that represented a country and presented it to its prospective colonizers. The work has to be considered in its European intellectual context, and evaluated from within the paradigm of scholarly endeavors of its time. Following the model of Diderot and D'Alembert's *Encyclopédie, ou, Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des metiers* (1751–65), the *Description de l'Égypte* represented a magnificent chapter in the out-and-out cultural project of late eighteenth-century Europe that attempted to recover all available knowledge and to classify and codify it. The *Description* belongs to the Enlightenment not only in its methods and epistemological principles of exhaustive coverage and scientific accuracy but also in its aims, assumptions, and ramifications. It was the precursor of many later projects of documentation and analysis of the arts and material culture in a number of countries and regions in Europe and elsewhere, and it launched the new field of Egyptology as a soundly defined scholarly pursuit. It also brought back an empirically constructed and scientifically ordered body of knowledge about Egypt that helped establish the fundamental place of its ancient civilization as the fountainhead of the Western historical evolution and verified the extent of its influence. Thus, for instance, Pharaonic architecture was presumed to be at the beginning of a continuous line of development that led ultimately to contemporary European architecture.[12] True, the authors of the sections on Islamic architecture did not attempt to integrate their subject in the same line of development because of the prejudiced ideological and political imperatives that operated on the European

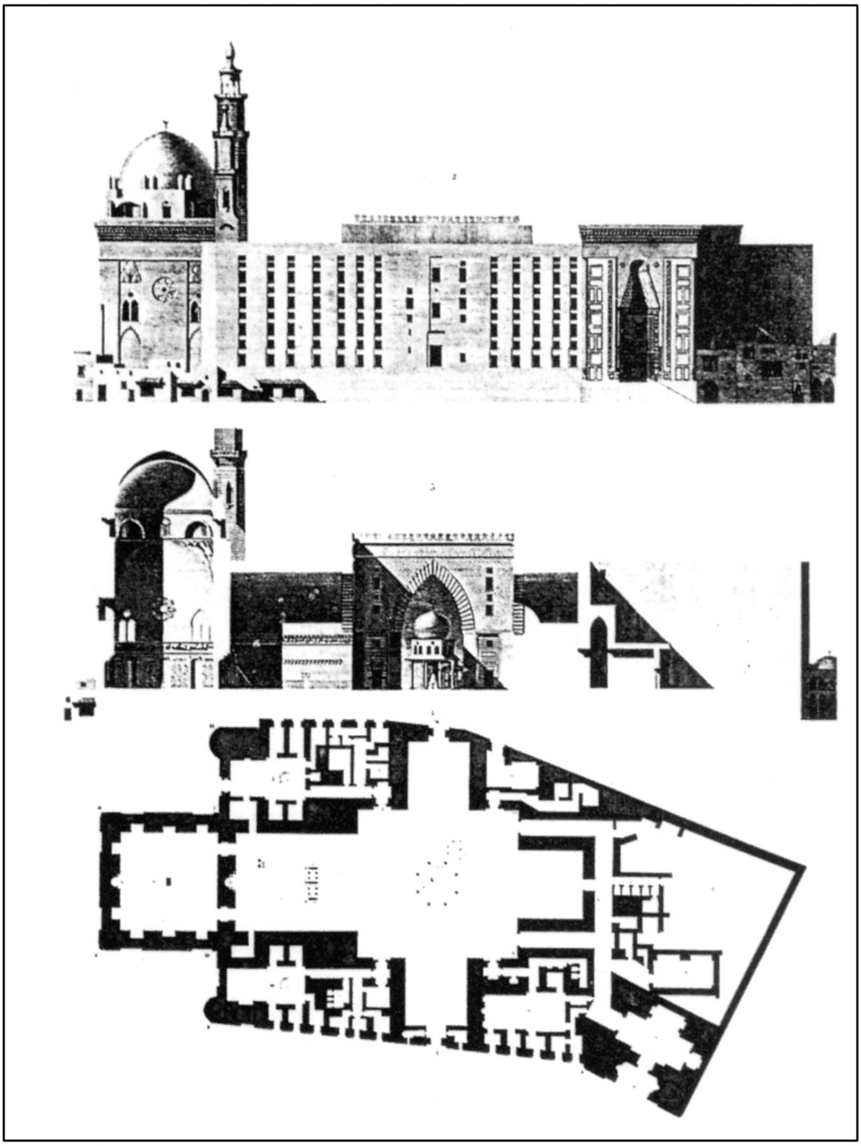


Figure 13.1 Plan and elevations of the mosque of Sultan Hasan (1356–61). (From the *Description de l'Égypte, état moderne,* vol. 1, pl. 33.)

nineteenth-century scene, but they nonetheless provided a basis for analyzing and abstracting it, and ultimately for methodically using it in the design of new buildings.

These three stages were accomplished single-handedly and almost inadvertently by Pascal-Xavier Coste, a little-known French architect from Marseilles. Coste lived and worked in Egypt as the designer and supervisor of large engineering projects all over the country for almost ten years (1817–27), with only one interruption between 1822 and 1823, when he returned to France for a visit.[13] Coste was the immediate successor in his use of the *Description*'s exhaustive method of recording architecture in all of its details. In fact, it was Coste's acquaintance with Edme François Jomard, a founding member of the Institut d'Égypte and the editor of the *Description de l'Égypte,* that led to the opportunity to work for Muhammad ʿAli Pasha, the viceroy of Egypt. Muhammad ʿAli had commissioned his friend Jomard to hire French technocrats to direct and supervise the organizing and modernizing projects he had launched in Egypt. Coste was one of the earliest recruits. He planned and constructed irrigation canals in the delta, factories and mills in and around Cairo, and a telegraphic line between Alexandria and Cairo. He was later commissioned to build palaces and pavilions for a number of European and Egyptian dignitaries and for Muhammad ʿAli Pasha himself, of which little has survived. But Coste's lasting impact as an architect in Egypt did not come from his built projects, important as they may have been, but rather from *L'Architecture Arabe ou Monuments du Kaire mesurés et dessinés de 1818 à 1826,* the book he published in 1837 after his return to France, and from two projects for mosques commissioned by Muhammad ʿAli in 1821 and 1824 but never built.[14] These projects anticipated and probably influenced a whole string of religious and public structures constructed in the second half of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth century in a style that was historicizing in its inspirations and nationalistic in its aspirations.

The mosque projects and the genesis, scope, and focus of the book on Cairene architecture are in fact historically and conceptually intertwined. After almost 5 years of grand engineering projects, Coste's architectural break came in 1821–22 when Muhammad ʿAli asked him to design a funerary mosque at the Citadel of Cairo. Using the excuse that he needed to have direct knowledge of Islamic religious architecture in order to design the mosque, Coste obtained permission to visit and study a number of Cairene mosques. He spent two years (1822–24) documenting and analyzing many Fatimid, Ayyubid, and Mamluk structures using several drafting techniques. He later published many of them in his *Monuments du Kaire,* which, in approach, technique, and aim, represents a step beyond the *Description.*[15] Coste's project dealt exclusively with

Islamic architecture, whereas in the *Description,* selected Islamic monuments form only one facet of an exhaustive ethnographic study of the country. The *Description*'s drawings are presented as illustrations of historical types, and are supplemented by studies on the social, cultural, and technical aspects of life in modern Egypt. In Coste's book, it is the drawings that, so to speak, "do the talking."[16] His work is conceived and presented in the grand tradition of the Beaux-Arts, where Coste had been trained in the ateliers of Vaudoyer père and Labadye. It is prefaced with a concise historical introduction; then each drawing is presented, preceded by a short, explanatory paragraph (figure 13.2).

These drawings constituted the repertoire upon which Coste based his Mamluk-inspired style for the design of the mosques commissioned by Muhammad ʿAli at the Citadel and in Alexandria. The detailed analytic drawings of Mamluk monuments, many of which are still unpublished (they are kept at the Bibliothèque municipale de Marseille), seem to have been necessary for the architect, who was educated in an academic, neoclassical tradition, to make the leap from admiring historical examples to adopting their distinctive elements for design purposes. The two designs for the mosques in fact reveal how Coste, with a concern for symmetry and clarity characteristic of his architectural background, manages to synthesize and order a basic vocabulary for a neo-Mamluk style. Both designs display the main characteristics of all monumental Mamluk mosques: hypostyle plans, tightly composed façades with layered surfaces, elevated portals with trilobed conches and geometric decorative patterns framing the entrance proper, carved stone domes with high drums and tapered profiles, tiered minarets with bulbous finials, and *ablaq* surface articulation.

The Citadel mosque has four hypostyle halls arranged around a central courtyard with four domes marking the four corners. Four minarets *à la turque*—two at the ends of each of the two external aisles that Coste added along the longitudinal sides of the mosque—frame the squarish composition. A huge funerary dome protrudes from the qibla (Mecca-facing) wall in a direct reference to the arrangement of the funerary mosque of Sultan Hasan (1356–61), the most monumental of the Mamluk structures. Two arcaded arms extend from the two ends of the entrance façade and enclose an open space that may have been intended as a forecourt. They each end in a *sabil/kuttab* (a public fountain surmounted by a classroom for the reading of the Qur'an, which was usually open on all sides). The façades and sections in the sketchbook show that the emphasis is on the five domes, especially the one behind the qibla wall, designated as the pasha's funerary dome. They all have high Mamluk profiles, are all ribbed or carved in a chevron pattern, and their drums are stepped and rest on four triangular corners. These are integral features

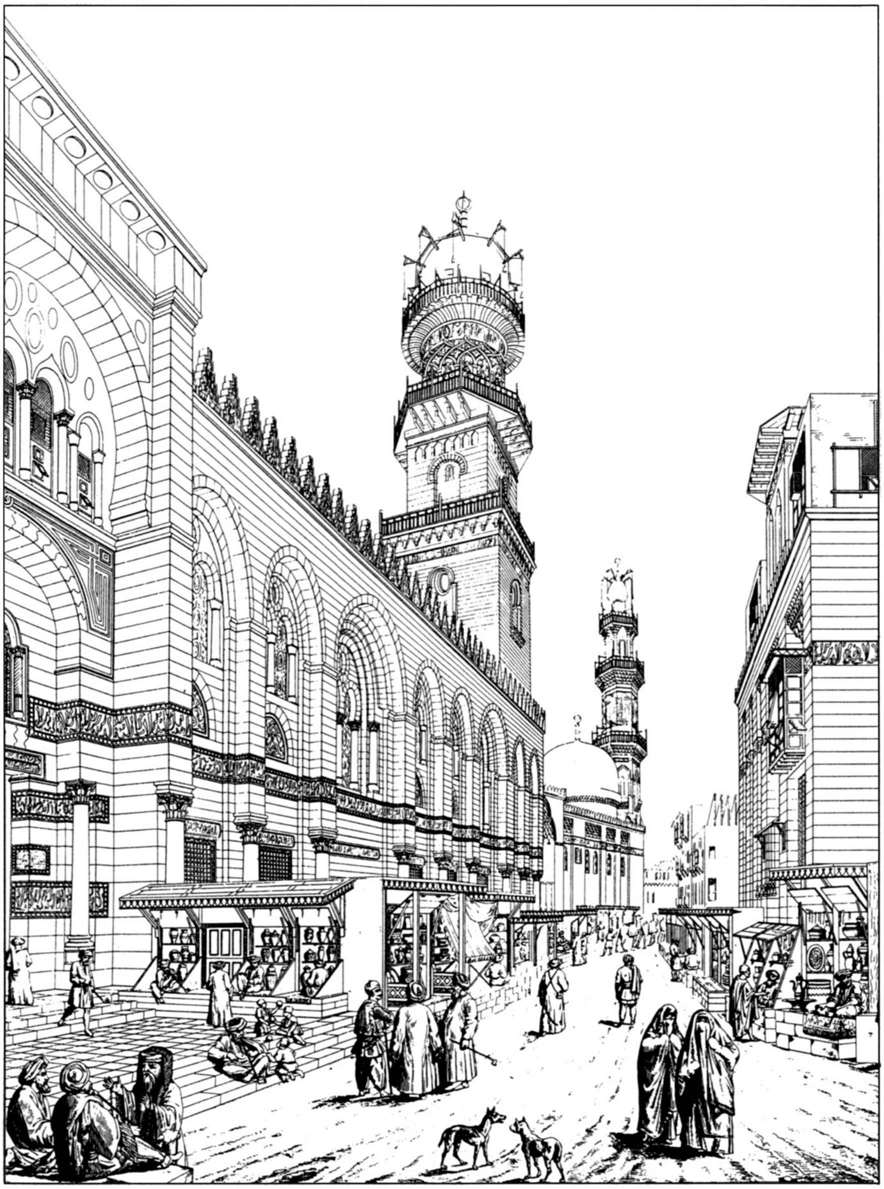


Figure 13.2 The façade of the madrasa and mausoleum of Sultan Qalawun (1285). (From *L'Architecture Arabe ou monuments du Kaire,* pl. 20.)

encountered in all Mamluk Burji (or Circassian) domes of the fifteenth century.

The mosque of Alexandria is smaller than the Citadel mosque; it has a hypostyle plan that recalls those of the late Fatimid mosques, especially al-Aqmar Mosque (1125) and al-Salih Tala'i' Mosque (1160). Coste added two square chambers on the two sides of the qibla wall, with huge domes carved in chevron and diamond patterns. The façade—clearly influenced by that of the complex of Sultan Faraj ibn Barquq in the Northern Cemetery (1400–11)—has two Mamluk minarets flanking a typical projecting portal surmounted by another dome carved in a chevroned pattern, with the two domes in the back framing the composition (figure 13.3). Two aisles run parallel to the long side of the mosque from the domes toward the entrance façade and end with two diminutive *sabil/kuttab* units. These structures, which appear to have been detached from the mass of the mosque proper, constitute the only nod toward contemporary tastes with their semicircular plans and their slanted roofs.

The mosque of Alexandria never saw the light of day, purportedly because of a sudden lack of funds caused by the expedition to the Morea that Muhammad 'Ali had to dispatch to help the Ottomans against the Greek nationalist insurgents, but the Citadel mosque was apparently started during the last months of Coste's stay in Cairo.[17] In a note attached to his sketches, Coste says that the foundations for his mosque were excavated in June of 1827.[18] He left Egypt for good shortly after, but the project was still alive in 1831, when the Russian consul in Cairo reported that the pasha was collecting marble for the funerary mosque at the Citadel designed by Coste.[19] Coste's name, however, ceased to appear in all later reports on the mosque's building. By 1833 Coste's design had been abandoned; things had changed and the mosque's appearance now seemed "barbarous" and "in the Armenian [read Ottoman] style" by the British traveler Robert Curzon.[20] Many visitors to the Citadel in the 1830s and 1840s scorned the mosque Muhammad 'Ali was building as being of foreign design and unsuitable for the site, but neither Curzon nor any later visitor mentions either the date in which Coste's design had been dropped or the name of the architect responsible for its replacement.[21] From circumstantial evidence, however, it appears that Coste was replaced around 1832 by an architect, or group of architects, trained in the Ottoman tradition, but well aware of contemporary European practices.[22] The new architect totally revamped Coste's design, but apparently had to use the foundation already laid for the mosque, since the mosque of Muhammad 'Ali today and the one designed by Coste have the same outer dimensions and are both arranged in 4-m^2 grids.[23]

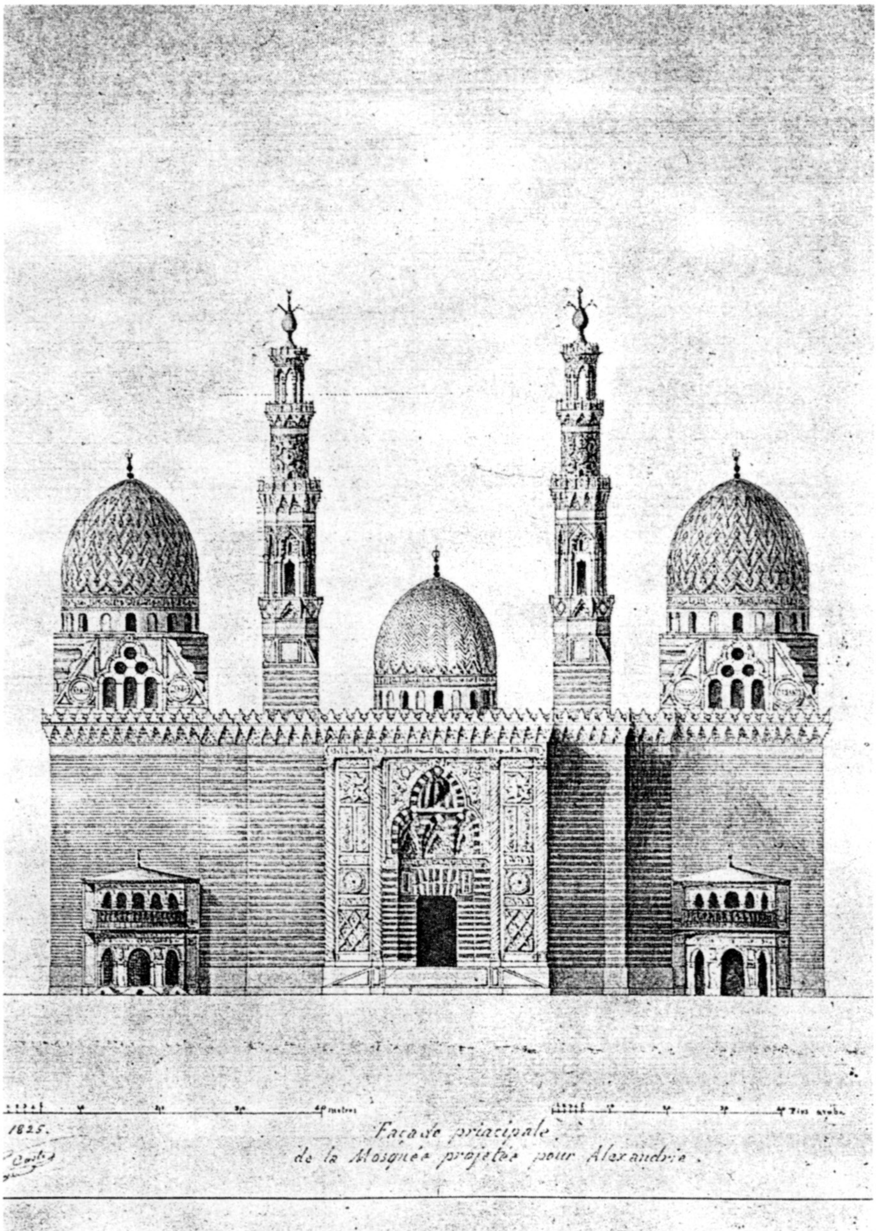

1825.
Coste
Façade principale
de la Mosquée projetée pour Alexandrie.
metres

Figure 13.3 Façade of the mosque designed by Coste for Alexandria. (Marseille, Bibliothèque municipale, Afrique septentrionale VI—Égypte MS 1311.)

But to ignore how Coste's design for the mosque of the Citadel was replaced by a totally different structure after his departure from Egypt would be to miss an important aspect of the interplay between architecture and politics and overlook the ideological shift behind the resurrection of the style pioneered by Coste a half-century after him. The mosque Muhammad ʿAli ultimately built at the Citadel has a distinctly Ottoman, pure central-domed plan, and two slender and high pencil minarets, a far cry from Coste's neo-Mamluk design (figure 13.4). The built mosque, however, does not follow the example of contemporary Ottoman mosques erected in Istanbul in heavy baroque or rococo styles, such as the Nusretiye Mosque (1822–26). It looks more like older mosques built by early great Ottoman sultans. Contemporary guides and scholars assert that it was a copy of the Nuruosmaniye Mosque, completed by Sultan Osman III in 1755, but its plan and general structure more closely resemble a much earlier mosque, that of Sultan Ahmet, known as the Blue Mosque, built between 1609 and 1617.[24]

The mosque of Muhammad ʿAli was meant as a rhetorical composition designed to emulate early models. This archaic Ottomanism must have been intentional, especially if we take into consideration the psychological makeup of the Pasha and the political conditions of the period during which his mosque was designed and constructed (1830–48). Muhammad ʿAli, an exceedingly cunning Ottoman officer from Kavala in Macedonia, came to Egypt with the Ottoman army that replaced the French in 1801. By 1805, he had managed to rise from the position of second-in-charge of the Albanian contingency to secure his appointment by the Ottoman sultan as the governor of Egypt. But it took him many years of political maneuvering—which culminated in the notorious massacre of the Mamluk amirs, his sworn enemies, in 1811—to become the sole master of the country. He soon embarked on a program of intense economic, social, and military restructuring that was aimed primarily at modernizing the country after Western models and creating a power base for his plans of territorial expansion. Coste was only one among many Europeans, mostly French, who were engaged by the pasha to carry out his reforms, especially in building a powerful modern army and navy.

Hiring foreign experts, however, was only meant to speed up the modernization process. The pasha realized that he needed to train a local technocratic class if he wanted his reforms to take root. During the 1820s, he established a new school system to educate the cadres for his army and administration; founded a governmental press at Bulaq, north of Cairo, to publish the translated textbooks needed for the new schools and for the administration; and sent a number of students on academic missions to France to acquire the higher education deemed indispensable to the proper management of the new army and state structures.[25]

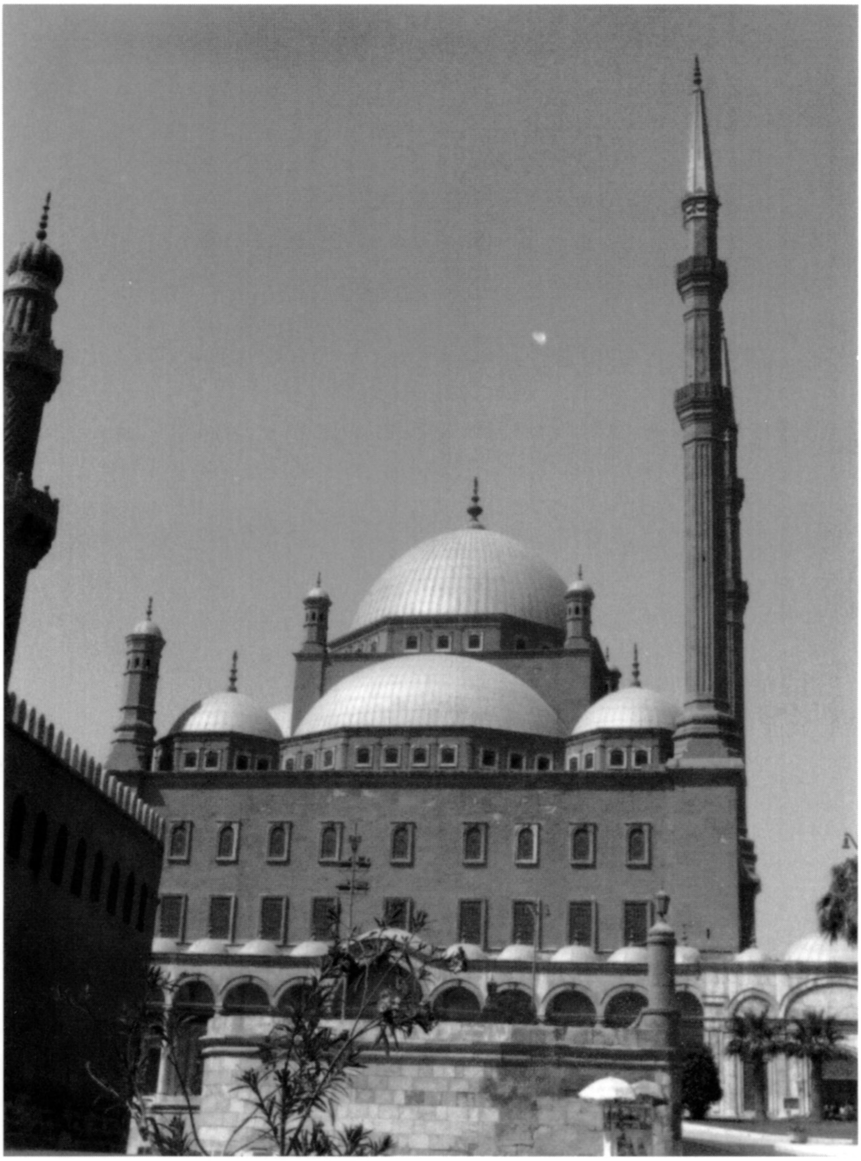


Figure 13.4 A view of Muhammad ʿAli Mosque at the Citadel. (Photograph by the author.)

The reforms were not limited to the upper classes; their effects spread to the peasant class as well. In staffing the New Army (*Nizam Jadid*), the pasha faced the problem of recruiting soldiers. He was wary of the unruliness that characterized the Albanian troops who initially formed his main support in Egypt and of the arrogance and rapaciousness displayed by the Mamluks who made up the local military before his rule. He was also reluctant to recruit local Egyptians, who had been excluded from the army in Egypt for more than seven centuries. This lack of a military tradition was compounded by the strong and widespread belief in the superiority of the Turco-Circassian "race" as soldiers and rulers, a belief shared by the pasha himself. But after his attempt to recruit Sudanese slaves to form the new infantry failed, Muhammad ʿAli reluctantly conscripted Egyptian fellahs, a move that forcibly introduced them to new and unfamiliar ideas and structures. The effectiveness of the Nizam Jadid was successfully put to the test in the various campaigns the Egyptian army under the command of his son Ibrahim Pasha participated in alone or with the Ottoman army, in which Egyptian soldiers, only recently introduced to the art and discipline of war, outperformed their Ottoman counterparts.[26]

Muhammad ʿAli himself remained the Ottoman gentleman he had made himself into when he first came to Egypt. He spoke only Turkish and dressed in the Turkish Ottoman fashion. He displayed the most exquisite manners of the Ottoman court. His immediate entourage was made up of an elite of Ottoman-trained men, among whom he fostered an Ottoman cultural identity, even when he was engaged in a war against the Ottomans.[27] The pasha also cultivated a taste for classical Ottoman literature and for the lore of the great Ottoman sultans of yore, such as Selim I (1512–20), the conquerer of Egypt, and Suleiman the Magnificent (1520–66), whose biographies he ordered printed at the Bulaq press. He also had the divans of celebrated Persian poets—such as Hafiz, Saʿdi, Jalal al-Din Rumi, and Farid al-Din Attar—which had been de rigueur reading for a true Ottoman aristocrat, printed there as well.[28]

By 1830, Muhammad ʿAli, who had long been aware of the intrinsic weakness of the Ottoman Empire, decided to risk an all-out attack despite his awareness that Europe would resist such a daring move. Between 1830 and 1833, his army marched north and threatened Istanbul before being halted by European pressure. For 8 years afterward, Muhammad ʿAli defiantly reigned over an empire that extended into the Ottoman heartland of Anatolia, with Ibrahim Pasha as the effective governor of greater Syria. He seems not to have totally relinquished his dreams of rising to the pinnacle of the empire until 1841, when his army was driven out of Syria by a combined European-Ottoman assault. Soon afterward, in the Treaty of London forced upon him by the European powers, he agreed to recognize the sovereignty of the Ottoman sultan in return for a guaranteed hereditary entitlement to rule in Egypt for his family. This act established a semiautonomous Egyptian kingdom which was ruled by Muhammad ʿAli's descendants until 1952.

The mosque of Muhammad ʿAli was constructed during that period of struggle for control in the Ottoman empire, and the pasha probably intended it to articulate these aspirations. The references to the glorious Ottoman past and the independence from the decadent Ottoman present are equally well expressed in the mosque's classical style, monumentality, and location inside the Citadel of Cairo, which had been the seat of government in the country for at least seven centuries. This may have been Muhammad ʿAli's idea of visually asserting his aims to take the place of the Ottoman sultan and to revitalize the empire, and perhaps to move its capital from Istanbul to Cairo.[29] Evoking the memory of earlier Ottoman mosques in the outer appearance of his own also reflects the mentality of the pasha, who was after all the product of the Ottoman system and the Ottoman cultural milieu. For him, classical Ottoman architecture must have represented the most appropriate and most revered image of power itself. He did not want to destroy that symbol; he wanted instead to revive and appropriate it. Coste's neo-Mamluk design, had it been constructed, would have given the wrong signals. It would have connected Muhammad ʿAli to the Mamluk legacy that he had eradicated when he massacred its last representatives, the Mamluk amirs, in 1811.[30]

But this same neo-Mamluk style was to prove itself convenient when Muhammad ʿAli's successors needed to proclaim their independence from the hegemony of the Ottoman sultanate and to assert a modern Egyptian image as the symbol of their reigns. Saʿid Pasha (r. 1854–63), Muhammad ʿAli's son and third successor, and especially Ismaʿil Pasha (r. 1863–79), his grandson, sought to free themselves from subordination to the Ottomans imposed upon Egypt in 1841 by the European powers. Ismaʿil finally succeeded in 1866, through bribery and diplomacy, in extracting from the sultan a few improvements and the title *khedive* (an old Persian title equivalent to king), which underscored his special status.[31] In Egypt, Ismaʿil tried to lessen his reliance on the Turco-Circassian class in the army and administration and to replace them with Egyptians. He also initiated a few minor measures of Arabization and Egyptianization such as substituting Turkish with Arabic as the official language of correspondence.[32] He himself, however, usually spoke Turkish or French and was totally fascinated with European, especially French, culture, to the point that he adopted French manners in his personal life and encouraged his entourage to follow suit.[33] He also was an important modernizer who wanted to turn

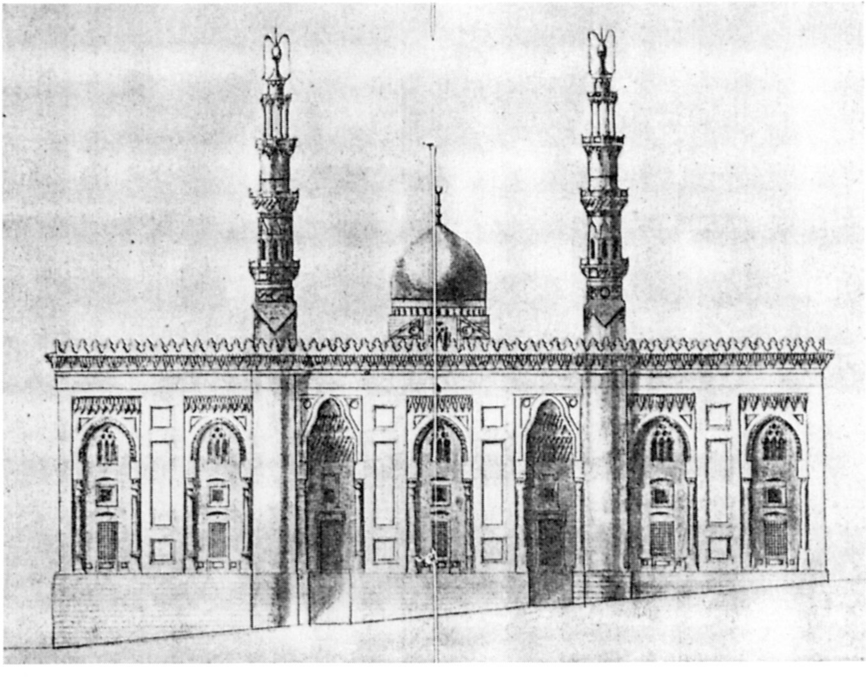
Egypt into a piece of Europe despite all adverse circumstances. But, lacking his grandfather's farsightedness, this led to his opening up the country to foreign investors and adventurers and borrowing heavily from exploitative European banks to finance his projects, which ultimately resulted in his deposition and the country's bankruptcy in 1879 and its consequent occupation by the British in 1882.[34]

Isma'il's passion for Europeanization was exemplified by his grand urban projects in Cairo. When he visited the Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1867, he was charmed by the new plan of the Second Empire capital envisaged by Louis Napoleon and designed and executed by Baron Haussmann. Back in Cairo, he wanted to turn his capital into another Paris, complete with wide, straight avenues planted with trees, palaces, planned gardens, and pavilions, and all the amenities of modern city life such as theaters, cafés, and even an opera house. He commissioned his minister of public works, 'Ali Pasha Mubarak, a member of the academic mission of 1844–49 to France and one of the most influential figures in modern Egyptian history, to draw the city's new master plan. But the new city was only a façade concealing the traditional city behind it. With the exception of two boulevards—Shari' Muhammad 'Ali and al-Sikka al-Jadida (New Avenue) or Shari' al-Muski—that cut across the old city's dense fabric and razed many medieval structures, the new city extended westward toward the Nile along a north-south axis with streets radiating from central squares to form star patterns à la Haussmann. This Parisian-style Cairo was built in haste to impress Isma'il's guests, the European monarchs, who had been invited to Egypt for the inauguration of the Suez Canal in 1869, among them Empress Eugénie of France, wife of Napoleon III, who was the guest of honor.[35]

The Rifa'i Mosque was commissioned in the same year by Princess Khoshiar, the powerful mother of Khedive Isma'il, as a congregational mosque surrounding an already existing shrine devoted to a popular saint named al-Rifa'i, and including mausoleums for the royal family members.[36] Choosing the tomb of a saint as the nucleus for a royal funerary mosque suggests that the khedival family was beginning to identify with the culture of the people it ruled. But, more than the sanctity attached to the shrine, it was its prominent location that made it attractive for a royal monument. Situated at the end of the new Shari' Muhammad 'Ali opposite the famous Sultan Hasan Mosque, the most prodigious of Mamluk mosques built in the fourteenth century, it was in plain view of the Citadel, where the royal family lived and where the mosque of Muhammad 'Ali dominated the skyline. The proximity of these two gigantic mosques presented both a dilemma and a challenge to any designer. Their sheer size required any competing structure to be truly monumental, but their conflicting styles did not leave much room for a stylistic compromise in its appearance.

The style for the new mosque, chosen apparently by the princess, was the one later to be called "neo-Mamluk." It was conceived by Hussein Pasha Kojak Fahmi *al-mi*ʿ*mar* (the architect), who had earned the title for the excellence of his designs and drafting, which he had studied in France as a member of the fifth Egyptian educational mission, the same mission that included ʿAli Pasha Mubarak and Khedive Ismaʿil himself. Fahmi later became the supervisor of religious endowments (*awqaf*), a high-ranking, administrative position that required him to inspect the Islamic monuments of Cairo.[37] He produced a design with many of the accouterments of Mamluk religious architecture, as is apparent from a sketch of the southern façade later published by Max Herz (figure 13.5). The strictly symmetrical façade with its two minarets, two arched entrances, and five bays suggests that Fahmi was well aware of the academic imperative of symmetry and most probably familiar with the modern synthesis of Mamluk architectural elements pioneered by Coste.[38] In fact, given the great

Figure 13.5 Facade of the Rifa ʿi Mosque as designed by Fahmi (From Max Herz, *La Mosquée el-Rifaï au Caire,* pl. 5.)



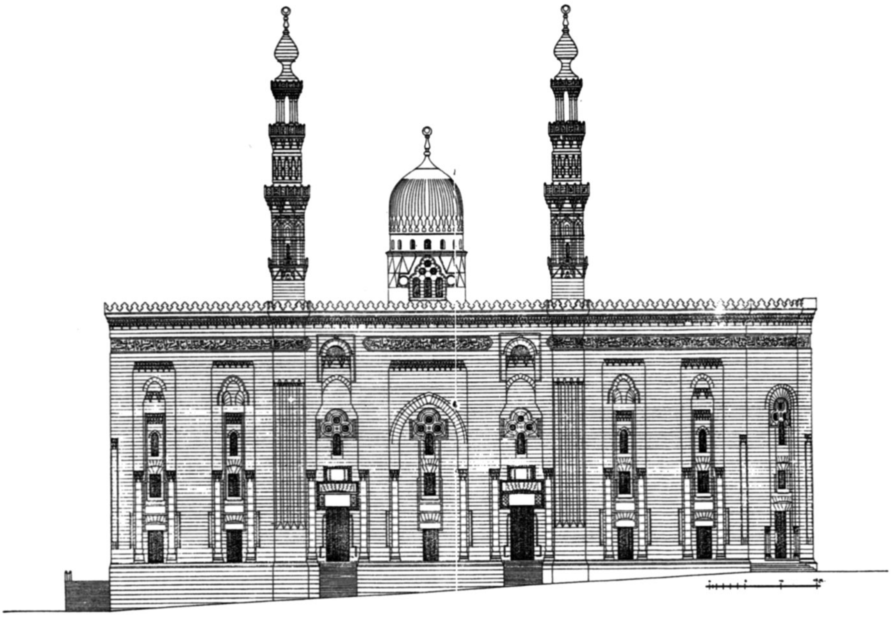
similarity between the Rifaʿi's façade and the façades of the mosques designed by Coste, one can assume that Fahmi was probably acquainted with Coste's analysis of Mamluk architecture. This may have even happened when he was a student at the Muhandiskhaneh (School of Engineering), before he was sent to France, for we know that Muhammad ʿAli had purchased ten copies of the *Monuments du Kaire,* some of which were donated to the library of the Muhandiskhaneh, where Fahmi could have consulted them.[39]

The Rifaʿi Mosque as designed by Fahmi was never completed. Construction was repeatedly halted because of spiraling costs or technical difficulties until it was stopped altogether in 1880. Mubarak, who describes the mosque as it was in 1892, records a telling story about one of the reasons why the mosque's construction was suspended only 2 years after it began. He says that an unidentified European architect who was highly recommended to Khedive Ismaʿil as knowledgeable in "Arabic" architecture was given all the drawings of the mosque and that he drastically revised them while recommending the demolition of what had already been built. Princess Khoshiar rejected the new design and insisted on the original one. This led to a disagreement between mother and son, which interrupted work on the mosque. When the work was resumed, it was continued according to Fahmi's design.[40] Mubarak himself, who was the minister of public works in several governments under Ismaʿil in the 1870s, tried to solve the structural problems by proposing a large steel dome to cover the prayer hall. He even went ahead and hired an unidentified European consulting firm, which produced a design and a feasibility study that showed the dome to be less expensive than the original, column-supported roof. Again, Ismaʿil approved of Mubarak's proposal, but Princess Khoshiar insisted on the original design by Hussein Fahmi.[41]

The mosque's construction was not resumed again until 1906, long after both patron and architect were dead. A new architect, the Austro-Hungarian Max Herz, was appointed to complete the project. He had been the technical director of the Committee for the Conservation of Monuments of Arab Art and involved in the restoration of a large number of Mamluk monuments, including the mosque of Sultan Hasan, about which he published a detailed and beautifully illustrated architectural study.[42] Herz held Mamluk architecture in high esteem as the most ingenious response to its urban, aesthetic, and historical setting.[43] In design, he was something of a purist, who, while praising Fahmi's scheme because of its Mamluk inspiration, criticized it because of its strict symmetry, which he regarded as inadequate, both because it was not responsive to the contextual and topographic requirements of the site and because it was alien to the more fluid arrangements of the Mamluk precedents.[44] His hands were tied, however, because most of the exterior was already in place, including the symmetrically positioned bases of the two minarets on the southern façade. Consequently, Herz kept all of Fahmi's Mamluk references in his new design; if anything, he clarified and stressed their direct lineage from ideal Mamluk models, such as the complex of Sultan Qalawun (1284) and the mosque of Sultan Hasan, a preference seen in Coste's designs as well (figure 13.6).

The Rifaʿi Mosque was the first of a series of mosques and other public and cultural structures that adopted the neo-Mamluk style. Others that followed include the Sayyida Zaynab Mosque (1885), the Sayyida Nafisa Mosque (1897), the Ministry of Endowments (Awqaf) (built in three stages in 1898, 1911, and 1929 by Mahmud Fahmi, the chief architect of the waqfs ministry), and the Egyptian National Library (Dar al-Kutub) (built in 1904 by the Italian architect Alfonso Manescalo).[45] It was probably the desire to give a modern Egyptian identity to these culturally specific public buildings—especially the mosques which were endowed as proof of the khedival family's social and cultural commitment to the country—that the neo-Mamluk style was used. Later on, this style was assimilated by architects working on large public projects during the first half of the twentieth century and came to be regarded as an Egyptian national style, relating contemporary Egyptian architecture to a

Figure 13.6 View of the façade of the Rifa ʿi Mosque as designed by Max Herz. (From Max Herz, *La Mosquée el-Rifaï au Caire,* pl. 13.)



glorious phase of its history.[46] Forgotten were the metamorphoses it had undergone from the documentary and classificatory stage of the savants of the French expedition, to the pioneering work of Pascal Coste in synthesizing its elements into a new style, to its adoption in khedival public buildings, and finally to its appropriation by a national and international elite in modern Egypt.

Notes

1. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979).

2. For an analysis of orientalizing architecture, see Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient: Architecture of Islam at Nineteenth-Century World's Fairs.* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); for a nuanced view, see Sibel Bozdogan, "Journey to the East: Ways of Looking at the Orient and the Question of Representation," *Journal of Architectural Education,* 41, no. 4 (summer 1988): 38–45; for a critical analysis of Orientalist painting, see Linda Nochlin, "The Imaginary Orient," *Art in America,* 71 (May 1983): 119–29, 187–91.

3. For a French view of the effects of the expedition on Egypt, see Edouard Driault, "La Renaissance de l'Égypte," *Napoléon, revue des études napoléoniennes,* 14, no. 1 (January/February 1925): 5–22; for a collection of Arabic views, see Ra'if Khuri, *Modern Arab Thought: Channels of the French Revolution to the Arab East,* trans. I. ʿAbbas (Princeton: The Kingston Press, 1983); for a critical view, see Anwar Louca, "La renaissance égyptienne et les limites de l'œuvre de Bonaparte," *Cahiers d'histoire égyptienne,* 7, no. 1 (February 1955): 1–20.

4. For a survey of the incorporation of Islamic motifs in nineteenth-century British architecture, see Michael Darby, *Islamic Perspective: An Aspect of British Architecture and Design in the 19th Century* (London: World of Islam Festival Trust, 1983); a more complete and more critical study is John Sweetman, *The Oriental Obsession: Islamic Inspiration in British and American Art and Architecture 1500–1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); For the peculiar case of Carl von Diebitsch, a Berlin architect who wanted to standardize and industrialize Islamic elements for mass use in Europe but who ended up exporting the style back to the Egypt of Khedive Ismaʿil, see Elke Pflugradt-Abdel Aziz, "The Mausoleum for Soliman Pasha 'el-Faransawi' in Cairo," *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts: Abteilung Kairo,* 44 (1988): 205–14.

5. Long before the rise of postcolonial studies, Jacques Berque used a historicizing approach to his study of the colonization of Egypt in the nineteenth century, first published in 1967; see Jacques Berque, *Egypt: Imperialism and Revolution,* trans. J. Stewart (London: Faber & Faber 1972), esp. 101–2. A more recent study is Timothy Mitchell, *Colonizing Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988). A cursory inquiry of an East-West interaction in a cultural field is Donald Malcolm Reid, "Cultural Imperialism and Nationalism: The Struggle to Define and Control the Heritage of Arab Art in Egypt," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies,* 24, no. 1 (February 1992): 57–76.

6. Berque, *Egypt,* 468.

7. This is a seriously neglected period of architecture in Egypt. A preliminary discussion of its major examples is Robert Ilbert and Mercedes Volait, "Neo-Arabic Renaissance in Egypt, 1870–1930," *Mimar,* 13 (1983): 26–34; an attempt to contextualize it is Mona Zakarya, "L'inscription du discours occidental dans l'architecture et l'urbanisme orientaux," in *D'un Orient l'autre: les metamorphoses successives des perceptions et connaissances,* vol. 1. *Configurations* ed. Marie-Claude Burgat (Paris: C.N.R.S., 1991), 559–74; a new study that lists and classifies the monuments but does little else is Tarek Sakr, *Early Twentieth-Century Islamic Architecture in Cairo* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 1992).

8. The best source on the urban history of Cairo in English remains Janet Abu-Lughod, *Cairo, 1001 Years of the City Victorious.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971); see also André Raymond, *Le Caire* (Paris: Fayard, 1993), which incorporates some of the recent archaeological and architectural findings. For the Cairene architectural legacy, see K. A. C. Creswell, *Muslim Architecture of Egypt,* 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959) which stops at 1311; a recent and more exhaustive survey of Mamluk architecture is Michael Meinecke, *Die mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien* (*648/1250 bis 923/1517*), 2 vols. (Glückstadt: Verlag J. J. Augustin, 1992).

9. For the history of this institution, see Jean-Édouard Goby, "La composition du premier Institut d'Égypte," *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte,* 29 (1946–47): 343–67 and 30 (1947–48), 81–100; also Gabriel Guémard, "Éssai d'histoire de l'Institut d'Égypte," *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte,* 6 (1924): 43–84.

10. *Mémoires sur l'Égypte publiés pendant les compagnes du Général Bonaparte dans les années VI et VII* (Paris: Baudouin, 1801), 1; Louca, "renaissance égyptienne," 1–3.

11. There exist two editions of the *Description de l'Égypte:* the first is the édition Imprimerie Nationale (1809–28), the second is the édition dite Panckoucke, 26 octavo volumes of text and 12 folio volumes of illustrations (Paris: Panckouke 1821–29). For a review of the history of this major work, see the introduction by Charles Coulston Gillispie in C. C. Gillispie and Michael Dewachter, eds., *Monuments of Egypt: the Napoleonic Edition: The Complete Archaeological Plates from la Description de l'Égypte* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 1–29.

12. Jean-Marie Carré, *Voyageurs et écrivains français en Égypte,* 2 vols. (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1956), 1: 152–62, relates the story of the first French encounters with the Pharaonic marvels of Upper Egypt during the summer and fall of 1799 and the realization of the French savants that these monuments must have been the inspiration behind the later Greek monuments.

13. There has been a resurgence of interest in Coste after a long period of neglect. A partial list of recent publications is Daniel Armogathe and Sylviane Leprun, *Pascal Coste ou l'architecture cosmopolite* (Paris: l'Harmattan 1990), which comprises 12 essays on Coste's life

and work; Paule Guiral, "Un architecte français en Afrique du Nord dans la première moitié du XIXe siècle," *Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Mediterranée,* 6 (1969): 103–12; idem., "L'architecte marseillais Pascal Coste et son oeuvre en Égypte sous Mehmet Ali," *Provence Historique,* 19 (1976): 133–42; Denise Jasmin, "Le travail d'un architecte marseillais en Orient," *Perspectives Mediterranéennes,* 14 (June 1983): 3–9; Sylviane Leprun, "Rives, dérives ethno-architecturales: Pascal-Xavier Coste, architecte anthropologue," *Les cahiers de la recherche architecturale,* 27/28 (1992): 209–18.

14. The two mosque projects are in Coste's sketchbook at the Bibliothèque municipale de Marseille; their existence was known, but not much attention has been given to them. They are introduced and discussed in Kara Marietta Hill, "Pascal-Xavier Coste (1787–1879): A French Architect in Egypt," Ph.D. diss., MIT, 1992, 1: 144–48. Hill also includes a set of photos from Coste's archives of the Citadel mosque (2: 319–20, figs. 27–29) and the Alexandria mosque (2: 320–22, figs. 30–33), which I depended upon for this chapter. See also André Raymond, "Muhammad 'Ali et Pascal Coste," in Armogathe and Leprun, *Pascal Coste,* 29–31; a section of the Citadel mosque is published on p. 33. The façade of the Alexandria mosque has been published in Denise Jasmin, "Pascal Coste et l'Égypte," *Monuments Historiques,* 75 (1983): 29; also *Les Orientalistes Provençeaux,* catalog of an exposition held at Marseilles: Musée des Beaux-Arts, November 1982–February 1983, fig. 66, p. 47.

15. Carré, *Voyageurs,* 1: 287, calls it the "most rigorous and most complete documentation of Islamic architecture in Egypt."

16. See the analysis of Coste's drawing methods in Claude Jasmin, "Le dessin de Coste," in Armogathe and Leprun, *Pascal Coste,* 133–41.

17. Pascal Coste, *Mémoires d'un artiste: Notes et souvenirs de voyages 1817–1877* (Marseilles: Marius Olive, 1878), 43.

18. Raymond, "Muhammad 'Ali et Pascal Coste," 30.

19. A sequence of quotations on the development of the construction of the Muhammad-'Ali mosque from Coste's design to the final stages is collected in Gaston Wiet, *Mohammed Ali et les beaux-arts* (Cairo: Dar al-Ma'arif 1949), 265–88.

20. Robert Curzon, *Visits to the Monasteries in the Levant* (London: J. Murray 1851), 41.

21. Louis Hautecoeur and Gaston Wiet, *Les mosquées du Caire,* 2 vols. (Paris: Librairie Ernest Leroux 1932), 1:344, report that his name was Yusuf Bushnaq. Hasan 'Abd al-Wahab, *Tarikh al-Masajid al-Athariyya,* 2d ed. (Cairo: Dar al-Kutub, 1994), 378, lists the names of many Egyptian draftsmen and aides to the architect and an Anatolian designer who did the window grilles, but says that in his thorough search in the archives, he was unable to find the name of the architect.

22. Muhammad al-Asad, "The Mosque of Muhammad 'Ali in Cairo," *Muqarnas,* 9 (1992): 48–9 and n. 26, questions the attribution of the mosque to Yusuf Bushnaq, who is otherwise

unknown, and points out Wiet's mistake in translating Robert Curzon's account where "Armenian architecture," in the original became "Armenian architect" in the French translation.

23. Hill, "Pascal-Xavier Coste," 1: 151.

24. Al-Asad, "Mosque of Muhammad 'Ali," 39–55, discusses the mosque's architecture.

25. A succinct review of Muhammad 'Ali's educational endeavors in English is in Sophie Rentz, "The Effect of the Introduction of the Printing Press on Learning in Egypt in the Early Nineteenth Century," Master's thesis, San Jose State College, 1972, 121–211.

26. For a concise review of Muhammad 'Ali's career, see Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid Marsot, *A Short History of Modern Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 51–65; for Muhammad 'Ali and the Ottomans, see idem., *Egypt in the Reign of Muhammad 'Ali* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 196–248.

27. Afaf Lufti al-Sayyid Marsot, *Egypt in the Reign,* 263, calls Muhammad 'Ali's regime a Turco-Circassian-Albanian raj in Egypt similar to the British raj in India.

28. Of the 243 books printed at Bulaq between 1822 and 1842, none is an Arabic history book. Instead, Ottoman history, the biographies of great Ottoman sultans, and Persian and Turkish classical poetry make up a considerable proportion of the nonpedagogic output. See the list in Thomas-Xavier Bianchi, "Catalogue général des livres arabes, persans, et turcs imprimés à Boulac en Égypte depuis l'introduction de l'imprimerie dans ce pays," *Journal Asiatique,* 4 series, no. 2 (July/August 1843): 24–61.

29. This last goal is well exemplified by the rehabilitation of the Citadel of Cairo as his seat of government which was undertaken during the 1820s; see Nasser Rabbat, *The Citadel of Cairo* (Geneva: The Aga Khan Trust of Culture, 1989), 25–31.

30. Hill, "Pascal-Xavier Coste," 1: 48–53, weighs all the possible reasons for the change of plans for the Muhammad 'Ali mosque.

31. P. J. Vatikiotis, *The History of Modern Egypt from Muhammad Ali to Mubarak* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 67–77.

32. Gabriel Baer, "Social Change in Egypt: 1800–1914," in *Political and Social Change in Modern Egypt,* ed. P. M. Holt (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1968), 135–61.

33. A sound review of Isma'il's personality and his fascination with Europe is Elias al-Ayyubi, *Tarikh Misr fi 'Ahd al-Khidiwi Isma'il Pasha,* 2 vols., 2d ed. (Cairo: Madbouli, 1994), 1: 258–99; a somewhat dramatized and caricatured one is in Trevor Mostyn, *Egypt's Belle Epoque: Cairo 1869–1952* (London: Quartet Books, 1989), 42–124.

34. For an assessment of Isma'il's reign, see Vatikiotis, *History of Modern Egypt,* 77–89.

35. For Isma'il's urban projects, see 'Ali Pasha Mubarak, *al-Khitat al-Tawfiqiyya al-Jadida* (Cairo: Dar al-Kutub 1969–87), 1: 210–17; Abu-Lughod, *Cairo,* 98–117; Raymond, *Le Caire,* 306–15.

36. An account of the mosque's early construction history before Herz, is Mubarak, *Khitat,* 4: 237–45; an architectural evaluation of the different stages of the building by its last architect is Max Herz, *La Mosquée el-Rifaï au Caire* (Milan: n.p. 1912); the most recent study of the mosque is Muhammad al-Asad, "The Mosque of al-Rifa'i in Cairo," *Muqarnas,* 10 (1993): 108–24.

37. For a short biography of Hussein Pasha Fahmi, see Abdul Rahman al-Rafi'i, *'Asr Muhammad 'Ali,* 4th ed. (Cairo: Dar al-Ma'arif, 1982), 419, 484.

38. Herz, *Mosquée el-Rifaï,* 22, reports that Fahmi boasted of his borrowing from medieval precedents, but he immediately faults him for not having studied them more carefully, probably an indirect reference to his own knowledge of Mamluk architecture.

39. For the 10 copies of the *Monuments du Kaire,* see Hill, "Pascal-Xavier Coste," 1: 226. Coste (known in Egyptian documents as *khawaga* Kosti), in fact, was not unknown at the Muhandiskhaneh; he was appointed there in September 1820 to teach calculus and drafting; see Rentz, "Printing Press," 124–25; al-Rafi'i, *'Asr Muhammad 'Ali,* 399.

40. Mubarak, *Khitat,* 4: 239; Herz, *Mosquée el-Rifaï,* 21, says that the European architect in question may have been an Italian by the name of Gaï, whom he had met at the Rifa'i Mosque 30 years before the date of his writing—that is, around 1880.

41. Mubarak, *Khitat,* 4: 240.

42. Herz, *La Mosquée du Sultan Hassan au Caire* (Cairo: Comité de conservation des monuments de l'art arabe, 1899).

43. Not only did Herz work on the conservation of Mamluk monuments in Cairo but he also designed a huge number of structures in the "Arab" style—another variation on the style's name—including his own house in Qasr al-Doubara, which no longer exists; see Tawfiq Iskarus, "Maks Hirts Basha," *al-Hilal,* 27, no. 10 (July 1, 1919): 921–28.

44. Herz, *La Mosquée el-Rifaï,* 13–18.

45. For the Sayyida Zaynab and Sayyida Nafisa mosques, see the huge publication by the Ministry of Awqaf, *The Mosques of Egypt,* 2 vols. (Cairo: The Survey of Egypt, 1949), 2: 122–23, figs. 180–81 for the first and 124, figs. 184–85 for the second; the architects of both are unknown; for the Ministry of Awqaf, see Sakr, 19–21; for the Dar al-Kutub, idem., 22–24.

46. Buildings such as the mosque of Abu al-'Abbas al-Mursi in Alexandria (built by the Italian Mario Rossi) were intentionally made in neo-Mamluk style; see James Dickie,

"Modern Islamic Architecture in Alexandria," *Islamic Quarterly,* 12 (1970): 183–91. Al-Asad, "The Mosque of al-Rifa'i," 124, n. 37, mentions the rise of another national style in Egypt, the Pharaonic Revival style, which competed for predominance with the neo-Mamluk style in the 1920s and 1930s. But its popularity was politically induced and did not survive the demise of the political ideology that promoted it; for further discussion, see Mercedes Volait, *L'architecture moderne en Égypte et la revue al-'imara (1939–1959)* (Cairo: Centre d'études et de documentation économique, juridique et sociale, 1988), 43–50.

14

BETWEEN TRADITION AND INNOVATION: PLACE LOUIS XV IN PARIS

Carlo Olmo

The city is perhaps the mystery that most attracts art historians. History—of customs or institutions, of feasts or infrastructures, of markets or rites—always has the city as a setting, a setting that seems to live an independent life, only determined by architects and lawmakers or molded by plans and standards. But is this separation between the history of a community and the history of a city still acceptable today?

On 27 June 1747, Louis-Basil de Bernage, provost of the guilds of Paris, presented a request for raising the king's equestrian statue "dans tel emplacement qu'il lui plairait de donner."[1] De Bernage's request started the machinery in motion for one of the best-known squares in the world: place Louis XV, today the place de la Concorde. The vicissitudes leading up to Ange-Jacques Gabriel's project and continuing to the completion of the square offer different, but plausible, interpretations of a fragment of urban history.

A Controversial Competition

The place royale as a *place à programme*[2] almost seems to suggest a connection between a patron's desire and the capacity of an institution, such as the Académie Royale d'Architecture, to meet that desire.

The king's request to the academy,[3] the extremely vague wording of the first announcement,[4] the long-lasting competition,[5] the wide range of competitors,[6] the search for a suitable location, and, finally, the conviction, held by almost all competitors, that the tribute to the king should go with a *renovatio urbis*[7]—all these reproduced the roles played by king and architect that had been enacted for centuries, and not only with respect to royal squares.[8]

The competition of 1749 has been called one of the most notable architectural inventories in Europe,[9] and as testimony to architecture perceived as a general good, not only by architects but also by public officials, high-ranking military officers, and inspectors of the horse guards,[10] or even as the end of a maturation of urban morphology.[11]

Certainly, all interpretations have solid grounds. The projects produced at that time run through the language of an entire architectural generation.[12] While they do not aim at a specific goal, they are close to "civic architecture" and not to a *delizia*. The writings of Laugier and Voltaire help us to grasp the different meanings behind the idea of architecture as a general good.[13] The migration of symbols (the porticoed square and the equestrian statue) from Italy throughout Europe, including some projects in provincial capitals,[14] can explain the making of a morphology. But that competition, made famous by Pierre Patte's map of Paris, has been regarded as almost unimportant for the history of the square with its acclaimed architectural works.

On 21 April 1750 the municipality of Paris reported the king's dissatisfaction with the results of the competition and the directions of his architects. The report contained the king's choice of the site, a location previously regarded as unsuitable not only by academicians but also by the king's superintendent.[15] The provost had entrusted the project to Servandoni, who had not entered the first competition, and Mansart de Lévy, count of Sagonne, whose plans for the same competition entailed completely different sites.[16] But the king rejected their proposals and charged the academy with a new competition.[17]

Nineteen architects took part in the second competition, almost all not conforming to their patron's demands,[18] which by now had been made clear.[19] Ange-Jacques Gabriel, the king's first architect, who was entrusted with assembling the various advantages noted in the different plans,[20] testified that the academy's real role was advisory. Artistic copyright did not exist, even in these years, so any historiographic reasoning proceeding through attributions is very difficult. On the other hand, an analysis of the documents in the Archives des Bâtiments Civils allows us to follow each planning stage carried out by Gabriel[21] and to see how much he owed to Boffrand,[22] even to Lassurance, to Hazon, and finally to Contant, who will supervise some of the works for the square.[23]

If we try to look for the origin of choices and *forma urbis,* and for any connection between architects and patrons, doubts remain. Why did the king, or rather the court, choose that site? Why, of all the projects taken into account, were none presented beyond consideration of costs?[24] Why was Gabriel selected and how did he reach a definition of a project destined to become a model of the open square in Europe, despite Blondel's and Ledoux's criticisms? Perhaps we should start with this last question, so as to widen our reflections on the connections between architects and architectures, on copyright, and finally on the history of European architecture in the middle of eighteenth century.

To this end, it would be worthwhile to compare the architectures planned and executed in the place Louis XV with the elaborations in the academy. This comparison emphasizes Ange-Jacques Gabriel's attention to the definition of tradition which the academy was formulating.

Between 1745 and 1752 the academy dedicated many sessions to redefining, pedantically, measures for orders. There were notable discussions on the Corinthian order. On 17 August 1745 a discussion of trabeations started,[25] on 9 January 1747 the subject was Corinthian columns,[26] on 7 July, Corinthian capitals, on 23 January 1748, Corinthian flutes, and on 9 December 1749, Corinthian coupled columns.

A comparison between some drawings in the national archives[27] and some built architectures shows an almost complete correspondence. Gabriel followed to the letter the academy's prescriptions, in which civic and public values were foremost. Conformism and weak personality (which Gabriel will be later charged with) are distinguishing marks, nearly achieving Colbert's dream: an institution able to define characters for public architecture and an architect able to turn them into elegant forms.[28] Personality is not as interesting as the cleverness at matching a language, legitimated by a royal institution, with architecture aimed at achieving adornment and public utility.[29]

In fact, the Place Louis XV showed how intellectualization of an architect's work had been changing since the middle of 1740s. The academy reopened the discussion on antiquity because "la méthode de toiser tous les ouvrages des bâtimens n'a point, jusqu'à présent, de règles certaines: elle n'est établie que sur ce qu'on appelle uses ou coutumes, usages introduit par les ouvriers sans l'approbation ni l'autorité des magistrats, en sort . . . qu'elle devient souvent arbitraire, ce qui cause beaucoup de procès entre propriétaires des maison et les ouvriers."[30]

This conflict, between two of a great many actors on the urban scene, provides the opportunity for a project intended to turn measures into a clear, reproducible, and institutionally guaranteed experience. It also offers the possibility of tracing the symbolic boundary between experts and nonexperts.[31] So the observance of new rules is not conformism but the need to make some lengthy and scholarly research works clear and legible.[32] Moreover, it is the only way to draw the line between the many amateurs in the modern city and architects. Thus the first competition for Place Louis XV and its selection by Pierre Patte are extremely important.

Some conformism and the missing copyright for all the architecture in the square give us a sketch of not only the value of the project but also how an interpretation of this fragment in urban history should be approached. In order to complete the transformation of the artisan-architect into an intellectual, grounding his primacy on knowledge and not on craft, an architect needs to hold to the rules of survey and composition, and to know how to codify them and how to communicate the results of his work.

Against the multiplication of builders in the modern city, the way of conformity, not conformism, seems to be unavoidable, even damaging to individual freedom. It is no wonder that this will be formalized by the author of a large part of the architectural entries in the *Encyclopédie:* Jacques-François Blondel, together with Gabriel and perhaps not by chance,[33] an ambiguous figure in the architectural history of these years. Besides, any formalization of measures will not be enough if the drawings and the architecture meant to reproduce them do not obey the same strict rules. These rules do not necessarily turn into a new theory of architecture.

When the competitions and projects for the place Louis XV started, texts on architectural theory were abundant, especially in France.[34] This coincidence should not mask the differences in theoretical reflections affecting everyone both inside and outside cultural institutions during these years. Texts on architectural theory, even if written by academicians, had little success in the lectures the academy organized almost every week as a notable part of their procedures meant to insure the identity of an intellectual elite.[35]

Academicians did not follow even Blondel when he tried to go beyond a definition of theory as a formalization of control instruments in architectural composition, writing his plan for the second teaching course for artists.[36] This was a way of keeping formal experimentation within disciplinary limits. Paradoxically, the analogy between basic mechanical phenomena and music—an analogy Blondel was now working out, based on an old French tradition—was found fault with from an experimental point of view.[37]

The pursuit of legitimacy in making architecture and the attempt to gather the new values (both symbolic and economic) that the *Encyclopédie* was codifying[38] would be carried out far from the academy. In fact, academicians would only look to the definition of a routine leading to individual ennoblement and to the acknowledgment of a liberal statute meant expressly for an elite facing the large number of roles and functions of the modern city[39] and the ruthless competitions—a contradiction between places and forms in theoretical reflections, bound to mark even the history of contemporary architecture and of its institutions.

It would be useful to inquire into the convergence existing between the rejection of theory as a refoundation of one's own intellectual legitimacy and the compliance of scholarly knowledge and architectural composition. Perhaps, that is why today the colonnade in Place Louis XV almost appears as Ange-Jacques Gabriel's manifesto.[40]

But there is another history of the Place de la Concorde that could be written. It would help us to pass from the history of the competitions and of architectural imagery to the reasons for the choice of Gabriel and of the area at Pont Tournant.

Many Opportune Accidents

On 27 June 1748 the Bureau de la Ville de Paris deliberated on a "monumental realization" to honor king and the congress in Aix-la-Chapelle. At the beginning, the plan was concentrated only on an equestrian statue, a project assigned to Bouchardon.[41] There was no talk of squares, either by the municipality, or by Jean-Frederic Phélypeau, count of Maurepas, who was in charge of presenting the proposal to the king.

First, an institutional change creates conditions for a translation of projects in some creations. Before the sudden invitation to the academy,[42] all judgments on the municipality of Paris passed to the marquis of Argenson, secretary of state and war from 1742. The question went beyond the simple execution of royal or administrative resolutions. It is impossible to ascribe the caution shown by the municipality throughout the competition and production routine solely to economic problems.[43] As has already been noted,[44] the choice of the royal square in Paris was made during a conflict among the major families who had ruled the municipality for a long time, a conflict over the square, and also about other institutions such as the new hôtel de ville.[45]

Even the decision for a competition of new ideas, aimed at fixing the square's form and site, is now clearer: it is a device for avoiding the conflict, either for the municipality or for the king. This conflict was also based on the process of assigning an economic value, which the choice of directing city growth in some way or other implies.

One year earlier, the same marquis of Argenson suggested building a palace between the Pont-Tournant des Tuileries and the Champs Elysées,[46] a suggestion that de Bernage personally presented officially.[47] Argenson's interest in those areas was connected to the unsettled estate of John Law, seized after the collapse of the India Company.[48] Between John Law and Argenson an opposition arose, which was settled only by the arrest of the Scottish financier. The interest of Louis de Bernage in those areas (and for Argenson's project) is based on mutual relationships and profits, but their common purposes found a less direct way than Argenson's to become convincing. Moreover, the Law estate bordered on some royal properties,[49] an accident bound to become an opportunity as events proceeded.

Jean Ducros has described the making of Jean Lassurance's project for the 1749 competition.[50] Nephew-in-law of Lenormant de Tournehem, Lassurance designed Versailles' Hermitage for Madame de Pompadour, but for the present site of the square,[51] he drew up a project close to an urban plan, a *passe-partout* for other expansions in this part of Paris, already subjected to an extreme taxation.

Rue Saint-Honoré was basically a street of convents until about 1710, but afterward it became the axis of the residential quarter where the chevalier of Martigny, Madame Le Vieux, the duke of Béthune, the count of Evreux, the count of Saint-Florétin and John Law himself had their mansions and where Grandhomme, Mazin, Boffrand, Aubry, and Lassurance were the architects. Some of them became leading actors in the Place Louis XV story, not only as promoters.

The manuscript in the library of the arsenal, dividing all projects according to different areas,[52] helps us to reconstruct the network of interests, woven in favor of the development of Paris beyond the Tuileries and the Champs Elysées, of the architects and their major patrons. Without laboring the coincidence, even the means of a competition for ideas leads us to understand the role played by the different actors, agreeing to the construction of the square, and the images these families fought for.

The history of these years has been summed up in monographs[53] or through analysis of some city fragments. The acknowledgment of more intricate strategies, where symbolic investment became part of property and social policies, is nowadays based on some possible bibliographic crossings. On the contrary, if we want to reconstruct the complicated plot of the first modernization age in European cities[54] and of the role played by different elites,[55] we have to undergo reading a text that has different stories but the same characters.

Place Louis XV is a puzzle. We can find out one of its architectonic solutions—its background, for instance, made of two Corinthian colonnades and independent of any destination[56]—by comparing some of the projects in the 1749 competition (from Lassurance's to Aubry's) as well as studying the success of some drawings for the Louvre peristyle.[57] Perhaps the conjunction of institutional reforms and urban modernization got the king to finally choose the area at Pont Tournant. This choice allowed a liquidation of the Law estate, otherwise subject to the regulations following the financial collapse.

In the final choice many elements counted: property interests (of the king as well as of some aristocrats and officials); the chance to transform an urban fragment of Paris; the different images that the architects presented in the 1749 competition. Therefore, it is useful to think back on this competition in order to understand the connections between projects, families with their own interests (not only concentrated on land), the mansions of economic elites and architects, and the elaboration of a residential and urban image.

On the other side, the process leading to the final choice was almost paradigmatic. Beyond Argenson, Bernage, Lassurance, and Aubry, other actors took the stage. First of all, Armand II de Béthune, owner of a mansion and of an estate in rue du faubourg Saint-Honoré and auditor in the India Company, had a double interest in the Pont Tournant: personally and for his company. His personal interest was mingled with important family ties[58] and gives evidence of how much the city was still built through marriage and social (not only economic) strategies.[59]

On 3 June 1758 this network became clear through a pact between the provost of guilds and municipal magistrate and the legal representative of M. le Larechal duke of Belle-Isle, aimed at an exchange of real property.[60] This exchange allowed all the families interested in the area from the beginning to gain not only the western side of the square, but also two opportunities of overlooking the rue Royale. Moreover, the agreement was also interesting because it allows us to consider how the king's will was carried out and to what extent we can talk of the Place Louis XV as an urban plan.

The owners undertook to refund the cost of construction of the facades to the municipality, while the municipality agreed to pay an indemnity for easements connected with the arcades or with the observance of architectonic forms. In addition, the king and the municipality bound all possible transformations to the observance of the aesthetic program for the façades. Such a program, as we have seen, was formed through the images of those architects who were linked to those families destined to reap the largest profit from the development.

It is in connection with this agreement that the final project became operative[61]: only one street was chosen corresponding to the axis of the statue.[62]

Shifting from the project to the work, we can point out the limitations of an urban plan aimed essentially at framing much more tangled strategies, even from the formal point of view. Royal intentions concern the linking between the palace of the Tuileries and two large avenues (de la Reine and Champs Élysées) preserving a layout derived from Le Nôtre.[63] Main concerns were focused on visual perspectives, on linkages between the royal palace and nature and, even more, on the setting for the king's equestrian statue.[64] It almost seems that the king was not interested in the square as a public space, destined to celebrate the symbolic representation of his kingdom.

Even when Ange-Jacques Gabriel would be entrusted with joining together all the "different advantages that one could desire to find within the same plan,"[65] most decisions seemed to grow out of complex proceedings more than of the royal interest in a definite aesthetic program. On the other hand, morphologic elements seem to have little importance in the determination of what to build.

As the story unfolds, Place Louis XV becomes a much more intricate and contradictory project, in comparison with its ratified success.[66] Most drawings for the first and the second competition (those by Servandoni, Mansart de

Lévy, and Gabriel) are evidence of a work still kept within a tradition regarded as national. Above all, the whole symbolic program (the moats, the turrets, the pavillions and particularly their decorations) points out many sources strengthening, more than renewing, the iconology of the royal square in France.[67]

Some questions, such as the linking between the palace and open spaces or the perspectival view toward a residual space in urban growth, suggest an idea of the city realized through architecture (even if important) more than through urban plans. This may be the reason why some architects from the academy did not take part in the second competition, while others, such as Blondel, did not fulfill the program proposed by the court.[68]

Looking at the square only as an architectural project, it does not appear novel in comparison with others, planned or realized in the provinces, such as in Bordeaux.[69] Its success seemed to be due to the importance it gained during the revolution and Empire more than to architectonic and morphologic choices.

On the contrary, the square discloses its secrets and becomes significant to the historian because of the network of patrimonial, familial, and symbolic strategies. The different role mobilities, negotiations, and exploitations of images (marking all architecture from the second half of the eighteenth century, not only in France[70]) almost create a metaphor of the many transformations occurring in capital cities, in the middle of the eighteenth century.

The *Régie* and the Braggarts

Before reaching the decision to build the square, the king seemed to be about to give up the project.[71] Succeeding after the death of Turnehem, Marigny tried to reaffirm the unsuitability of the area for a royal square claiming it would disturb "the almost perfect harmony of the place." He also made reference to Gabriel[72] and went so far as to find fault with Lassurance's project, his sister's architect.[73] So the choice of Gabriel was made through a device: the royal architect asked that the placement of the statue and the solidity of its foundations be tested.[74]

A historian gets various impressions after examining these documents. Reasons given by building promoters mingle with family and patrimonial strategies but do not succeed in convincing the king; any symbolic program, given by the king, does not include a rearrangement of this part of Paris; finally Gabriel faced with great caution all the relationships between the architects and the families, and also the roles played by academicians.

The evolution of Gabriel's project is sketchy, but it cannot be read only as the maturation of formal or patrimonial choices. His project for the 1753 competition[75] seems to be more innovative from a formal point of view,[76] but its final layout is not only linked up with acknowledgment of the actors who could turn those rough drafts into architecture.

The plans we still have, until the final one,[77] include new public buildings in an urban project: the mint, whose design already in this area, was assigned to Antoine,[78] and the barracks for the royal musketeers. Together with the economic interests shown by some families, a new function for the city will make possible a seemingly symbolic program.

Soufflot took part in the completion of the square through a stratagem: he joined the office for Place Louis XV, succeeding Isle in the government of the municipality of Paris in late 1755.[79] But whereas Isle's position in the project seemed to have been subordinate, Soufflot played the part of director as he shifted from drawings to stones.[80]

Because the square looked like an assemblage of different architecture and plans, the supervision of the work was not assigned to one person only. Many entrepreneurs seemed to have been involved.[81] The cast of characters, their variety, and roles made for an exchange between a collective making of the symbolic value of the square that was bound to influence the form modern cities would take, and not only in France.[82]

The lack of copyright for architecture and architecture abiding by the rules of the academy; the network of familial or symbolical strategies, officials, aristocrats, and architects; the variety of roles played by the leading actors or by entrepreneurs; the building of new urban forms through a process of economic strengthening and of functional rearrangement of the city; all these elements were not exceptional in Paris or London during the second half of the eighteenth century.[83]

In Paris, the Halle au Blé was built because many demands were directed toward the project: the need for new symbolic hierarchies in the city, the connections between architects and promoters, and the exchange of roles between planners and entrepreneurs.[84] The civic architecture of Ledoux was both a proposal for a new social imagery and a form of economic strengthening, but it also represented an exchange of roles between patron and architect[85] and between paper city and stone city. In addition, Brogniart in the Porcherons quarter,[86] Delafosse[87] in the faubourg de la Poissonière,[88] and Ledoux in rue des Petites Ecuries[89] represent at their best other variants of the abovementioned values. There are a large number of examples: the possible combinations between symbolic strategies, economic, and social choices, and the roles and functions of different actors in the new urban scene seemed to be almost endless.[90]

It would be inadequate to study such complex projects only by means of history, either of the architecture, of the project, of the intellectual work, of the symbolic machinery, or of awards. This story is made up of networks, crossings, undetermined roles. The discontinuity is confirmed by the vicissitudes of the square.

The square opened while many institutions in Paris were changing. Old and new institutions were involved in this transformations: the mint, the furniture repository, the embassies, the barracks, and the royal stables[91] were part of the square at Pont Tournant. Even the contradictory vicissitudes of these institutions mark the square's space, beyond its planning.

On 7 January 1765 the area between rue Royale and rue de la Bonne-Morgue, behind the left colonnade, was expropriated to make way for the new mint.[92] In the following year work started[93] but soon broke off.[94] The new building was completed in the area owned by the prince of Conti, one of the great promoters of the 1749 competition.[95]

In 1773 the municipality, with the view of building the royal garde-meuble, exchanged the area behind the right colonnade for the area intended for the first site of the mint and the area behind the other façade, with the idea or intention of building the new barracks for the gray musketeers. These façades were occupied by shops and studios (particularly for sculptors), as with other "exchange" spaces, so that the municipality was compelled to regulate this occupation of space by law.[96] But this project broke off too and the lots were sold to private citizens. The architecture behind the right colonnade would not have deserved a better fate.

On 7 April 1765 Ange-Jacques Gabriel was entrusted with two projects aimed at rearranging the area behind the colonnade of the royal garde-meuble and the mansion owned by the general inspector of finances.[97] While the latter seems not to have been carried out, the former was so widely studied by Gabriel[98] that his drawings are, perhaps, the most interesting piece in the square because of the intricate questions of fittings due to the building destination. The building for the garde-meuble is one of the most lavish sources for describing the symbolic strategies both of the court and of the major families living beside it.[99]

A document dated 1775[100] will help to end the story of the Place Louis XV: the *cahier des charges et avantages*. This document is key to making out the values that land still had on the threshold of revolution and how much these values had to do with the construction of such a complex project as Place Louis XV.

The specifications essentially concerned the marketing of land. The areas bordering on the square and the rue Royale are exempted from all feudal rights, while the façades were put at a "medium price" in order to be sold to private citizens. The areas as well as the architectonic settings seem to live on the border between tradition (the royal grant) and modernity (the land reaching the market free of constraints); they help us to measure the interest of the space at Pont Tournant, even regarding the land exchange promoted in view of some great project, not only royal ones.[101] In particular, such constraints concern architecture and help us to point out both the connection between Gabriel's project and his patrons' intentions and the practices still in course of definition beyond that connection.

The decree sounds restrictive, but actually it had to face organizational practices. It tried to regulate the use of the arcades as regards destination (for public use only) and form (preventing from transformation those conditions foreseen by the project). The entire symbolic machinery was minutely determined (with regard to both the façades and the arcades). The impossibility of changing the façade layout was emphasized (by confirming old bans, such as the one forbidding balconies, balustrades and new windows). Standards for all openings, with relation to public spaces, were established.

Beyond every program, the detail implies a great number of violations; at the same time, it points out the different uses that even royal architecture undergoes and that the many projects for linking the Louvre to the Tuileries reveal.[102]

Even the social composition of the major owners of the houses overlooking the square offers a clue to the many symbolic investments. For instance, the architect Trouard (*intendant général et controleur des bâtiments du roi*) set up his house at the corner between the square and rue de la Bonne-Morgue, while Rouillé de l'Etang (*ecuyer et secrétaire du roi*) and the architect Moreau (*maitre général des bâtiments de la ville* and *inspecteur* for the square) live in the middle of the left colonnade; the countess of Coislin settled down at the corner between the square and the rue Royale.[103]

Moreau and Rouillé de l'Etang take part in the construction of rue Royale[104] together with Bouillé, Aubert, and Le Tellier. The last was one of the entrepreneurs for the square, building some houses in the rue Royale during 1781, as well as being involved in a large number of developments in Paris.

Roles for single actors are not well determined and long-lasting. The square seems to be a faithful mirror of elites living in the *ancien régime* (aristocrats, officials, courtiers, architects), but actually it throws light upon an extremely unstable society. The property on the square and on rue Royale shows how architecture played a difficult cultural role in social relationships in prerevolutionary Paris, especially when invested with symbolic value by estate owners or architects.

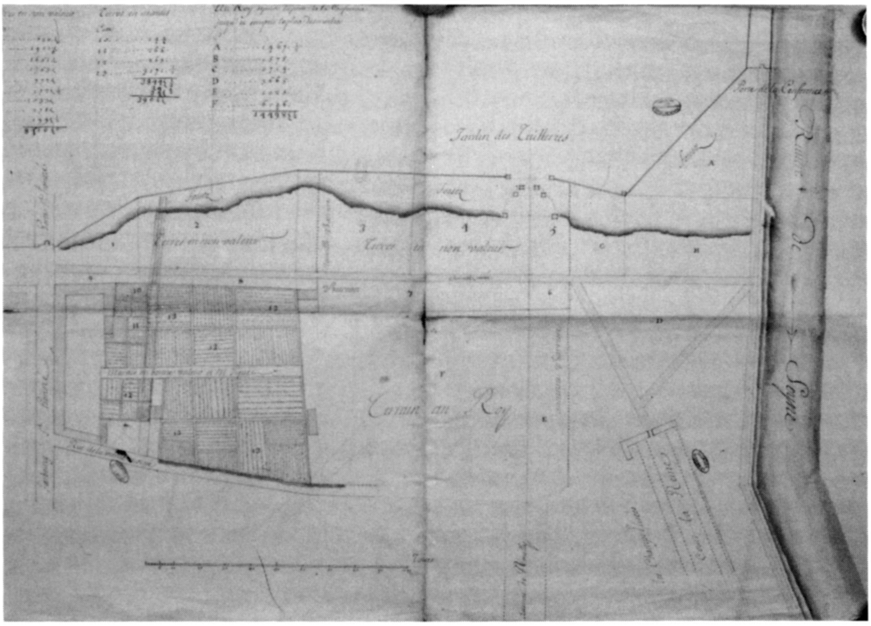
Many attempts have been made, by economic and morphologic means, to list all the real property transactions that changed the look of Paris from the early 1730s. Opening a road can be a stratagem for putting an urban plan into effect,[105] by alienating some areas, building, and then selling them back again.[106] There are two different developmental policies: the first essentially takes care of persuading a possible purchaser through the evocation of celebrated housing models,[107] while the second follows a purely virtual grid,[108] often revised during the definition of the plan.[109]

The world of development looks like an attempt at organizing such demands that are generally regarded as unfit to raise offers in an imperfect market. Place Louis XV does not go beyond this condition. These attempts throw light upon both a kind of theoretical poverty (whose clearest contemporary evidence is the absence of any drawing for the square) and the variety of roles and functions for the large number of actors playing in such a complex project as the creation of a new square in Paris.

Thus, Trouard sold his mansion on Place Louis XV even before it was completed, while De Wailly in rue de la Pepinière and Ledoux in rue des Petites Ecuries made their homes a hub for both worldly and land dealings.[110]

Rarely, the plan worries about something more complex than either parcelling out the areas, along the borders of roads, or making buildings accessible or leveling the roadbed (figures 14.1, 14.2). The entire urban project would be framed by Gabriel's architecture and colonnades, by his patrons' man-

Figure 14.1 Place Louis XV. Parcelling plan for the land around the square. (Archives Nationale, Paris, A.N. 01 1585.)



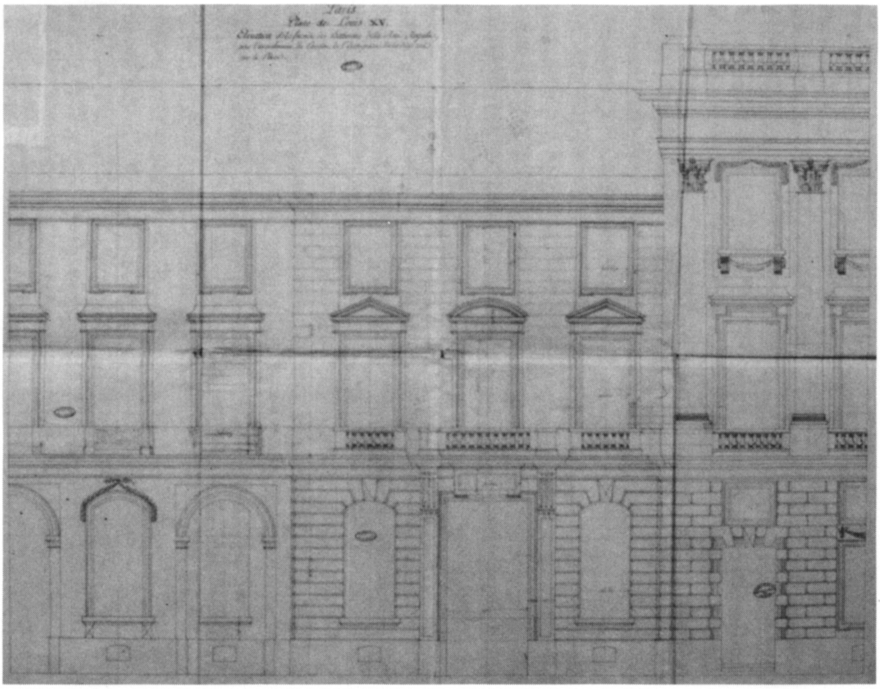


Figure 14.2 Place Louis XV. Elevation of the buildings along rue Royale. (Archives Nationale, Paris, A.N. 01 1585.)

sions,[111] by those houses belonging to architects—either planners or leading characters in this story[112]—by museums, or by barracks.[113]

A demand is organized through worldly devices,[114] playing on suggestions for a possible elite social life, but also through the performance of some new forms of urban hierarchies: a performance based upon those institutions attaining a different importance in the late absolutist state.

Trying their luck with speculations at Pont Tournant, the entrepreneur and the tax-farmer seem to be pursuing all contemporary social mythologies. They interfere by backing any possible routine aimed at making acquisition of real property easier. Together with a job in public office, this remains the fundamental tool used by notables in achieving and publicly announcing the transformation of their social status.

The square's space testifies to this transformation, through the exchange between real properties and rights or by financing the urban plan of selling unfinished buildings back. A rental or a place or a building cannot be exchanged, while a long-lasting estate or house property can be in inverse relation to the rent it yields.[115] Such a plan can be financed by loans, obtained through complex conveyances of future interests,[116] and it can be used for finding some individuals interested in turning an architectonic plan into stone.[117]

This square seems to be almost a commonplace in the history of architecture of the eighteenth century, but it can still offer interesting hints, if carefully considered.

Its conformism and absence of formal invention show many research paths, each leading either to a sort of role mobility for the largest number of leading actors on the stage; or to the strict observance of academic conventions, intended to ensure a new liberal dimension in architects' tasks; or to the tangle between patrimonial or social strategies of urban elites and the "worldly" values of the images that architects were able to put into effect, however hard-pressed by their patrons; or to works of art as the result of a process unifying many solutions, elaborated, however, by the multitude of actors that the square as a social and productive place mobilized.[118]

The square at Pont Tournant became a project of transition. It is interesting just because of a kind of incompleteness, that Rondelet's bridge will only highlight.[119]

To conclude, there is an important corollary. Place Louis XV turned out to be a false symbolic and urban program. Certainly, it did not anticipate the idea of architecture as a production of rules, aimed at regulating the city's growth or at turning a will of form into stones; moreover, it did not anticipate Mercier's or even Laugier's Paris. But its interest goes beyond anticipations and innovations.

To know really how to enter contemporaneity, with its ambiguous paths, means to know perfectly how to study conformism and copyright, patrimonial strategies and image-making (useful for investment in the market of demand organization too), and the conflicts among different actors on the urban scene, together with their ability to handle forms and rules to achieve a program. The story of the square project and its construction—almost a romance, with all its topoi—presents an almost unavoidable choice to today's historian, if only he or she intends to get out of a history that probably still seems much too fond of "fathers and myths."

Notes

This chapter was translated by Sergio Pace.

1. Archives Nationales (hereinafter AN), H2.1862 and H2.2163, drafts.

2. S. Granet, "La place de la Concorde," *La Revue géographique et industrielle de France,* 26

(1963): 8. Before her doctoral thesis at the École Pratique, Solange Granet had already written many articles on this topic: "Les monuments à Louis XV de la Place de la Concorde," *Revue de l'art,* 4 (1956): 258 ff.; "Les origines de la place de la Concorde," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* 53 (March 1959): 153 ff.; "Le livre de la verité de la place de la Concorde," *Bulletin de la société de l'histoire de l'art française,* 38 (1961): 107 ff.; "Évolution de la pensée de Gabriel pour l'élaboration du plan de la place Louis XV," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* 59 (April 1962): 233 ff.; "La place de Louis XV. Récueil des différents projets et plans proposés pour la construction d'une place publique destinée à la statue équestre du Roi," *La Vie Urbaine,* 3 (1962): 161 ff.

3. H. Lemonnier, *Procès-verbaux de l'Académie Royale d'Architecture 1671–1793,* vol. 6 (Paris: J. Schemit, 1911–29), 105–6.

4. Ibid., "en laissant à chacun la liberté du choix du lieu, de l'étendue et de la dépense."

5. All procedures at the Académie start on 1 July 1749, but nothing is decided until the following March: Marquis d'Argenson, *Journal et Mémoires,* vol. 5. (Paris: E. J. B. Rathery, 1859–1867), 330.

6. Today it is possible to identify competitors on the basis of P. Patte, *Monuments érigés en France à la gloire de Louis XV* (Paris: Rozet 1765); of the miscellany of different projects and plans (Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms.3103); of the projects kept in the Archives Nationales (AN, K.1025.list, 01.1585-268, 275–81, 324, 307, 316, 317 N.111.Seine.108, 175, 634, 703, D.240) and in Musée Carnavalet (D.8127); of the article by Docteur Vimont, "Les projets des places royales, antérieure à la place Louis XV au milieu du XVIIIe siècle," *Bulletin municipal officiel de la ville de Paris,* 18 March 1938. There are more than 150, some of them participating in more than one project, such as Boffrand, Chevotet, de Estrade, Mansart de Levy, d'Orbay, Potain, and Rousset. Locations are partially arranged in the manuscript at the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal and afterward almost completely listed in Granet, "La place de la Concorde," 125 ff.

7. Almost all projects provide buildings of relevant public interest around the square, such as the hôtel de ville, the monnaie, the secrétariat d'etat, the opéra; see below.

8. L. Hautecœur, *Histoire de l'architecture classique en France,* vol. 3 (Paris: A. Picard, 1950), 101.

9. J. M. Bruson, "Les places royales," in *De la place Louis XV à la place de la Concorde* (Alençon: Imprimerie Alençonnaise, 1982), 17.

10. De Laôn was Directeur des aides, Cardon was Ingénieur capitaine in the militia and Charton was Inspecteur of the house guards: they were all competitors in 1749.

11. L. Hautecœur, "La place de la Concorde," *Journal des savants,* 1963–64, 231.

12. S. Granet, "La place de la Concorde," 13–17.

13. Voltaire, "Des embellissement de Paris," *Œvres complètes,* vol. 29 (1784), 164–5; Abbé Laugier, *Essai sur l'architecture* (Paris: Duchesne, 1755), 167.

14. P. Lavedan, "Les places royales françaises," in *L'Urbanisme à l'époque moderne* (Geneva: Droz, 1982), 115.

15. AN, H2.2163. Among all projects, only Lassurance's and three anonymous projects concern the location later chosen.

16. To be precise: rue Dauphine, place Dauphine, rue de la Ferronière, and rue du Roule.

17. On 18 January 1753, during an extraordinary session, Vandières, later duke of Marigny, informed the Académie of the king's will and fixed the new deadline by Easter: H. Lemonnier, *Procès-verbaux de l'Académie,* vol. 4, 191.

18. These projects are described in M. de Vandières' report (AN, 01.1585). For instance, once again Blondel regards the competition as an opportunity for planning the new urban growth, west of the Champs Élysées.

19. AN, 01.1585, n. 253 and 290.

20. P. Patte, *Monuments,* 121.

21. AN, album 58, bâtiments civils, récueil Gabriel. The complete plan is also in AN, H2.2163, K.1057, H2.2173.1, and 2161.1.

22. Gabriel's plan is in AN, 01.1585, n. 249; for a comparison with Boffrand's, see Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS.4041, portfolio Bauchamont, 116.

23. Jean-Charles Garnier d'Isle will be charged with the supervision of the works, but Contant will help him a great deal: AN, 01.1055.

24. AN, H2.2163, Délibérations de la ville, 21 April 1750. The marquis of Argenson will take this theme up: d'Argenson, *Journal,* 191.

25. The discussion will be taken up on 9 January, on 10 July, and on 9 August 1747 and on 5 August 1748: cf. *Procès-verbaux de l'Académie,* passim. Such a long and detailed discussion testifies to how important this question became to academicians, destined to become one of the first boundaries between scholars and non-scholars.

26. *Procès-verbaux de l'Académie.*

27. AN, album 58, bâtiments civils, récueil Gabriel. But see other noted projects, too.

28. M. Gallet, "Les Gabriel et la ville classique," *Les Cahiers de l'académie d'architectur,* 4 (1983): 77.

29. C. Olmo, "Un'élite tra professionalità e liberalità," in *Alle radici dell'architettura contemporanea,* eds. R. Gabetti and C. Olmo (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1989): 177 ff.

30. *Procès-verbaux de l'Académie,* 7 December 1744.

31. D. Roche, *Le siècle des Lumières en province. Académies et académiciens provinciaux (1660–1789),* vol. 1 (Paris: Editions de l'École des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 1989), 29.

32. C. Olmo, "I molti cantieri dell'architetto," in *Alle radici dell'architettura,* op. cit., 162.

33. AN, Académie d'architecture, 1756, 01.1930.1 and *Procès-verbaux de l'Académie,* 29 November 1762. On Blondel, see R. Middleton, "J. F. Blondel and the Cours d'Architecture," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain,* 3 (1959): 140 ff.

34. W. Oechslin, "In Search of the 'True Style.' The Rigorists. Distinctions between 'Right' and 'Wrong,'" *Daidalos,* 8 (1983): 22.

35. C. Olmo, "Un'élite tra professionalità e liberalità," 177.

36. The plan for his cours d'architecture elementaire et de théorie was presented at the Louvre on 15 November 1762: *Procès-verbaux de l'Académie,* 29 November 1762.

37. *Procès-verbaux de l'Académie,* 29 July 1765.

38. In this regard, the definitive reference remains F. Venturi, *Le origini dell'Enciclopedia, il capolavoro dell'Illuminismo,* (Rome: Edizioni U, 1946; reprint, Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1963 and 1977).

39. C. Olmo, "Una mobilità non sempre attesa," in *Alle radici dell'architettura,* op. cit., 42.

40. Musée Carnavalet, Dessins d'architecture, D.6163 and D.6414; AN, Versament de l'architecture, 58, 46. The third floor is the only detail where Gabriel's autonomous research seems to be expressed.

41. AN, H2.1862 and H2.2163.

42. *Procès-verbaux de l'Académie,* 27 June 1748.

43. S. Granet, "La place de la Concorde," 10–11.

44. J. Ducros, *La place de Louis XV,* 254. We owe to Ducros some valuable ideas for this "second interpretation."

45. A conflict also perceived by contemporaries: d'Argenson, *Journal,* vol. 5, 407.

46. Ibid., 407.

47. J. Ducros, *La place de Louis XV,* 254.

48. AN, album 58, plan 7.

49. AN, 01.1585, pièce 307.

50. J. Ducros, "Le projet de Jean Lassurance," in *La place de Louis XV,* 255.

51. This project is in the manuscript at the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal.

52. On this manuscript (Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms.3103), see S. Granet, "La place de la Concorde."

53. For what concerns contemporary Paris, see *Germain Boffrand 1667–1754: L'aventure d'un architect indépendant,* ed. by M. Gallet and J. Garms (Paris: Herscher, 1986).

54. C. Olmo, "La reconstruction de via Dora Grossa à Turin au XVIIIe siècle," *Annales,* 3 (1991): 651 ff., reprinted in C. Olmo, *La nuvola di Patte. Quattro lezioni di storia urbana* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 1995), 71 ff.

55. C. Olmo, "La città negoziata," in *Alle radici dell'architettura,* op. cit., 3.

56. It is not by chance that final purposes are arranged only after a large number of other hypotheses: J. M. Bruson, "De Louis XV à Louis-Philippe, projets et réalisations," in *De la place Louis XV a la Place Concorde* (Alençon: Imprimerie Alençonnaise, 1987), 35 ff.

57. Their success is not only due to their ownership (*Procès-verbaux de l'Académie,* 15 March 1756) but particularly to their circulation among the architects now working in Paris and on the square, such as Boffrand, Servandoni, and Aubry (their real owner).

58. J. Ducros, *La place de Louis XV,* 263.

59. L. Stone and J. C. Fawtier Stone, *An Open Elite? England 1540–1880* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 21–24.

60. AN, MC.C.638.

61. AN, H2.1944.2, 20 April 1758.

62. The king gave his areas to the city on 21 June 1757: AN, 01.1585, n. 307, Lettres patentes pour la place de la Statue Equestre du Roi. The plan, with some notes about necessary passings of titles, is dated 20 April 1758: AN, H2.1944.2.

63. His project was submitted to Bernini: "Bernini, Journal du Voyage de Cavalier Bernini en France," ed. L. Lalande, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts,* 28 (1883): 167.

64. AN, 01.1585, rapport de M. de Vandières.

65. P. Patte, *Monuments,* 121.

66. S. Granet, "La place de la Concorde," 39.

67. One of the first interpretations of the buildings, more than of the entire symbolic program, is by S. Granet, "La place de la Concorde," 6 ff.

68. Some architects gave up: Cartaud, Camus, Beausire (father and son), two de l'Epées and, moreover, de l'Isle and de Cotte.

69. P. Lavedan, *L'urbanisme,* 129. In Bordeaux, the project was by Gabriel, but Robert de Cotte was also involved. He gave up the second competition for place Louis XV and his project should be examined regarding his final choices in Paris.

70. C. Olmo, "Uno spazio per costruire, uno spazio per resistere," in *Alle radici dell'architettura,* op. cit., 52.

71. D'Argenson, *Journal,* vol. 6, 27.

72. AN, 01.1585.255.

73. D'Argenson, *Journal,* vol. 6, 28.

74. AN, 01.1585.275.

75. *Premier projet approuvé par Louis XV le 20 juillet 1753,* drawing by Ange-Jacques Gabriel: AN, 01.1585.249.

76. J. Ducros, *La place de Louis XV,* 309.

77. J. M. Bruson, "La genèse de la place," in *De la place Louis XV,* 34 ff.

78. Bibliothèque de la Monnaie, MS, folio 37.

79. AN, 01.1055.

80. Some of his contemporaries noted it as well: d'Argenson, *Journal,* vol. 8, 442.

81. Lambot, La Perrière, and le Tellier are replaced by Le Tellier and Laubard in 1757: AN, H.2164.

82. C. Olmo, "I protagonisti della negoziazione," in *Alle radici dell'architettura,* op. cit., 7.

83. As regards Great Britain, see J. Summerson, *Georgian London,* (London: Pleiades Books, 1945); S. J. Price, *Building Societies. Their Origin and History* (London: Franey, 1958); C. W. Chalklin, "Urban Estates in Eighteenth Century," *Urban Studies,* 5 (1968): 81 ff.; idem., *The Provincial Towns* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1974); D. Cannadine, *Lords and Landlords. The Aristocracy and the Towns 1774–1967* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1980); P. Clark, ed. *Country Towns in Preindustrial England* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1981); C. Olmo, "La costruzione della città e dei suoi valori," in *Alle radici dell'architettura,* op. cit., 3 ff.

84. M. Deming, *La Halle au Blé de Paris 1762–1813* (Brussels: Archives d'Architecture Moderne, 1984).

85. M. Gallet, *Claude-Nicolas Ledoux* (Paris: Picard, 1980), 206.

86. N. Mousnier, "Le quartier des Porcherons (1720–1789). Description du processus d'urbanisation d'un faubourg de Paris," thesis, l'École des Chartres, 1978.

87. He is well known for a key work, indispensable to understanding how a builder's architectural imagination was formed in Paris during those years: J. C. Delafosse, *Nouvelle Iconologie historique* (Paris: Chez l'auteur, 1768).

88. AN, ZIJ.1008.

89. AN, ZIJ.949.

90. It remains important. See M. Gallet, *Demeures parisiennes. L'époque de Louis XVI* (Paris: Le Temps, 1964); but see also P. Pinon, "Lotissement spéculatifs, formes urbaines et architectes à la fin de l'ancien régime," in *Soufflot et l'architecture des lumières* (Paris: C.N.R.S., 1980), 180 ff.

91. AN, 01.1592.

92. AN, H2.1871.

93. AN, Bibliothèque de la Monnaie, MS, folio 37.

94. AN, E.2438.

95. P. Lavedan, "Le IIè centennaire de la place de la Concorde," *La view urbaine* (July/September, 1956): 161.

96. AN, H2.1875.

97. AN, 01.1592.

98. AN, 01.1593.

99. AN, 01.1593; 01.3635; 01.3647; 02.489 (état des lieux).

100. AN, Q1.1138.

101. C. Olmo, "Uno scambio communque imperfetto," in *Alle radici dell'architettura,* op. cit., 52.

102. An analysis of such a large number of competitions has never been attempted. There are too many archival documents, as well as players, from traditional ones, such as religious orders and patrician landlords, to officers and merchants representing the new bourgeoisie, to small craftsmen, living on the court's luxury economy. Research into the intricate relations between the king's residence and his economy, the architects, the Académie, and the large number of actors should be carried out.

103. AN, 01.1585; H2.1876; Q1.1138–39; Q1.144–45.

104. The story of the rue Royal is described by J. Vacquier, *Le faubourg Saint-Honoré,* in the series *Les vieux hôtels de Paris,* vol. 2 (Paris: F. Contet, 1911–24), 6 ff.

105. That is the case with the rue Royale: J. Vacquier, "Le faubourg Saint-Honoré," 45.

106. That is the case with the Maison Saint-Lazare and of the Couvent des Filles-Dieu in Saint-Denis: AN, S.4704, B.4712–13.

107. This model often implies the architecture's publication as a cornerstone for the entire development. That is the case with Germain Boffrand with his hôtel for Michel Amelot de Gournay (AN, Minutier, L-254), in G. Boffrand, *Livre d'architecture,* (Paris: Chez Guilliaume Cavelier, 1745), plates xxvii–xxx.

108. For instance, at the beginning of 1780s Belanger proposed a series of plans with highly evocative names: the plan de la Nouvelle Amerique, the plan Franklin, the nouveau plan de la ville des Adelphes.

109. B. Rochebouet, "Les hôtel particuliers: spéculations et caractères formelles," in *Alexandre-Théodore Brongniart,* eds. M. Mosser and B. Rochebouet (Paris: Les Musées de la ville de Paris, 1987), 27.

110. During May 1777, C. de Wailly bought a large area along rue de la Pepinière, where he built his house, well-known today because of its reproduction in J. Ch. Krafft and P. N. Ransonette, *Plans, coupes et élevations des plus belles maisons à Paris et dans ses environs* (Paris: privately published, 1802), 167–169. As regards Ledoux, see M. Gallet, *Les demeures parisiennes,* 84, though the analysis should be expanded to include other developments carried out by architects not so revolutionary. For instance, see the building at Quai d'Orsay for the Marquis de Saisseval, where he proposed an exchange between a sort of Renaissance imagery and new forms of urban residence.

111. Aside from others, already noted in place Louis XV and its neighborhood. Philippeau, count of Saint-Florentin, owned a mansion designed by Chalgrin: AN, H2.2161.J-2, K.1057, H2.2180, H2.1876, H2.2162.

112. For place Louis XV, that is the case with Moreau, and also with Brongniart at the Invalides (AN, S.2.852) and with de Wailly in rue de la Pepinière, as already noted.

113. The museum of the garde-meubles, but also the Halle au Blé, by Le Camus de Mézières and Le Tellier as well: M. Deming, *La Halle au Blé,* 199.

114. In Place Louis XV, the most interesting tracks to follow are the participation of so many people from the court, and also the rules that regulated social life in the square, before its definitive construction.

115. In the square, that was Trouard's case, and Brongniart's too: Plans de terrains acquis par Brongniart en 1777 . . . rue Monsieur nouvellement ouverte et percée, AN, S.2855. The development was carried out together with the marquis of Montesquiou.

116. Through two deeds, on 25 March 1766, the provost of the guilds bought the west court for the king, who passed it on to the city on 17 February 1773; its adjudication was on 4 March 1775, through the king's decree: AN, 01.1585–299.

117. AN, 1585–355, 56.

118. Such an iconography begins with the square. As an example, see *La place Louis XV en construction, vue du jardin de l'hôtel de Resnel, vers 1760,* Musée Carnavalet, Inv.P.2137; *Vue de la place neuve de Louis XV le bien-aimé,* sketch by Jean-Michel Moreau, known as Moreau le Jeune, n.d., ibid., D.6112; *Place de Louis XV dédié au roi par son trés obéissant serviteur. Le Rouge, Ingénieur géographe de sa majesté,* engraving by Le Rouge, 1763; ibid., Topo.GC.XXXII; *Développement des grands Bâtimens,* engraving by Loyer, 1765, ibid., Topo.PC.127.A; *La place Louis XV vers 1779,* by Alexandre-Jean Noel, oil on canvas, ibid., P.1206. Otherwise, holidays would bring new interpretations to such an iconography. As examples, see *Vue perspective des fêtes, jeux et feux d'artificies sur l'eau, entre la place de Louis XV le bien aimé et le palais de Bourbon à l'occasion de la paix,* dateless etching, Musée Carnavalet, Réserve.G; *Jeu d'artifice tiré à la place de Louis XV. Le 30 Mai 1770 à l'occasion du mariage de Louis-Auguste Dauphin de France* . . . , Réserve.G; *Illuminations place Louis XV en 1782,* painting by Claude-Louis Chatelet, ibid., P.1749. The great revolutionary feasts, corteges, and funerals would modify this iconography once again, even in the architects' perception. As an example, see *Vue perspective de la place Louis XV et des 4 colonnades* . . . , etching by Bernard Poyet, ibid., Topo.GC.33.A.

119. The story of the bridge construction (already provided by both the prince of Conti and the many architects in the 1749 competition), as well as Perronet's first project (14 September 1776: Bibliothèque des Ponts et Chaussée, Ms.2203), his second (1781: ibid., Ms.2597, and AN, H2.2029), and his final one, commissioned by the city (1787: ibid., MS.1739, 2152, 2569, 1699, 2790, 2131, and AN, H2.2029) all become a story within the story, which should be mingled with the story described here. Unfortunately, the brevity of this chapter does not allow it.

V TEACHING ARCHITECTURE

15

ARCHITECTURE, ETHICS, AND THE PERSON

Royston Landau

In this chapter, I am concerned with the question, Does ethics have a bearing upon architecture, and if so, in what way?

Architecture in general, and twentieth-century architecture in particular, have passed through phases in which the embodiment of an ethic has been both claimed and disclaimed, but what precisely this means and just how, if such an ethic exists, it might be perceived, appears to be curiously unexplained. In response to this, I have taken as my task to look at ways in which such an inquiry might be approached.

Architecture and ethics are not disciplines of equivalence. While architecture has, as its main concern, the production of a formal end product, ethics is a discursive activity concerned with the nature of moral issues. Architecture, then, is about making, it is about the production and existence of buildings and built environments, while ethics, in its explicit form, is a philosophical agenda of questions concerned with the nature and practice of the moral. This is an area which, since antiquity, has been continuously defined, contested, and redefined, and which, at present, remains under active debate.[1] My task, then, is to address these two areas, and if and when they do connect, consider in what ways the ethical may relate to the architectural.

What is the Ethical? The Ethical Person in Changing Contexts

What constitutes the ethical? Such a concept, in order to function, requires the existence of an individual plus at least one other, or, as is more common, many others, as may be found in a group, a community, or a society. Within such a "community," the ethical will be about human judgments concerning what is "right" or "wrong," what is "good" or "bad," with reference to the "other," but always within a framework of choice. The field we now call philosophy has been largely responsible for articulating such issues and philosophers have approached ethics from two main standpoints, the first questioning its meaning and inquiring into its basis and its justification, the second, as an advocacy, promoting prescribed models of ethical systems, as can be found in the invention of utopias. Most ethical philosophy could be classified within these two classes, and many philosophers of ethics would contribute to both.

How does the individual come to adopt or assume an ethic? I suggest that the ethical is something that is made, that is to say, it is a construct[2] and one that has been, throughout history, at the center of religious, intellectual, political, and social life. The ethical, then, is taken on by individuals in a community, but it also comes to be imposed by that community upon its members. But to understand how this operates it is necessary to acknowledge that such impositions and acceptances involve different sorts of social and political relationships of "power"[3] and such relationships may be described by the concept of a particular "culture of ethical practice." Given a specific culture then, how might an ethical agenda, that is, what is right and what is wrong, be decided?

The story of "rightness" in Western history might begin with the Old Testament demands for obedience to the rightness of God.[4] In the Old Testament, such law-abidingness as there appears to have been would represent the response to a strongly decreed view, coming from the lawgivers and constituting an ethic imposed from above that expected obedience to the rules laid down by the Ten Commandments coming from God. This, as described in the Bible, amounts to an uncomplicated one-way ethic, and from it the idea of the ethical begins to emerge.

In classical Greece and particularly in the writings of Plato and Aristotle, new sets of ethical definitions and new social agendas are proposed, so that, for example, in his *Nicomachean Ethics* and in his *Politics,* Aristotle moved from a treatise upon what he conceived of as the ethically correct rules for human conduct, to a complementary text on the way in which ethical correctness should be embodied in a society, the two texts together amounting to what Aristotle called the "philosophy of human affairs."[5] This constitutes an early attempt at promoting an authoritative explanatory, but also prescriptive, ethic. But the new classical philosopher's ethic, when compared with the preceding call for religious obedience, would possess only limited authority, for it would now be open for consideration, for discussion, and for rational criticism to only a small literate elite, while the wider population would remain uninvolved. But this, still, would represent a significant change. A new ethic had been legitimated in which questioning now superseded obedience.

But it was not until the Enlightenment that the ethical philosophical enterprise turned itself into something that was, arguably, different, and this was a universally abstract construct, whose aim was to seek out a justificatory ethical program, true for all times and all places, with the ultimate goal being to create an "idealist" ethic that depended on neither time nor place and that individualized none but captured all.

Put briefly, then, it was the fundamental commitment to an abstract "personless" universality that ultimately brought about the demise of Enlightenment thought and the beginnings of a new way of thinking, this time concerned with the legitimacy of "difference," with problems of the individual condition, and particularly with the issue of individual freedom.[6] This marks the beginning of a new "realism" as opposed to an "idealism" and this emergence of Romanticism is poignantly expressed in Rousseau's famous epigram, "Man is born free and everywhere he is in chains."[7]

Over this period, the culture of ethical practice shifted from the biblical with its obedient community, to the ancients with their critical philosophies of correctness and of the well-run society, to the Enlightenment whose proposals were seen as idealist universals, to be eventually criticized for their remoteness from reality, and then to the romantics with their "realist" views on the importance of differentiation and the individual.

Out of Romanticism, then, we can begin to identify at the start of the nineteenth century some of the features that came to be assigned to the Modernist ethic.

Modernism as an Ethic

Modernism is the philosophy of the new free individual. It is about the new "now"[8] person, a person liberated from the constrictions and burdens of societies and of cultures that oppress. The nineteenth century, which opened at the completion of two great revolutions that marked an important step in the breakdown of hierarchical societies and inherited privileges, began to confront a new technological, fiercely profit-oriented, industrialist-dominated society, one that would be unconcerned about human exploitation and, more than ever before, willing to impose an industrial slavery in the workplace, creating a situation that would strongly provoke modernist thinking.

Modernism, then, would be posited on the new and the free, and on casting off the shackles, but how might it expect to accomplish this? Modernism's answer was: through rationality and reason. Rational argument would provide the tool with which to expose and to eventually unburden prejudices built up over history, and after this clearing out had been achieved, only then would it be possible to realize new attitudes, new productions in the arts, new social configurations and, most important of all, new sorts of people. Modernism, then, started as an ethical practice opposed to the cultural imposition of correctness coming from "above" and became a political debate for freedom acclaimed from "below" and all in the name of a new free individual.

But the enterprise of Modernism itself had, from its inception, problems within it. Hegel, whose advocacy was always the importance but never the rejection of history, pointed out[9] that if form, that is, human form, was content-free, that is to say, dehistoricized, then the human is only an empty shell, having nothing to be free about, thus suggesting that Modernism's claim for starting again and rejecting history, if at all possible, could only lead to emptiness. A confirmation of this may be found in the life of Baudelaire, who, as a proto-Modernist, rejected all academies and orthodoxies. Baudelaire claimed that modern existence allows no heroes except the dandy and the criminal.[10] For him, the prerevolutionary aristocratic society had already been supplanted by a new mix of people, who, by the then-current standards, were seen as an outrageous new mix. Such a mix consisted of individuals who were socially less than integrated, arrogantly autonomous, but living lives fraught with agony and alienation.[11]

Modernism, then, as a growing agenda, came to have new pragmatic problems built into it, an important class of which was identified by Max Weber when he described how Western cultures, having freed themselves from autocratic rulers, were now coming under the control of new, more anonymous forms of control, those of bureaucracies, whose task it is to treat communities equivalently in the name of administrative efficiency[12] while, in so doing, restricting freedom in the name of equality.

So the ethical, as I would depict it, is far from being a context-free set of autonomous judgments of correctness.[13] It will always be, I claim, under the influence of a wider ambience, an ambience that will usually contain codes of correctness, such that the relationship of the person to that ambience and to such codes will always need to be considered. If that ambience may be that of the Modernist, the clearing away of the cultural load and the concern for unburdening and freedom will always play a dominating role.

Modernism and Architecture

An architecture of Modernism, conceived as an agenda which could promote the *new free person,* began, according to Nikolaus Pevsner's *Pioneers of the Modern Movement,*[14] with William Morris. Morris, as an intellectual and political figure, whose activities included those of artist, craftsman, poet, merchant, printer, and writer, was the promoter of a new liberated social condition in which architecture was seen as expressing such a condition. But, for Morris, how did this work?

Morris's sole built example of this philosophy is his Red House at Bexley Heath, constructed in 1859 for himself in the early stages of his career and designed largely by his friend, the architect Philip Webb, with whom, in 1856, he had worked in the office of architect G. E. Street. The Red House was so called after its red tile pitched roof and its exposed red brick walls, but, it might be noted, at this time the use of exposed brickwork was seen as a sign of a crude or impoverished building. The elite faced their buildings with the then-fashionable stucco, as favored by John Nash. The Red House, then, came to symbolize the use of brickwork, and with it, the craftsman "bricklayer" who constructed it, and this marked one of the starting points for the new Arts and Crafts way of building and thinking about architecture.

Morris played a major part in advancing an Arts and Crafts belief that the mode of a building's construction could and should be read in terms of its "correctness," so that a building built by skilled craftsmen, who were stimulated by the act of making it, and whose production, in turn, delighted others who used it or experienced it, created a "correct" building. This, then, for Morris, constituted the moral way to build.

A similar idea had earlier been advocated by John Ruskin in his *Stones of Venice.*[15] Ruskin had been strongly critical of the inhuman, industrial working conditions of the early nineteenth century, which, he claimed, had been responsible for repetitious, mechanistic, and ugly products being produced in conditions of misery for the workers. These arguments had a profound effect upon the young William Morris, who would come to follow Ruskin in promoting a new socially aware production.

So a new Arts and Crafts architecture, then, emerged around the crafting tradition, which still survived in English village vernacular architecture. This vernacular architecture was formally craftsman traditional. It was "historicist," although to be historicist could be equated with being reactionary, yet it was a product of the response to the Modern emerging philosophy of the new free person and it marked the beginnings of a series of conflicting interpretations of the meaning of Modern in the built world.

A generation after Morris, an urban view of the Modernist ethic was proposed by Patrick Geddes. Geddes, a professor of botany at Dundee University and a founding father of the planning discipline, was responsible for one of the first examples of a comprehensive town planning report, for Dunfermline, Scotland (1904). It was sponsored by the Carnegie Dunfermline Trust[16] and its funding came from a personal gift made by Andrew Carnegie, for Dunfermline, his home town. For Geddes, the Dunfermline report was not just a source of information for city decision-makers, it was also a means to engage the local population in the workings of their own town on such themes as recreation, habitational conditions, institutional provisions, and, above all, ideas and ideals.

Geddes, like Ruskin and Morris before him, saw the built world within a Modernist ethical framework, but unlike his predecessors he did not see the industrial and the technological as evils to be avoided. On the contrary, the urban and the industrial were at the center of his concerns and in his book *Cities in Evolution*[17] he focused specifically upon the industrial, distinguishing between the "inhuman" industrial city, as it existed, to which he gave the name the *paleotechnic* city, and a new industrial city, no longer with a servile population victimized by industry, but now inhabited by a new Modernist free community, a community of equality and organized on a basis of cooperation, to which Geddes gave the name the *neotechnic* city.[18]

But the Geddes perspective was not confined to the city. For him, complex relationships had to be acknowledged between communities and activities, between activities and locations, and between locations and densities, so that with his much-discussed "valley section"[19] he proposed (within a valley) a series of different occupations and intensities of use that would be appropriate for a typical "valley" profile of land, a concept which, fifty years later, would be borrowed for the Doorn Manifesto[20] and become a major criticism against the authority of CIAM (Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne) and against the Le Corbusier nonperson, nonmoral stand.

These early architectural Modernists, then, took as their central concern the furthering and promoting of a new Modernist free person, whether such freedom applied, as with Ruskin or Morris, to those who were making the buildings, or, as with Geddes, to an ethically just community within a physically correct environment. But following from this generation of modernists, the place occupied by the ethical turned into something more complex and sometimes more compromised.

Hermann Muthesius, who had been German cultural attaché in London in 1896, and who published in 1902 a study on English architecture and design called *Das englische Haus*[21] played a principal part in introducing the English Arts and Crafts movement to Germany. In 1907, Multhesius became, along with Friedrich Naumann and Henri van de Velde, one of the founders of the new Deutscher Werkbund.[22] The Werkbund was concerned with the notion of Arts and Crafts activity, but during this period industry and industrial competitiveness were high on the political agenda of the German nation and an architectural-industrial connection soon appeared as a Werkbund concern.

At the 1914 Werkbund congress in Cologne, the now-celebrated debate on the direction in which the Werkbund should be going took place between Muthesius, who was now appealing to promote and to develop an architecture based on industrial standardization, and Henri van de Velde, who vehemently opposed this, claiming that the creative artist must, above all else, be the possessor of the right to uninhibited individual expression.

But Muthesius's apparent move from an ethical Arts and Crafts to a new technological determinism raises a question that still remains unclear, which is whether or not this shift, if in fact it was a shift, represented the abandonment of an ethical project.

Such a question can help our ethical inquiry by encouraging us to look more closely at the connections between production and form and between form and the reception of that form, and empirical evidence tells us that while form can be produced using "ethically correct" procedures (e.g., Morris) or "instructed" through an ethical program (e.g., Geddes), this does not mean that a "production theory" will then be embodied in the produced object such that the content of that theory could then be passed on or read by receivers or perceivers of that object. This misunderstanding has played a big role in architectural history and there is much evidence, from the failure of architectural semiotic theory,[23] to the restricted interpretations of Modern architecture by Hitchcock and Johnson in the highly influential 1932 Museum of Modern Art exhibition in New York,[24] to suggest that readings of forms can be, and very often are, quite distant from the formal intentions (or production theories) of the makers. So any belief that Muthesius or the Werkbund should, in the act of "reading" Arts and Crafts architecture, be expected to necessarily "read into it" an Arts and Crafts morality does not follow, and the history of Muthesius suggests[25] that he had other ideas on his agenda.

Taking part in the 1914 Werkbund congress was the young Walter Gropius, who, along with Bruno Taut, strongly sided with van de Velde, but in 1919 Gropius, in his new role as head of the Bauhaus at Weimar, found himself responsible for a new institution in which this same debate would appear. During the early Gropius Bauhaus days, Johannes Itten was a powerful force in favor of the enterprise of the creative free individual, whereas in the later period Hannes Meyer,[26] the successor to Gropius as head of the Bauhaus, now located at Dessau, taught students that architectural design was not a free action at all, but one determined by social, psychological, technological, and above all, political factors. Such a belief in design action as being void of choice and the product of a bigger determinacy, would itself, as a theory, have the effect of shifting the discourse of Modern architecture away from the ethically free person toward the concept of the designer as a determined agent, diametrically opposed to the new Modern individual, but producing architecture that still came to be assigned as "Modern."

The early Le Corbusier, as thinker and polemicist, played a key role in this shift. With his 1922 Ville Contemporaine and his 1925 Plan Voisin,[27] which were urban projects with assemblies of geometrically located towers in ordered landscapes designed around his own interpretations of what constituted light and air, better sanitation, and better transportation, he began to legitimate an architecture of highly abstract forms, based on multitudes of repetitive units, adopting standardized construction while creating the image of a new advanced technology. His architecture invoked the Modern style claim to be "universal," that would later be transposed into the "International Style," but it also exposed a quite conspicuous lack of interest, in the Geddes sense, in the individual person, the projects having less to do with people than with numerical provision. This prioritizing coincided with, and eventually had a wide appeal among, the steadily growing number of national housing bureaucracies whose job it became to distribute to the needy a new sort of public housing of equivalence, but in this model of damaging repetitiousness, there were serious consequences for the new Modernist free person. Here, Max Weber's warning, mentioned earlier, about restricting freedom in the name of equality, had not been heeded.

A further advocacy of the formal and technological can be found in the approach of the historian Sigfried Giedion and especially in his text *Space, Time and Architecture*. In it, Giedion focused upon the built product, upon the technology with which it had been produced, and upon the appropriateness of the product according to the criteria of whether it could be deemed to be "in tune with its time," using the Hegel-favored notion of *Zeitgeist*.[28] Giedion's attention to the history of the physical product, its roots, and its justification through its temporal relevance, while helping to further the Modernist formal discourse, left little scope for any broader interpretation of the architectural Modernist enterprise and it is hardly surprising then that in his capacity as secretary-general of CIAM[29] he would find himself unsympathetic and at odds with the doctrines of Team 10, that group of younger architects called upon to prepare for the 10th CIAM congress at Dubrovnik who now called for a new humanizing of architecture using such concepts as "threshold" and "community," and pointing in the direction of a new Modern person agenda and reinvoking the advocacies of Patrick Geddes.[30]

In this continuing saga, the Team 10 Modern person agenda was again, at the start of the 1960s, challenged by new moves to prioritize form with Archigram architects Peter Cook with his Plug-In City and Ron Herron with his

Walking City that could traverse oceans,[31] creating spectacular new technological images, once more pushing the debate toward autonomous form.

The Present Condition and the Relevance of the Ethical

It is necessary to acknowledge, then, that the concept Modern, when referring to architecture, has been used in different, but often contradictory ways, sometimes being applied to form alone, sometimes to production processes, but also to that wider picture of architecture encompassing the cultural and the ethical, and with which this chapter is concerned. Seen then, from this view, the new Modernist individual evolved from out of the closely knit hierarchical authoritative society into cultures and settings which initially tolerated but later welcomed the growing autonomy.

But the new-found independence of the individual, at this stage, failed to achieve the "resolved person" that it was hoping for. Rather, it marked the beginnings of a further set of problems resulting from the consequences of the "free person" being distanced from society, community, and corporate beliefs and values. While such distancing had created an increase in the independence of the individual, it was also the cause of a strong "inward-lookingness" which itself produced a new subjectivism and individualism, and was responsible for, especially among the professional and the scholarly community, a new self-reflective uncertainty.[32]

In ethics, some possible consequences of this state have been engaged with under the title of emotivism.[33] Emotivism is a doctrine that holds that all evaluative judgments are nothing beyond expressions of personal feelings. This denies the possibility of an objective morality, but it also has no way of coming to terms with the part played by cultural prerogatives or any outside wisdom in the making of judgments. While emotivism would be contested and subsequently evolve into new sets of issues,[34] such a Modernist emotivist program itself represented just one part of a bigger problematic to be found generally in questions of culture, but particularly, from the point of view of this chapter, in architecture itself.

The evidence in Western architecture[35] of an emotivist condition came with the slowly increasing acceptance of an agenda encompassing the needs of a personal, amoral, self-expressiveness, which, in the absence of any commitment to traditional allegiances, was now realized through the production of an unconstrained variety of new architectural styles and forms and which may be described as an architecture of pluralism. The concept of pluralism, however, by itself, fell short of providing a complete description. It covered the diversity but it also failed to throw any light upon the central issue of the emotivist program, which is the absence of the corporate. Such a pluralism, then, requires further qualification, which may be found by asking whether such a pluralism exists with or without relativism.

Relativism might be referred to as the tower of Babel problem. According to the book of Genesis, God did not like the high tower of Babel whose top was reaching up toward heaven, so he changed the language of those who were building it into many languages so that the builders could no longer speak to one another and work with one another, hence a "relativist" world of separate uncommunicating groups began. The problem of relativism, then, is about autonomous separateness which will result in the impossibility of translating from one language or set of suppositions to another.

Such constructs as these, in their most exact theoretical form, do not precisely fit the real world, although the so-called post-modernist architectural condition, with its formalist, individualist, and autonomous features, comes very close to being a model of pluralism with relativism.

However, in the real world, we have seen that so-called autonomous relativism, when faced with challenges from the outside, has a habit of breaking down,[36] and what eventually destroys it is rationality. It breaks down because people do not like to create "intellectual holes" out of which they cannot climb. When they do, reason takes over and history suggests that small relativistic tautological concerns come to be abandoned in favor of bigger more encompassing ones.

Such appears to be the case at the present time, when a whole new ethical sensibility is beginning to emerge, critical of what was once the new free person now called the self-oriented individual, critical of the destruction of the natural world that disengaged humans are imposing with unfettered, ever-developing technologies, critical of faceless market forces that have sponsored the destruction of environments without accountability, all adding up to an ever-increasing anxiety about the irreversible damage being inflicted on the planet earth. So this emerging morality increasingly addresses itself to ecosystems, to how to handle the destruction of the atmosphere, to the survival of animal species, to the rain forests, to the limitations of the earth's resources and to the conservation of energy, to mention just a few issues.

For architecture, this new "correctness" has huge implications. Buildings and structures have now to be thought about and designed using ecologically acceptable materials and energy-conserving methods. Questions have again to be raised about the future of cities and other settlements, asking how such configurations can both serve and be serviced without causing irreparable damage to human life and, at the same time, to the natural world, all of this amounting to a new ethical agenda of the most radical sort.

Conclusion

I have tried to suggest here that the domain of ethics can and has played a major part in architecture, both in relation to individual action and in the cultural agendas of correctness[37] that it has helped to create. I have also attempted to sketch in some historical architectural evidence suggesting that the Modernist agenda started as an ethical person construct that found its way into architecture, but in later phases began to fade as architectural thought became immersed in form and technology. But also, the more recently named, but still not defined post-modernist model has illustrated that the ethical can operate at two conflicting levels at the same time—it can invoke the free person and in so doing promote free expression, but in the act of celebrating that free expression that same individual can create, or in the case of architecture can produce, an autonomous gesture of cultural antagonism.

Although architecture has been passing through a recent period in which there exists a dominant architectural amorality, I suggest that in the current climate there are very positive signs of the beginnings of a new ethic concerned with natural, human, and ecological rightness, which for the first time appears to be bringing together, in a comprehensive way, architecture, ethics, and the person.

Notes

1. See Bernard Williams, *Ethics and the Limits of Philosophy* (London: Collins, 1985).

2. See J. L. Mackie, *Ethics: Inventing Right and Wrong* (New York: Penguin, 1977).

3. For a discussion of relationships between rightness and society, ideology and politics, see Michel Foucault, "Truth and Power," in *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972–1977,* ed. Colin Gordon (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1980).

4. There are many references to rightness in the books of Exodus, Leviticus, Deuteronomy, etc.

5. See D. P. Chase's introduction to his translation of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* (London: Dent, 1911).

6. Two of the major figures in this shift were Johann Georg Hamann (1730–1788) and Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803). See Isaiah Berlin, *Against the Current* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981).

7. J -J. Rousseau, *Social Contract,* chapter 1 (1762).

8. The term "modern" comes from Late Latin *modernus* and from Latin *modo,* meaning "just now."

9. G. W. F. Hegel, *Science of Logic,* book 1, section 1, chapter 1 (1812).

10. Charles Baudelaire, "De l'heroisme de la vie" (1846).

11. See Renato Poggioli, "The State of Alienation," in *The Theory of the Avant-Garde* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968). Translated from the Italian *Teoria dell'arte d'avanguardia* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1962).

12. See Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1905).

13. I support the view of moral scepticism argued by Mackie, op. cit., 15.

14. Nikolaus Pevsner's *Pioneers of the Modern Movement: From William Morris to Walter Gropius* (London: Faber and Faber, 1936). A later edition was entitled *Pioneers of Modern Design* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1960).

15. See John Ruskin, "Nature of Gothic," in *The Stones of Venice* (1851), in which he saw art as an expression of joy in one's work; also see Ruskin's "Lamp of Life," in *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (New York: Lovell, 1885).

16. *City Development: A Study of Parks, Gardens and Culture Institutes,* Report to the Carnegie Dunfermline Trust, Dunfermline, Scotland, 1904.

17. P. Geddes, *Cities in Evolution: An Introduction to the Town Planning Movement and to the Study of Civics* (London: Williams & Northgate, 1915).

18. These terms and ideas would later be adopted by Lewis Mumford. See Lewis Mumford, *Technics and Civilization* (London: Routledge & Sons, 1934), and *The Culture of Cities* (London: M. Secker and Warburg, 1938). Mumford would refer to himself as a "disciple" of Geddes.

19. See P. Geddes "Civics: As Applied Sociology, Part I," in *Sociological Papers* (London: Macmillan, 1904). See also my "The End of CIAM and the Role of the British," *Rassegna,* 52 (1992): 42–43.

20. To be referred to later; see note 30.

21. Hermann Muthesius, *Das englische Haus,* 3 vols (Berlin: E. Wasmuth, 1904–5).

22. See Joan Campbell, *The German Werkbund* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1978), 11.

23. A theory of architectural semiotics in "Semiology and Architecture" (see *Meaning in Architecture,* éds. Charles Jencks and George Baird, (New York: Braziller, 1969–1970) at-

tempted to link architectural production with architectural reception. It tried to show that a designed product could embody within it a readable "message" which would be passed on from the designer to the receiver. This theory, however, never admitted that there could be quite different readings from receiver to receiver and that radically different readings could be expected, especially from receivers belonging to different cultures or to different times. The link, then, would depend upon there existing a "universally consistent" receiver, so that unless the message could be understood to have the same meaning by all, it would no longer be communicated and there could be no link.

24. See the catalog *Modern Architecture: International Exhibition* of the 1932 Museum of Modern Art exhibition organized by Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Philip Johnson, and Alfred Barr in which the "modern" was transposed and simplified into form and style for subsequent digestion in the United States.

25. See Hermann Muthesius, *Style-Architecture and Building Art,* introduced and translated by Stanford Anderson (Santa Monica, Calif.: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1994), 3–6.

26. See Gillian Naylor, *The Bauhaus Reassessed* (New York: Dutton, 1985). On Johannes Itten, 75–82; on Hannes Meyer, 165–174.

27. For Le Corbusier's Ville Contemporaine see *Urbanisme,* (Paris: G. Cres, 1924); for Plan Voisin, see the section in *Precisions* (Paris: G. Cres, 1930).

28. "The spirit of the time or the age," first used by the German Romantics. See G. W. F. Hegel, *Lectures on the Philosophy of World History,* trans. H. Nisbet, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975).

29. CIAM started in 1928 and ceased in 1959.

30. It would be Jacqueline Tyrwhitt who introduced the work of Geddes to Team 10 and the Geddes "valley section" would be adopted for the early preparatory meeting of Team 10 at Doorn (Netherlands) when the Doorn Manifesto (two versions) would be prepared. See *The Emergence of Team 10 out of CIAM,* ed. Alison Smithson (London: Architectural Association, 1982), 34.

31. For Peter Cook's Plug-In City and Ron Herron's Walking City, see *Archigram,* ed. P. Cook (New York: Praeger, 1973), 36–43, 48–49.

32. See Hilary Lawson, *Reflexivity, The Post-Modern Predicament* (London: Hutchinson, 1985).

33. See C. L. Stevenson, *Ethics and Language* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960).

34. See the "imperativism" of R. M. Hare, in *Language of Morals* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952).

35. In the use of the term "Western" architecture, I am excluding societies or segments of societies that retain vernacular architecture.

36. See Donald Davidson, "On the Very Idea of a Conceptual Scheme," in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Association* (1974) 47, also published in *Relativism: Cognitive and Moral,* eds. M. Krausz and J. W. Meiland, (South Bend, Ind.: Notre Dame University Press, 1982), 66–80.

37. As I hinted at the beginning with my Mackie reference (note 2), I hold that an ethic of unassailable absolutes is incomplete besides being a simplification, whereas an ethic of the cultural, arrived at out of a situational necessity of correctness, begins to come closer to an understanding of the ethical.

16

THE CONDITIONS OF CRITICISM

Micha Bandini

While the contemporary critical production in architecture assumes both a familiarity with epistemological enquiry and an attitude toward intellectual production, it seldom presupposes a scholarly understanding of the historiographic debates that recently have ravaged intellectual and sociocultural historians, nor does it evaluate competing theories of explanation within the tradition of art history. These historical fields have undergone a sufficiently radical rearticulation so that attitudes which just a few years ago were considered contentious and experimental are now perceived as accepted cultural practice.[1] This, however, is hardly the situation in architecture. Notwithstanding a generally perceived "condition of crisis," only a few isolated voices have been raised in the last 20 years to challenge established cultural practices. In architecture it is still not uncommon for historians to speak only of the past and for critics to comment solely upon the formal features of contemporary production, and, in so doing, to ignore the continuing growth in the scope of the relationship between the economic, social, sensual, political, and cultural structures which have themselves become the locus of scholarship of historians and critics engaged in the renewal of their disciplines.

The last few years have seen the building up of a series of exegeses of or around architecture which, in stretching the conventional boundaries of historical, theoretical, or critical work, have located themselves in a space between cultural commentary and theory-in-use that has been vacant since the age of treatises. These writings, in placing themselves at the border between theory and design, have taken on the cultural aura of the theoretical while adopting the intellectual standards of design production. However, these writings, while expanding the traditional disciplinary boundaries and introducing desirable cross-cultural influences, have seldom achieved any significantly contributive arguments, having depended so much upon the implicit acceptance of conniving cultural practices. Thus the contemporary architectural debate has condoned both a lack of rigor and the lack of appropriate intellectual tools with which to tackle the task but at the same time seeking legitimation through the adoption of selected philosophical tendencies. But by ignoring the issue of boundary and by the privileging of "textual analysis," this recourse to rhetoric rather than argument, would blur the difference between the two and result in a situation in which there would be no critical difference between the analysis of the creation of architecture and the creation of other cultural artifacts. So while some of these "other" realities have recently fascinated historians and critics in the architectural domain, the generalized practice of the contemporaneous architectural debate would still be very much anchored either within the formal differences of the post-modern or within the advocacy theory of designers borrowing from history or philosophy, or both, to legitimate their products.

So, we may ask, does this intellectual attitude well serve the advancement of our discipline? Is architecture really only a "discourse," and if so does the practice of architectural cultural activity as a "discourse" constitute a challenging approach? Why, then, is it considered unfashionable or even unprogressive to describe intellectual issues and their evolution and possible resolution through a demonstrative prose? Is the taint of "scientism," which perhaps may be the remains of an anti-Popperian attitude, or the negative memory of a "Cortauldian" analysis, or even the stigma of method theory or perhaps the memory of an unresolved Frankfurt-like dialectic so pervasive that it can impede a rationally communicable contemporary critical practice within an interested community? So, it must be asked, would such a community, through practicing either intellectual coziness, or worse, "alleged" cultural correctness, be impeding development or challenges within its own domain?[2]

I believe the issues previously outlined stem directly from the very nature of the architectural agenda. Architecture, I suggest, has a very particular and complex epistemological structure, not shared by the "other" visual arts. Painting and sculpture, for example, might make demands on metaphysics[3] but this would not be conditioned by their way of operating. In architecture, however, the situation is different with the parameters being far more complex. Such parameters might include morphological or cultural studies as well as technical, functional, and client-oriented ones. Thus the factors that govern architecture's capacity for transforming conceptual knowledge into formal representation are both numerous and complex. Contemporary "high" architecture has largely emphasized the morphological rather than the organizational, invention rather than research, experimentalism rather than custom, and, because of the early twentieth-century break with traditional iconological patterns, and the resurgence of the architect-artist as a romantic creator, it has come to be legitimate to rely heavily for its epistemology upon experimental philosophy.

For those of us who are involved in architectural history and criticism the problem of the specific nature of our discipline and thus the theoretical problem of defining its critical boundaries has become of primary importance. I suggest here that one of the constituent parameters (and a major stumbling block in the rational and balanced appraisal of both design and history) may be found in the special relationship between critics and historians and architectural producers and designers. While this may be difficult to generalize, one may say that there has existed a relationship based on empathy in which the contemporary historian may speak for the designer's enterprise, providing him or her with a cultural context in which to locate the production but at the same time helping to provide an intellectual legitimacy. The conventional use of architectural history by architects has been to underpin that theory of architecture used to support design. In the process of interpretation of architecture, theory has been seen as a source of authority, an authority derived within the tradition of history, and used to gain access to metahistorical categories, and by some to absolute values. The convention of the usage of history by designers exposes at this point some of its dangers: both historians and designers are weakened by a mirrored uncertainty; both play at the metaphysical level a "transfer" and "countertransfer"[4] game which ultimately leaves depleted the object of their concern: architecture.

The instability to be found in the contemporary pluralist-relativist cultural frameworks provides a lack of security for all who wish to locate their own intellectual production, so helping to exaggerate the only means of release so far devised, which is to increase formal and intellectual gaming, and linking the two together within a single epistemological legitimation process. In this way the architectural object becomes "transferred" from being the product of a designer's theory into the source of a critical interpretation, thus becoming a text. It becomes an autonomous source of metaphysical meaning. In this way I suggest the whole of the classical tradition in architecture, out of which modernism with its subsequent canonization has been extolled, has been founded on an instrumental reading by the designer of the formal tradition, called also the history of architecture, in order that, from this history, the designer could extract inspiration or legitimation, or both. From history the designer then could access both geometry, that is, the cardinal component of composition, and formal precedents, that is, the possibility of a representation of the traditional conventions of culture. But to say that history is a repertoire of forms is just another of the reductive platitudes of post-modernist debates. History undoubtedly does much more than this. It keeps the relationship between design and the ideas underlying it in mutual interaction.

Most architects and designers see the history of architecture as the narrative involvement of certain historians with certain manifestoes and forms. Unfortunately, the conventional wisdom within the architectural discipline still appears to suggest that the critic of architecture should know just enough history to be able to locate the work within the autonomy of the tradition of the discipline mainly in order to discuss its formal merits or demerits. It is also common knowledge, although rarely expressed in scholarly form, but frequently present in working conversations, that those who involve themselves in the history of architecture from an art-historical frame of reference might be much more scholarly and titillating with their "antiquarian" knowledge than their architecturally trained counterpart, who would be seen, nevertheless, as far more "useful!" The role of theory then, would become that of making history "useful" for the designer by providing a cultural legitimation. Thus, from this, a whole series of rules can be seen to exist in any given critical discourse. These are sometimes experimental and oblivious to any dialectical reference to the canon, but given today's international production of "high" architecture, these rules may be said to constitute the boundary within which the historians and critics play out their roles. While it may not be legitimate to change the morphological appearance of the rules of the game, the goal may be expected, as in Herman Hesse's *The Glass Bead Game,* to equate with its own survival.[5]

An architectural lack of empathy beyond the formal and an architect's difficulty in sharing the dreams of others (architects so often believe themselves to be the only ones who can change the world!) has done so much damage to the social profile of that sort of architect who, in spite of all the evidence coming from the real world, still appears to believe that the true mission of architecture is only to formalize human inhabiting. Such an attitude is common in the teaching of design which is increasingly distancing itself from a problem-solving activity anchored to reality. Thus design is no longer perceived as an organized and organizable set of notions that can be thought and learned within recognizable patterns and hierarchies of complexity. It is becoming a matter of private exchange between master and pupil within the protective environment of a specialized group in which communication is prevalently based on analogical patterns of thought. Thus design, as an elitist *non-easily-communicable* and *not-built-on-rational-premises* individual activity, has become the ultimate "mental habitus," one that is nurtured by a majority of architectural educational establishments. It is thus found in those teaching and learning relationships in which students, timorous of losing a moment of poetic intuition that has been fiercely fought over, find it difficult to include from the inception of design, structural, functional, societal, financial, or other environmental *parameters,* but perhaps try to incorporate them later, reinforcing, in this manner, a lifelong habit of prioritizing formal decisions while leaving to consultants the solving of those issues which make the building work. It can also be found among teachers, who in proposing their own particular interpretation of what is relevant in the real world, along with the spatial devices for accessing and transforming it, forgo any possibility of testing their thoughts while not acknowledging that their ideas can gain intellectual currency in the culture at large only if dialectically debated in a communicable form.

Moreover, nowadays, it is considered by many scholars possible and legitimate to define and to implement a particular topic of research without discussing the historical genesis of any commentaries, and without examining the ideological and cultural patterns of the critical community's mechanisms of interpretation or attributions of value. Rather, such scholars will choose a style of research in which their arguments are based not upon the need of their own inquiries but rather upon such interpretative constructs as those of Deleuze, Guattari, and Baudrillard, who must be included among the most frequently cited. While such practice has an instant appeal since it yields quick new interpretations, it also is an indicator of a slow disintegration of that community of discourse upon which the advancement of disciplinary knowledge may be said to have been based. While it is true that the present overprotection and overstressing of the formal component in architecture has been encouraged by the decreasing influence of structural anthropology, behaviorism, and other theories prevalent in the sixties, as well as by attacks from all quarters upon the ills of modernism, it is also important to acknowledge that knowing the supposed "origin" of a cultural attitude cannot explain its persistence or its demise. This is particularly true if an attitude, recognizable as a disciplinary constant (i.e., a conventional trait within the discipline), continues to persist because of the ideological role it plays in reinforcing the role and power of architects in society along preestablished lines. And, paradoxically, the more architects cling to this mystifying convention, the more they lose that power to have an impact on the society they desperately want to regain through their form-making. This is because they forget that history teaches us that spatial configurations, in economic and social terms, are an ephemeral commodity, to be bought and sold on the international stock market at a moment's notice.

There is also among intellectuals a pervasive mode of cultural anxiety due to the awareness that the allocated life span of a Western cultural product is getting shorter and shorter and more and more a prey to reification's techniques. Roger Chartier in his paper "Intellectual History or Socio-Cultural History," surveying the lines of intellectual disagreements among its members, writes: "Criticism addressed to the social history of ideas has recently aimed at another target and denounced another form of reductionism. Under attack is no longer the reduction of an idea or an ideology to its conditions of production or reception but the assimilation of thought contents to cultural objects through a process of reification."[6] This I think is an important concept for two reasons: the first, that in our understanding of architecture we are still struggling to widen the disciplinary boundary to include such issues as the ideology of the producers and receivers; secondly, because it points to the dangers of an unchecked reification process. What are we to do, then, when concerned with a history of humankind's architectural-making processes undertaken in the light of a contemporary critique which relativistically celebrates reification? The problem is increased by the fact that for the contemporary architectural historian and critic, intellectual uneasiness arises not only from the methodological and theoretical uncertainties which exist within the critic's own domain but also from the lack of security and lack of direction experienced by many designers. Such insecurities, I consider, go far beyond those described by Baudelaire as a part of the modernist intellectual agenda. Present conditions of cultural production have, I believe, come full circle from the time when alienation was celebrated as intrinsic to intellectual production. Today we need to make sense of our multimedia environments where the city and its architecture are possibly the most enduring reminders of older memories and of their nostalgias.

The weakness of today's canons of understanding and representation is at the root of that attitude toward the transcendental metaphysics which separates historians from designers because the cultural conventions of society do not recognize a clear symbolic relationship between formal representation and ideal and values. Moreover, the traditional dependence of architectural history for its criteria of interpretation upon art history is nowadays lessened because the cultural constructs of the history of art are still largely dependent upon the expanded notions of adherence to or transgression of the canon. This appears to be the case with even the most experimental branches of art history, still debating within the established critical framework[7] the extent to which form and value judgments can be completely modified by the newer intellectual frameworks. But to measure the value of a new product against the established canon is of limited use. Not only the traditional canonic methodological example used by Gombrich, when he considers Streeter's ceiling for the Sheldonian in Oxford,[8] is challenged by the new interpretative tools but also this method is no longer applicable to new experimental work. But the failure of this approach raises interesting questions about the validity itself of the traditional relationship between art and architectural criticism, both of which now have to exist without the comfortable straitjacket of a canon that would serve to assist the critical community to culturally locate itself. So, we may ask, how might this community escape from an inevitable intellectual uneasiness?

Our contemporary disciplinary malaise is no doubt momentarily reinforced by a perceived individualist-driven fragmentation of "the whole," which, in supporting relativist theories of culture, has tried to negate all efforts at understanding in a comprehensive way or attempts at ethically evaluating the intellectual domain. This has been the result of a widespread intellectual effort in the last few decades critically focusing on the principles that have organized the fields of knowledge and representation, with the express agenda of subverting those assumptions upon which previous epistemological inquiries were based. When, in the recent past, the "structuralists," the "semioticians," the "critical historians," or the "annales" group have searched for the link between form and content, they presumed, after Kant, Hegel, Cassirer, Levi-Strauss, and de Saussure, not only that such links were waiting to be unveiled but also that they were buried in the mental structures underlying all the cognitive processes of a given society. Thus the task of the historian would be to underpin the interpretation of a given case study with a general theory of how culture and society worked in a specific period, so in turn helping to verify both relative values and generalized assumptions.

But because much of the work of those involved in critical studies in the last 30 years was focused, in one way or another, upon the relationship between ideology and power and on the shortcomings of Marxist theory, the focus of debate slowly changed from sweeping epistemological inquiries and grand-scale historical inquiries to more specific case studies, which often would, but sometimes would not, corroborate general theories. Thus, by following this path, producers of critical theory approached a paradigm change in the search for knowledge. Thus when Foucault wrote of underlying patterns underpinning history he did not search for a unified mental structure, not even one that could bring together all the differences, but rather one that pointed out that the different, the forsaken, and the marginalized were important for understanding the relationship between power and ideologies, and he affirmed that a holistic interpretation of past and present reality was not intellectually correct or even desirable. Nowadays, when a Foucaultian approach is no longer fashionable, the collective intellectual debate has moved even farther. Not only is it accepted and theorized about that in a multimedia world, which flattens the experience of time and space, any relationship between ideology and power is best focused on issues of gender or psychoanalytical enquiry but also that it is no longer possible to assume, within the contemporary perceived cultural void, a generalized theory and practice involving any specific ethical choice. Therefore, since the search for a cultural general pattern is no longer seen as admissible, contemporary criticism, now bereft of a wider context against which to test the validity of the production under examination, starts to avoid providing value judgments. Moreover the ever-increasing search for "the different" means that, in the majority of cases, political correctness (or the fear of not exhibiting it) takes the place of evaluation. The contemporary critic, then, once the feared and revered arbiter of all cultural production, has retreated into the role of the producer of the "parallel text."

The implications of these intellectual trends for the architectural debate have been as broad-reaching as they are intertwined within the internal disciplinary architectural debate which disposes the role of the critic and the role of theory against the activity of design or the role of history. It seems to me that culturally, intellectually, and ultimately politically, the architectural discipline in the last 20 years has lagged behind other fields of inquiry and I maintain that because of this, the imbalance now so dangerously evident in the profession and in education has grown unchecked. While the contributors to the cultural debate have continued to talk about architecture primarily as an activity which designs space, both current professional practices and society at large have been pushing in other directions.

Much has been written about "the crisis," so that, just as with "famine" and "war," which we see continuously in other parts of our media world, we have now become inured to it. However, this must not prevent us from recognizing that there is indeed a serious crisis in architecture and we need to notice that the educational and professional field is bearing the brunt of it. Either ignoring it or playing epistemological games at the boundaries of the phenomenon is not going to resolve what is ultimately, for most of the cultural producers, both the source of their livelihood and the locus of their intellectual interest.

How we might respond to this? The approach to which I subscribe is a pluralism without relativism.[9] Within this the notion of nonconformity and variety are not only to be welcomed but must also be seen as one of the conditions of all great innovation. But to be relativist must be distinguished from being just pluralist. This means that such plurality has become autonomous, that is to say, it speaks a different "language" than do all other parts of the community. Thus it is not in the difference of language where the difficulties lie but rather in the potentiality of complete untranslatability, (that is to say, of true relativism) where the problem area lies. If and when a translation can start to take place, then relativism will begin to dissolve, variety will still be there, but wider and more general goals will be part of the agenda, and thus critical evaluation and the growth of a shared rationality will eliminate the relativism.[10] In my opinion, a generalized debate needs to be initiated on the structural causes of the malaise in our discipline and upon the relationships which underpin it. Prerequisites for such a debate must be an openness to discussion on value judgments and an awareness of the role of the cultural producer as a vigilant intellectual in society. Moreover, if we believe that the intellectual role of the contemporary critic historian is that of understanding architectural production, so making evident those cultural attitudes which, as enduring myths, impede the understanding and renewal of architecture, then we ought to recognize and describe those cultural situations which, by their very intellectual construction and sociocultural role, undermine critical debate and deter change and disciplinary renewal. I suggest then, that the very first attitude that needs to be analyzed is that which relates designers to critics.

Manfredo Tafuri is the single major post-World War II critic-historian who has attempted to readdress, within the rules of the game, the role in culture of the critic-historian. The recent appraisals[11] that have followed his death have both confirmed the several misunderstandings to which his writings have been subjected as well as the ambiguities of his position. In a text written as early as 1968, Tafuri, in writing "we must kill the 'instrumentality' of history. . . . Today, too, we are obliged to see history not as a great tank of codified values, but as an enormous collection of utopias, failures and betrayals,"[12] would be insinuating the shortcomings of the majority of his contemporaries. Later on, his analysis of the ideological constraints on the role of the intellectual, his reconstruction of the many ways in which power influences intellectual production, and his conviction that, after Nietzsche, all totality-encompassing systems of explanation are dead, all of this would bring him to a strong condemnation of the role of operative (or normative) criticism. For Tafuri, "The real problem is how to design a critique able constantly to call itself into a crisis while forcing reality into a state of crisis. Reality, that is, and not merely its individual segments."[13] It follows, then, that the task of accomplishing the correct procedure falls upon the critic-historian who, with almost psychoanalytic vigilance, would have to expose the correct role of history and criticism in relation to design in what Tafuri would call the "historical project."

While Tafuri's ideas had a great impact within those circles attuned to the problems and while they gained him wide academic respect, his precepts gained him few followers. If the early sixties acknowledged the polemic against modernist forms and ideas, they did not acknowledge any revision of the relationship between its theory to history and from both of these to design. A subsequent worldwide acceptance of Charles Jencks's pigeonhole categorizing system based on more and more hyperbolical labels opened up a door for post-modern relativism and for the subsequent battle of styles which itself illustrated the potential power of the militant historian and operative critic. Almost one decade later a monographic issue of *Lotus International*[14] devoted to criticism exposed how hagiographic tendencies could coexist with rhetoric, with the celebration of narrative writing, and, what is worse, with the avoidance of any discourse that pointed to the ambiguity of intentions between critics and historians and designers. However, with the exclusion of just a few pieces which have pointed to the notion of "the state of crisis," the historical project certainly still seems far away.

Why this is so? Tafuri, it seems, simply appears not to have recognized that a triangular legitimating relationship between history, theory, and design exists as a part of the tradition of architecture. As such, it cannot be termed as either right or wrong, but still it necessitates an historical analysis to be argued within its own boundaries. With Tafuri I share his condemnation of that critical practice which by overinvolving the critic with the producer and the object obscures reality, but I suggest that in order to become a subverting agent to the architectural ideological base, that the contemporary historian needs to acquire a language of argumentation that will differentiate his or her cultural practice from that of design. It will not be by quoting Nietzsche or by adopting rhetoric that ambiguities will be opened up, but rather, I suggest, by rejecting transcendental metaphysics and by returning to a style of argument that seeks rationality as its main communicative device that the task may be carried forward. Thus it will be through the creation of a communicable discourse on the ethical dimension of value judgment, that, for me, the "project of history" may be achieved. Tafuri quite rightly worries about the automatic complicity between theory and history which the designer slips into when wanting to shorten his or her approach to form, but to deny the possibility of its existence is as futile as was the denying of alcohol during Prohibition. It is the manner in which it is to be pursued, both ideologically and intellectually, which needs to be addressed.

What tools do we have for this task? Judging from bibliographies, footnotes, legitimating quotes at the beginning of all sorts of writing and, of course, from the kind of arguments that constitute at any point in time the collective intellectual effort, the protagonists of the architectural debate are remarkably silent in investigating the underlying long-term patterns of its disciplinary evolution. It is almost as if historians and critics fear that their critical edge would be lessened if their intellectual apparatus were to be tested against cognate disciplines.

The study of cultural patterns, which has been one of the most fertile grounds for the study of cross-disciplinary debates, has clearly indicated the way in which we could turn some of the established historiographic tools toward an investigation of architecture and thus the study of both the long-term habits of its criticism as well as some of the ideas that seem to recur in the production of artifacts. Thus by exposing the "form-at-all-cost-and-before-everything-else" attitude, as well as its corollaries, critics and historians would not only discover the cultural relationships supporting it but also open up to wider scrutiny the creation of those collective and individual delirious constructions that hide the reality of practicing architecture from the educational process and vice versa. A successful "historical project" needs to oppose pluralist relativism, it needs to restrain the rhetoric of transcendental metaphysics, and it needs to put in its place a dialectical form of argumentation based on an understanding of the logical and analogical processes of design. And, most important, it needs to acknowledge the triangular relationship binding history, design, and theory and to bring it under a scrutiny that will understand architecture as an agent of productive and progressive renewal.

Only by exposing these cultural conventions will criticism be able to expose the processes that reinforce architectural alienation and the current diminishing effectiveness of the role of architecture in society. This should continue to be one of the most important tasks of contemporary criticism.

Notes

1. A measure of how far-reaching the change in cultural attitudes has been can be seen by looking at textbooks of undergraduate education, usually the last bastion of conventional cultural practices. See the introduction to the Open University primer for the Course A316: Modern Art: Practices and Debates (the Open University being the United Kingdom long-distance learning televised program) which sees itself as contributing to "the study of modern art as a product of historical and socio-cultural relations" (9). The short introduction concludes with: "The future of the discipline of art history in its critical form—that is those concerned with crisis and the resolution of crisis—will be closely related to the development of conceptual and methodological apparatuses attuned to the analysis of social, political, and ideological features of life in the twenty-first century. The career of the term 'art' will be part of that analysis, within a broad understanding of the growing complexities of the culture." (15). F. Frascina and J. Harris, *Art in Modern Culture: An Anthology of Critical Texts* (London: Phaidon Press, 1992).

2. For a parallel discussion of these issues, see M. Bandini "Architecture and Critical Practice," in *Mapping the Futures. Local Cultures, Global Change* (pp. 237–247), eds. J. Bird, B. Curtis, T. Putnam, G. Robertson, and L. Tickner. (London: Routledge, 1993). As the book was devoted to a cultural analysis of the conditions of post-modernity, I analyzed its implications for contemporary architectural critical practice.

3. "Metaphysics is usually understood as the investigation of the world, or of what really exists, generally by means of rational arguments rather than by direct or mystical intuition . . . Kant and the logical positivists both denied the legitimacy of transcendent metaphysics, Kant on the ground that the a-priory elements in thought yield knowledge only if applied to the data of experience, the logical positivists on the ground that sentences ostensibly about the world are not even significant unless susceptible of empirical verification," in *The Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought* (London: Fontana/Collins, 1977), 386. It is clear to me that one of the major confusions about the history and criticism of contemporary architecture stems from the fact that while architects see metaphysics as largely transcendent, historians (at least those not trained in design) usually do not.

4. In psychoanalytic theory *transference* is understood as "displacement of affect (by the patient) either positive or negative," in H. C. Warren, ed., *Dictionary of Psychology* (Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1934), 281. "By 'counter-transference' is meant the transfer by the therapist of feelings derived from his past into his relationship with the patient: such feelings have to be recognized and overcome" in R. L. Gregory, ed., *The Oxford Companion to the Mind,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 781.

5. Hermann Hesse, *Das Glasperlenspiel.* (Zurich: Fretz u. Wasmuth, 1943).

6. Roger Chartier "Intellectual History or Socio-Cultural History," in *Modern European Intellectual History,* eds. D. La Capra and S. Kaplan (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1982), 29.

7. See, for example, the rich debates in poststructuralist feminist criticism and in reception theory, and how little, unfortunately, these have changed the convention of their disciplines.

8. Because Gombrich believes that "There is no developed culture which lacks a canon of achievements handed in tradition as a touchstone of excellence, though cultures differ in the kind of mastery they value" (156), he can conclude with "the art historian . . . is the keeper of the canon. The canon is our starting point, our guiding theory about that aspect of image-making we call mastery." (165). E. H. Gombrich, "Art History and the Social Sciences," in *Ideals and Idols. Essays on Values in History and in Art* (London: Phaidon, 1979).

9. Royston Landau's analysis of this argument is particularly pertinent, as when he writes: "But out of this condition would emerge a new individual, at worst totally self-oriented, disconnected with others and unconcerned about the whole. . . . This is when pluralism would become relativism and this is what is happening now. But it is the concept of relativism that can help us gain access to this big issue." *UIA International Architect,* no. 5 (1984): 6.

10. A philosophical version of this argument is in Donald Davidson, "On the Very Idea of a Conceptual Theme," in *Relativism: Cognitive and Moral,* eds. M. Krausz and Jack W. Meiland (South Bend, Ind.: Notre Dame University Press, 1982), 62–81.

11. See H. Lipstadt and H. Mendelsohn, "Philosophy, History, and Autobiography: Manfredo Tafuri and the 'Unsurpassed Lesson' of Le Corbusier" *Assemblage,* no. 22 (1994) and

the very interesting issue of *Casabella,* 59 (January/February 1995): 619–620, completely devoted to Manfredo Tafuri's work. In that issue, both explicitly in Giorgio Ciucci's article, and implicitly in other writers' accurate analyses, the limits of the American critical reception of Tafuri's work, including the *Assemblage* article, are clearly pointed out.

12. M. Tafuri, *Theories and History of Architecture* (London: Granada, 1980), 230.

13. M. Tafuri, "The Historical Project," *Oppositions,* no. 17 (summer 1979): 63, later published in M. Tafuri, *Le sfera e il Labirinto,* (Turin: Einaudi, 1980). It is interesting to note in the same article Tafuri's perception of the task of history: "The question we are asking is set out from a highly precise assumption. History is seen as 'production,' in all senses of the term: it is a production of meanings, starting out from the 'meaningful traces' of events; an analytical construction which is never definitive but always provisional; an instrument for the deconstruction of a certain reality . . . The language of history implies and assumes the languages and techniques which operate and produce reality. It 'contaminates' those languages and techniques and in turn is 'contaminated' by them. Once the dream of a knowledge that is immediately identified with power is over, the constant struggle between analysis and its objects, their irreducible tensions, remains. And it is precisely this tension which is 'productive': the historical 'project' is always the 'project of a crisis.'" (56).

14. *Lotus International,* 72 (May 1992). There, only Antony Vidler in "History, Criticism and Theory" (130–34) opens the discourse on the ideological issues of history and criticism within an institutional context, and Werner Oechslin, in "Why Is There No Longer a Criticism of Architecture Worthy of the Name?" (116–18), chides, tongue in cheek, the absurdity of theoretical reification in the work of architects.

17

HISTORY'S HISTORY

Lawrence B. Anderson

Anyone who can think back over sixty years of curricular development in schools of architecture will be deeply impressed by the changes that have been occurring in historical studies, as reflected in teaching programs.

The history of architecture has been taught by two different kinds of teachers, the first having been formed in the company of other historians and the second coming from among students in architectural curricula. The first has the advantage of participating in the vast ongoing traditions of scholarly activity, where excellence brings its own rewards without the need to focus on any particular set of students or readers. But it is rare to find academic scholars who are truly sensitive to the art aspects of architecture, while also being responsive to its scientific, social, mathematical, and technical facets. Consequently, the scholar-historian may tend to view architecture as a broad cultural and humanistic phenomenon, but may have less than full credibility among the architects themselves.

Since many believe that architects, perhaps more than any other profession, need to have a considerable understanding of the contributions made by previous and other cultures, it follows that the profession's schools want their own historians to be fully immersed in the architectural value system before presuming to interpret these contributions. History would appear to them as one of the specializations within architectural practice, into which recruits come in response to the appeal of scholarship and travel.

Today, this long-standing polarization is fading away as the best features of both systems are increasingly being combined by would-be historians.

Architectural practice in the period 1880–1930 was broadly eclectic, but American architecture schools were so dominated by the Beaux-Arts that student projects tended exclusively to emulate French models. These models, originally inspired by archeological finds, and popularized among students by reproductions of the brilliant renderings made by the *pensionnaires* of the Villa

Medici in Rome, were later vitiated by the heaping on of irrelevant ornamentation.

Studying in the école was never very bookish. In the French system, the teaching of architects descended from royal patronage and was combined with that for the other visual arts, not connected to universities. Learning was through observation of examples, visual aids, and working things out in the atelier. Americans who experienced this education brought those methods back to the United States and sought enthusiastically to have them dominate the American scene, but in the meantime the first university-based departments of architecture had also been created; ultimately they prevailed and the independent ateliers faded away.

This policy, of teaching architects in university settings, is the outstanding American contribution to the field. Although the schools do not yet feel fully at home in that setting, placing them among academicians ultimately had an important influence on the development of the subfield of history, theory, and criticism of architecture that we see today.

But before that influence manifested itself, architecture students learned history from older architects whose interest had led them to travel and to observation of the monuments. Although these teachers did their best to provide linkages between the monuments studied and the social and political developments that produced them, the result was often descriptive rather than interpretive.

In those days, personal anecdotes often sweetened the presentation. C. Howard Walker told the story of an archeological crew nonplussed in the presence of a Greek temple stylobate lacking any indication of column location and spacing. As they ate an evening meal, someone saw the grazing rays of the sinking sun casting shadows from the slightly elevated (because unworn) column locations. They all jumped up and traced the locations on the stone, thus solving their dilemma.

The "survey" studies were generally limited to the traditional grand tour of even earlier days, that is, the railroad-accessible centers of Italy, France, Spain, and England. The program that survived at MIT until the 1930s was called "European Civilization and Art." It embraced more than architecture, but of course it did not include eastern Europe, which owing to the Iron Curtain remains little known, even today. In the standard reference book on architectural history of the time, Sir Bannister Fletcher included a chapter on the "nonhistorical styles," in which he summarily disposed of Islamic and Oriental achievements in the field.

The presumed goal of this line of instruction for future architects seems to have been to indoctrinate them with the ability to recognize and locate correctly in time and place the characteristic monuments, to know which classical order was pictured, to distinguish among the named phases of Gothic architecture, and to know the difference between Byzantine and early Christian examples. From today's perspective this knowledge, although valuable, was narrow and elitist because it ignored both vernacular products and major cultures elsewhere in the world. Since that time, great advances in travel opportunities and communication, not to mention the demographic mixtures that are occurring, are leading to wholly new views of global cultural achievements.

The modernists' criticism of that kind of history teaching was that it enabled designers to choose among historical styles to copy during the period of eclecticism—Egyptian for cemeteries, classical for banks, Gothic for universities, and so on. So eager were the modernists to get rid of using the past as an open quarry that Gropius advocated that students should not be exposed to historical knowledge until they had developed as designers through studio experience. At the University of Pennsylvania, the architectural history faculty were transferred out of the architecture department and into the larger company of other historians elsewhere in the university.

This abrupt about-face in the architectural curricula, this general deemphasis of historical studies (except, perhaps, that some attention was paid to the roots of modernism) prevailed during the Bauhaus-influenced era, and froze the recruitment of future historians from the architectural population. However, there were numerous other sources. The period saw the emergence of many scholars who were not architects: some took the Mumfordian position of freelancing without an academic base; most were attached to humanities programs in various colleges and universities, typically in those institutions that did not have professional courses in architecture. These scholars showed a preponderant interest in the development of American architecture. They were also more prolific in publishing, and produced valuable studies of prominent architects: Jefferson, Sullivan, Wright, and many others. They brought to light the antebellum South; they traced the birth of the skyscraper; they documented the craftsmen-builders of the East and West Coasts; they commented on problems of urban growth and design; they examined the land-use effects of new transportation modes. Although largely devoted to American phenomena, they offered a broader vision of the place of design in the culture than could have been shown at the time within the professional schools.

Meantime, the newfound global responsibilities of our country following upon World War II were changing the attitudes of thinkers and doers alike. Modernism was losing its dogmatism and its pretensions to reform society.

As the expatriate modernists aged and left the scene, innovative leadership devolved upon native American practitioners; lyrical deviations from the modernist cult became common, and new regionalisms appeared. Fresh ideas from the likes of Wurster (husband and wife), Venturi and Scott-Brown, and Jane Jacobs fueled the changes. We began to pay attention to our native vernacular history and to see that new growth must seek to enhance, not fight against, an existing environment; it must adapt to the physiography and make conscientious use of energy and resources.

Paradoxically, the focus on these national concerns has not prevented a simultaneous attention to the world situation, particularly its less industrialized, less economically successful portions. A considerable factor in this growing awareness is the educational prominence of American research universities in attracting, along with more women and native minorities, foreign students. Our graduate schools, which in the fifties and sixties had many Europeans, today have more representatives from the Third World, either as recent immigrants or as genuine foreigners who want to apply American thinking to problems in their home countries. Their presence here educates us.

This brief overview of the intellectual reorientations occurring during the whirlwind half-century just lapsed serves as a reminder, to those of us whose careers began earlier, of how primitive, simplistic, and chauvinistic our outlook was at the outset.

In the presence of these new stimuli, the lapse of interest in architectural history during the Bauhaus domination could not endure. A cohort of architecture students born in the United States began to turn their attention to historical matters. The implantation of architecture schools in American universities was finally bearing fruit, for these young scholars could observe and absorb the ways applied in other departments to develop perceptions based on new knowledge. Their rubric shifted toward a redefinition of the field: it became *history, theory,* and *criticism.* There was a wish to explore not merely the physical legacy of architecture but also the written literature about architecture from different epochs. Theorists and critics had produced commentaries even in ancient times, and there was a specially rich field to be cultivated from the Renaissance, a time when the practice of architecture began to emerge as a learned profession and the records of and comments on the lives of that period's heroes became more abundant than those of earlier times. Interest also gravitated toward half-forgotten writings of certain thinkers from the Enlightenment, as well as of those who sensed the tension brought about by the rise of industrialism and the war between handicrafts and mechanization introduced in factory production. In short, it is as though, to justify its status in academia, architecture needs to digest its patrimony as a prerequisite to assuming the privilege of making its own contributions, or, at the very least, to be immersed in intellectual environments where insights into the historical process are abundant and highly valued.

Learning of this sort is certainly not aimed at facilitating direct emulation of historical precedents, as might have been the attitudes promulgated during the early years of this century. The age we live in is one in which the civilizing possibilities of design are being reappraised. Perspectives on how we got where we are may illuminate the paths we must take in the future.

So it is that history, theory, and criticism have become a leading growth component in architecture curricula across the nation. And one has only to look at the lists of names of those associated with this movement—professors, assistants, and student Ph.D. candidates—to realize how global and multicultural the activities are.

At the university where I have experienced the growing recruitment to careers in historical studies, there is pride in having been instrumental in this movement and great admiration for the role played in it by the colleague in whose honor these essays are dedicated.

18

LEARNING FROM EKALAVYA

Charles Correa

The story, thousands of years old, is irresistible. The young prince Arjun, pupil of the great Brahmin sage Dhrona, is undoubtedly the finest archer in the land. One day, when Arjun and his brother are playing in the forest, they are disturbed by the noise of a dog barking. Just as they are wondering how best to stop this nuisance, an arrow shoots out of the bushes and passes through the dog's teeth—in a miraculous manner that clamps the dog's mouth shut, without hurting it in the least.

The young princes are astonished. This is obviously the work of a master archer, one far more skillful than Arjun himself . . . but who could this be? Looking around, they find a young dark-skinned boy: Ekalavya. "Who has taught you such mastery?" they ask in wonder. "My teacher is the great Dhrona," the boy replies. "But you are an Untouchable!" cries Arjun, "How could a Brahmin ever accept you as a student?" "Of course I would not dare to try and approach so exalted a guru," says the boy, "but I have made a small statue of him, and when I go to the forest each day, I place this image against a nearby tree—and when I practice my archery, I tell myself that the great Dhrona is watching me."

We do not know if architecture can be taught, but we know it can be learned. For learning is a process that depends on us ourselves, and our attitude of mind. Thus the traditional guru-chela relationship works precisely because the chela (student) has unquestioning trust in the wisdom of his guru (teacher). His mind and whole being are like blotting paper, eager to absorb every word, every nuance. This process, so prevalent in India and other parts of Asia, has many parallels in European history as well. Thus as a young child, the great Johann Sebastian Bach learned (taught himself!) by transcribing the compositions of earlier masters—as did so many other geniuses, such as the seventeenth-century Dutch painters, and so forth.

Over the last few centuries, this attitude of course has been rapidly eroding. Today there prevails a far different, more modern, way of learning. Its principal axiom is to encourage each student to develop his own individual judgment. For a typical example, we'll jump cut 5000 years or so forward from Ekalavya to the year 1952 A.D. Our graduate class at MIT has just finished one of our seminar classes with Professor Gyorgy Kepes. These wide-ranging seminars were truly extraordinary, and were of decisive importance to me in my own education. At this particular class, we have been shown slides of the work of Michelangelo, including, of course, the Sistine Chapel ceiling. It is a complex, confusing experience. I wonder: can one every really "see" the Sistine Chapel ceiling? Or, as in the case of da Vinci, do all the layers of cultural hype and art criticism that surround the Mona Lisa make the moment when one finally walks into that room in the Louvre and sees the real thing, the actual canvas itself, a . . . what? An anticlimax? No, actually something far worse. One cannot see the Mona Lisa. One stares, but it is invisible . . . nothing registers on the mind. The layers of hype are too dense to dissolve away . . . at least, not so quickly.

Is this also true of the Sistine Chapel? After the class is over, four of us go for a cup of coffee to the drugstore across the street. Suddenly, one of us, I think it is Jack Caldwell, says: "You know what? I don't think Michelangelo was so great." Jack could be wrong . . . or, perhaps, right. That's not the issue. What I find extraordinary, hilarious, surrealistic, is that here we are, four callow would-be architects, drinking drugstore coffee, exchanging opinions casually, seriously, on such a subject.

The moment stays in my mind because it makes vivid the process of learning I am engaged in. And of course I can readily perceive why it is of the utmost importance for a university to encourage—in fact, make mandatory—such independent judgment. It is the cornerstone of a modern education. For in our contemporary world of slanted media news and hyped opinions, it is imperative that we learn how to stand back and distance ourselves from the signals that are coming at us, all the time. We must, at any cost, nourish our individual judgment—only thus can we preserve our sanity.

And yet . . . if we have never entered the caves at Ajanta, or the last quartets of Beethoven, entered them with total trust and without our own niggling preconditions, can we ever really understand what they are all about? And if we do not understand them, can we reject them? Or alternatively, like Ekalavya, actually *learn* from them?

The example of the little Untouchable in the forest, with no teacher around but a small mud image, represents an extraordinarily powerful way to bring about that transfer of knowledge, wisdom, and attitudes that is the essence of learning. In fact, right into this century, the Beaux-Arts in France still had maîtres in ateliers, each with his own group of chelas, who had implicit faith in him. The master, coming to your desk, would pick up a thick grease pencil and draw a bold line, changing things radically: the proportions, the cornice, the depth of the shadows, whatever. "Not this—*this!*" And you learned because you trusted his judgment, you entered the gestalt of his world. Even today, I find that in architectural schools throughout the United States, there are teachers who have this guru-chela relationship with their students. These studios are usually the most vital—and the most controversial. To the rest of the faculty, they do not represent an education, but a kind of terrifying Jonestown. To the chelas who take these courses, this experience is the single thing they always remember in later life, the one thing that made all those somewhat meaningless college years worthwhile.

So there we have the dilemma of education: one model is the guru-chela system—a wonderfully effective process which unfortunately can all too easily result in the kind of brainwashing from which the chela never recovers. In the other model, we have the kind of healthy contemporary skepticism which ends up with us learning hardly anything at all. How on earth do we choose between these two?

Well, perhaps we could start by looking again at those examples of artists and musicians from a few centuries ago: Bach, Haydn, da Vinci, and others. As young apprentices, there is no doubt that they learned a lot by transcribing (often quite literally) the work of earlier masters. During this formative period, they were the most devout of chelas. What saved each one of them from spending the rest of his life in Jonestown was that he then proceeded to distance himself from this overwhelming learning experience—and tried to start speaking in his own voice. (We all know the story of the young Bach climbing up to the attic each night to secretly copy into his notebook the organ music his uncle had expressly forbidden him to play—and how the uncle, finding the book, tears it up and punishes the boy. But as the great harpsichordist Wanda Landowska remarked: "It was much too late! For in the very act of transcription, the young Bach had learnt everything he needed to know about that music—just like the roots of a tree greedily suck up from the earth all the nourishment they need.")

For Bach to become Bach (fantastic!!) he first had to experience the intensity and passion—however vicariously—of true greatness. Then he had to find his own voice. For after the exposure to the guru there must come the distancing. Is it possible to simulate this process in the world of academia? Could we structure the architectural curriculum in such a way that these two quite different types of studios are available—guru studios and distancing studios—and that each of these is taught by faculty with the appropriate temperament and talent?

In such a system, each student would be able to adjust the sequence of studios, so that it is fine-tuned to his or her own specific development. This choice should be, of course, determined in consultation with a faculty advisor (who would work with the student over several years, i.e., until he graduates), thus making those choices far more meaningful and effective. Right now, during the flesh market that takes place during the first week of the semester (when each teacher peddles his wares), students tend to choose what interests them—and not necessarily what would be most useful to them. For instance, if a particular studio presentation emphasizes structural issues, and I dislike thinking of structures, then I will avoid that course. But perhaps that is exactly the course I *should* take—and precisely because I dislike structures. Far from balancing out one's education, the present system of haphazard studio choices only encourages students to be as self-indulgent as they think they can get away with. (As a teacher in an M.Arch. program remarked bitterly the other day: "We don't have students any more, we have clients.")

What would be the character and goals of these two groups of studios? Inevitably the guru studios will evoke more explicitly those qualities perceived as being indigenous to the traditional persona of the architect: viz. an activist who is, first and foremost, a compulsive problem-solver. This is in sharp contrast to, say, a sociologist or historian—who tends to be a relatively passive *observer* of events. The differences between these disciplines start right from earliest training. For if the architect freshman cannot come with a design at the end of the semester because he "doesn't have enough data" . . . well, he flunks. And, of course, the exact opposite happens to the student of history or sociology. If he comes up at the end of the semester with a new theory based on insufficient data, then *he* flunks.

Thus right from Day 1, each discipline nurtures quite a different set of instincts. Later in life, these two disparate streams try to work together in a multidiscplinary planning team. The result: chronic incompatibility. For very few social scientists, however critical they may be of society, are willing to stick their necks out and conceptualize alternative models of how life might be restructured. They just do not see this as their territory. Architects, on the other hand, are always thinking of how we might, in Bucky Fuller's ineffable phrase, "rearrange the scenery." They are always jumping in with both left feet and speculating on how the pieces might fit together in new, more advantageous ways. In short: on *what might be.*

This compulsion to synthesize is fundamental to architecture. It involves a continuous and reiterative process—which goes easily and swiftly from the large overall concept down to the smallest detail and back again. (Because to change a window mullion is to change the corner, is to change the plan, is to change the concept. Back and forth, back and forth, up and down the line.) Then again, often these transactions are not all quantifiable in the same currency, for instance: six apples, take away four mangoes, how many do you have left? The answer must be found not by quantifying apples in terms of mangoes, or vice versa (as is done in cost-benefit studies), but by keeping their identities clear and separate in your mind—and yet finding the right balance! This is what art is about: from the arrangement of objects in a still-life painting to the layout of the capitol complex at Fathepur Sikri. To deal with these abstract equations effectively and truthfully, each element must be accepted on its own autonomous terms.

The traditional way to inculcate these instincts into students is to start teaching architecture at the undergraduate level—an early exposure of truly fundamental importance. After all, a young person's creativity in the visual arts is a talent which can be easily snuffed out in the very process of getting educated, or simply preempted by the development of some other talent that the child may possess. By catching 'em young, the creative instincts needed for architecture are reinforced as you grow up into an adult. The result: you never forget them. They always remain your shooting arm. Yet, over the last few decades, this has been changing. Alterations have been made in architectural education, particularly in the United States, so now an increasing number of students can start studying architecture *after* having taken their first degree in some other field, such as art history, sociology, literature, and so forth. In other words, from precisely those areas where the basic skills are not activist, but *passive;* not visual, but *verbal.* This has made a profound difference in the culture of the profession.

This does not mean that earlier generations of architects could not possess extraordinary verbal skills (as quotations from even the normally laconic Mies so amply demonstrate: e.g., "A brick is not rubber," apropos of Niemeyer). But this was not their shooting arm. Thus, when an architect like Frank Lloyd Wright (who possessed a truly sensational command of language) was stymied by a difficult problem, he would always reach for his design skills—and try to design his way out of trouble. Many of the superstars around us today, coming to architecture as postgraduates, will more likely try to write—or talk—their way out of the same impasse.

Because of this oververbalization of the classroom during the last few decades, design studios often propagate procedures that have almost nothing to do with the creative process. Even issues as pertinent as contextualism are perceived in an oddly mechanistic way. Thus, at the pinup, the student will intone: "I've made the front door blue because this house is to be in Istanbul, the city of the Blue Mosque." Bravo! And yet, how sad. For, as Gaston Bachelard has so devastatingly pointed out, the processes of creating art have almost nothing to do with those basic tools of science: cause and effect. Rather, art is like a depth charge that explodes somewhere in the innards of your unconscious, sending up to the surface the debris of recognition.

Nowhere is this difference more apparent than in the field of music. If I, for instance, am asked to create a musical composition, but have no gut instinct for the task, perhaps I might be tempted to think: Well, let's see, Beethoven started his Fifth Symphony with four notes: da,da,da,dahh. So why don't I use five? Or perhaps six? It would be a witty reference. It might even work . . . until suddenly, one fine morning, right out of nowhere, Cole Porter checks in with: "I've got you under my skin." How does he do that? No one, anywhere in this world, anytime in history, knows how you could *teach* that. But there are many, many people all around this planet who, on hearing Porter's genius, might respond . . . like Ekalavya in the forest? This is why the presence, however hallucinatory, of the guru is so important. Through our trust in him, we teach ourselves.

It really is somewhat mysterious, the way the arts get handed down from generation to generation. Much of it is by direct instruction, but some of it appears to be almost through a process of osmosis. In his incisive book *The Inner Game of Tennis,* Timothy Gallwey gives the example of someone who misses a shot and yells: "You fool!!" "Who are you shouting at?" you ask. "Nobody; just myself." So that's interesting—in each of us there is a "Myself" who gets shouted at and there's an "I" who does the shouting. Gallwey sees Myself as an incredible learner, a computer-sharp brain that programs itself very swiftly and accurately, often just by watching. I, on the other hand, is a kind of untalented policeman. Just when Myself, working on automatic, is going to hit a winner, I says: "Don't hit too low." And the ball goes into the net. When a player is playing at peak form, it's because Myself has taken over. This is why tennis players refer to someone who has played a great match as: "He was unconscious." Or, "He was playing out of his mind."

All this, of course, is not to say that rational analysis, principles of cause and effect, and so forth, have no place in architectural education. On the contrary, these tools would be fundamental to the distancing studios. Through them, students would be able to look back at what they had just learned and reappraise it. The system would also allow a school to use its faculty to much better advantage—because it would make explicit the differences between the two types of studio, permitting each of them to be run with minimal cross-sniping. So that gurus who have their own idiosyncratic and intuitive design skills could return to the atelier model of teaching without being accused of reckless brainwashing, while those teachers that run the distancing studios would not be criticized for not being "designers," or "creative" enough, and so forth. On the contrary, these distancing studios would be able to take advantage of the far more intense intellectual dialectic which has been triggered by the new breed of architects (the writers, the historians, the sociologists manqué) who have brought to this profession many extraordinary and invaluable qualities: a richness and subtlety of observation, a precision in dialectics, a fineness and nuance of perception, a comprehension of history—all of which are essential for the young professional to understand where we are, and why.

Lastly, the process of fine-tuning the studio sequence for different students may also compel us to examine a fundamental assumption which really needs questioning. And that is the notion, ingrained in all of us, that the prime aim of an architectural school is to foster and develop *design* skills. Because of this, the five years of undergraduate education are almost always structured around a series of design studios, two per year, compulsory for every student.

In actual fact, as we all know, not more than 1 office in 10 in the United States (or in most other countries, for that matter) places design values above all other objectives for the firm—and even within this sliver of organizations, the number of architects who are directly concerned with these design issues are hardly more than one in five. So we have very few architects indeed (say one out of fifty?) who will devote their whole life to a hands-on struggle for design values.

But school curricula do not reflect these very basic facts. No, on the contrary, students (regardless of any inherent aptitude for the astonishing mix of analytic, synthetic and topologic skills that make up the design process) are compelled to take such a studio every semester, for five continuous years—and it is always the heavyweight in their schedule, preempting enormous quantities of time and energy. Each semester these unhappy students are presented with brand-new problems, often in complicated and subtle contextual situations, and then asked to come up with new and brilliant responses, possibly expressed in an architectural syntax of their own invention. In the entire history of our profession, very few architects have managed to pull that one off—even *once* in their lifetime! Yet we demand this of each student, in each design studio. The result: dismay and frustration (and at several universities, among the highest stress rates of all departments).

The happy ending: Most of these students graduate into the real world where they never have to use the compulsive problem-solving design skills they never learned. And even those who may be working in high-profile design-oriented firms make a decisive contribution to the splendid architecture the organization is producing, in areas other than design. Obviously *what* schools try to teach and to *whom* and *how* needs some rather basic rethinking.

Envoi

The story of Ekalavya has an astonishing—but perhaps quite realistic—ending. Arjun and his brother, delighted with their find, take Ekalavya back with them to their guru, the fabled Dhrona. The boy bows in obeisance to the great teacher and then, on request, shows his sensational prowess as an archer. Arjun is overjoyed, but the old Brahmin with his understanding of the realpolitik of life, realizes the implications of an Untouchable being a superior archer to the king's son. So he says to Ekalavya: "You say you are my pupil; will you then give me a *gurudakhshina* [i.e., the gift that the pupil offers in gratitude to his teacher]?" The boy nods happily. "Then," says Dhrona, "give me the thumb on your right hand." Without the slightest hesitation, Ekalavya pulls out a knife, chops off his thumb, and hands it over to Dhrona. He will never ever be able to use his bow and arrow again.

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ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTORS

Lawrence B. Anderson (M.Arch, MIT) was formerly professor and dean at MIT, and coauthor, with Daniel Gregory, of "An Indigenous Thing: The Story of William Wurster and the Gregory Farmhouse," *Places,* 7 (1990): 78–93, and "Tony Garnier," *Places,* 3 (1986): 3–13.

Hilary Ballon (Ph.D., MIT) is Associate Professor of Art History at Columbia University, and the author of *The Paris of Henri IV: Architecture and Urbanism* (New York: The Architecture History Foundation, 1991); and "Constructions of the Bourbon State: Classical Architecture in the Seventeenth Century," *Studies in the History of Art,* 27 (1989): 136–48.

Micha Bandini (M.Arch.) is Professor of Architecture at the Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta, and author of "Aldo Rossi," *Architecture and Urbanism,* (1982): 3–232; "Typology as a Form of Convention," *AA Files* 6, (1984): 73–82; and "A Culture for Architecture: An Architecture for Culture," *Journal of Architectural Education,* 40 (1987): 4–5.

Sibel Bozdogan (B.Arch., Ph.D.) is Associate Professor of Architectural History at MIT, and the author of *Sedad Eldem, Architect in Turkey* (New York: Aperture, 1987); "Journey to the East: Ways of Looking at the Orient and the Question of Representation," *Journal of Architectural Education,* 41 (1988): 38–45; and co-editor of *Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997).

Maristella Casciato (M.Arch., Ph.D.) is Associate Professor of Architectural History at the University of Rome Tor Vergata, editor of *Funzione e senso: architettura, casa, città. Olanda 1870–1940* (Milan: Electa, 1979) and *150 anni di costruzione edile in Italia* (Rome: Edilstampa, 1992); coauthor of *The Amsterdam School, Dutch Expressionist Architecture. 1915–1930* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1983), and, with Wim de Wit, of *Le case Eigen Haard di De Klerk 1913/21* (Rome: Officina, 1984); author of "Johannes Duiker e il costruire funzionalista," *Casabella,* 53 (1989): 40–58; "Dudok in Hilversum: Story of a Silent Worker," *Lotus International,* 71 (1992): 94–105; *The Amsterdam School* (Rotterdam: 010 Publishers, 1996).

Charles Correa (M.Arch, MIT) is Professor of Architecture at MIT and University of Bombay (India), architect of the current master plan for Bombay, winner of the Royal

Institute of British Architects (RIBA) Royal Gold Medal (1984) and of the International Union of Architects Gold Medal (1990), and author of *5 Projects: The Ritualistic Pathway* (Pragati Art Printers, 1985); *The New Landscape* (Sevenoaks: Butterworth, 1989); and "The Assembly Chandigarh," *The Architects' Journal,* 179 (1984): 10–24.

Gail Fenske (Ph.D., MIT) is Professor of Architectural History at Roger Williams University, Bristol, R.I., and author of "The History of History in American Schools of Architecture, 1865–1975," *Winterthur Portfolio,* 26 (1991): 292–94; and coauthor of "Corporate Identity and the New York Office Building, 1895–1915," in *The Landscape of Indemnity,* eds. D. Ward and O. Zuruz (New York: Russell Sape Found., 1992).

Diane Yvonne Ghirardo (Ph.D., Stanford) is Professor of Architectural History at the University of Southern California, editor of *the Journal of Architectural Education,* former president of ACSA, and author of *Building New Communities: New Deal America and Fascist Italy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989); *Mark Mack* (Tübingen: Wasmuth, 1994); *Architecture after Modernism* (London: Thomas and Hudson, 1996); and editor of *Out of Site: A Social Criticism of Architecture,* (Seattle: Bay Press, 1991).

N. John Habraken (M.Arch.) is Professor of Architecture Emeritus at MIT, architect, and author of "Control of Complexity," *Places,* 4 (1987): 3–15; "Open Systems for Housing: Industrialization and Variety." *Kenchiku Bunka,* 42 (1987): 117–30; "Cultivating the Field: About an Attitude When Making Architecture," *Places,* 4 (1994): 8–21, and *The Structure of the Ordinary* (Cambridge, Mass.: the MIT Press, 1997).

Mark Jarzombek (Diplom Arch., ETH, Ph.D., MIT) is Associate Professor of Architectural History at MIT and author of *On Leon Baptista Alberti: His Literary and Aesthetic Theories* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1989); "The Kunstgewerbe, the Werkbund, and the Aesthetics of Culture in the Wilhelmine Period," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* 53 (1994): 7–19; and "The Crisis of Interdisciplinary Historiography," *Journal of Architectural Education,* 44 (1991): 150–55.

Royston Landau (Architectural Association Diploma, Royal Institute of British Architects), Emeritus, Architectural Association, London; author of *New Directions in British Architecture* (New York: George Braziller, 1968); "Notes on the Concept of an Architectural Position," *AA Files,* 1 (1981); "Milton Keynes vent'anni dopo," *Casabella,* 50 (1986): 16–27; "Enquiring into the Architectural Agenda," *Journal of Architectural Education* 40 (1987); "The History of Modern Architecture That Still Needs to Be Written," *AA Files,* 21 (1991); "Architectural Discourse and Giedion," *The Journal of Architecture* 1 (1996).

Ákos Moravanszky (M.Arch, Ph.D., Vienna Technical University) is Professor of Architectural Theory at the ETH in Zurich, and author of *Die Architektur der Donaumonarchie* (Berlin: Ernst u. Sohn, 1988); *Die Architektur der Jahrhundertwende in Ungarn* (Vienna:

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Carlo Olmo (Ph.D.) is Professor of Architectural History at the Politecnico of Turin, editor of *La città e le sue storie* (Turin: Giulio Rinendi, 1995); coauthor, with R. Gabetti, of *Alle radici dell'architettura contemporanea* (Turin: Giulio Einaudi, 1989); and coauthor, with Linda Aimone, of *Le esposizioni universali, 1851–1900* (Turin: U. Allemandi, 1990), and *Il Lingotto, 1915–1939: l'architettura, l'imagine, il lavoro* (Turin: Umberti Allemandi, 1994).

Martha Pollak (B.Arch, Ph.D., MIT) is Associate Professor of Architectural History at the University of Illinois-Chicago, and author of *Turin, 1560–1680: Urban Design, Military Culture and the Creation of the Absolutist Capital* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); *Military Architecture, Cartography and the Representation of the Early Modern European City* (Chicago: The Newbery Library and the University of Chicago Press, 1991); and editor, "Architecture Militaire," *Urbi,* 9 (1989).

Nasser Rabbat (M.Arch, Ph.D., MIT) is Associate Professor of Architectural History at MIT, and author of *The Citadel of Cairo: A New Interpretation of Royal Mamluk Architecture* (New York: E. J. Brill, 1995); "Writing the History of Islamic Architecture in Cairo," *Design Book Review,* 31 (1994): 48–51; and "Al-Azhar Mosque: on Architectural Chronicle of Cairo's History." *Muearwas,* 13 (1996): 45–67.

Mitchell Schwarzer (M.C.P., Ph.D., MIT) is Associate Professor of Architectural History at the California College of Arts and Crafts, San Francisco, and author of *German Architectural Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); "Ontology and Representation in Karl Botticher's Theory of Tectonics," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* 52 (1993): 267–80; and "Gather This Unruly Folk: The Textural Colligation of Historical Knowledge on Architecture," *Journal of Architectural Education,* 44 (1991): 144–49.

Joseph M. Siry (M.Arch., Ph.D., MIT) is Professor of Architectural History at Wesleyan University, and author of *Carson Pirie Scott: Louis Sullivan and the Chicago Department Store* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988); *Unity Temple: Frank Lloyd Wright, and Architecture for Liberal Religion* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996); "The Abraham Lincoln Center in Chicago," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* 50 (1991): 235–65; and "Louis Sullivan's Building for John D. Van Allen and Son," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* 49 (1990): 67–89.

Nancy Stieber (M. Landscape Arch., Ph.D., MIT) is Associate Professor of Architectural History at the University of Massachusetts-Boston, and author of *Urban Mecca: Housing and Society in Amsterdam 1900–1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997) and "Perspectives: An RFQ to the Avant-Garde," *Progressive Architecture,* 72 (1991): 97–101.

Danilo Udovicki-Selb (M.Arch., Ph.D., MIT) is Assistant Professor of Architecture at the University of Texas-Austin, and author of "Interpreting a Building: An Active Renewal," *CRIT,* 18 (1987): 6–10, "Projets et Concours" in *Paris 1937: Cinquantenaire,* ed. B. Lemoine (Paris: Institut Français d'Architecture, 1987), 44–65 and "Le Corbusier and the Paris Exhibition of 1937: The Temps Nouveau Pavilion," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians,* 56 (1997): 2–23.

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